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TWO HUNDRED YEARS

OF THE

S. P. G.

1701–1900

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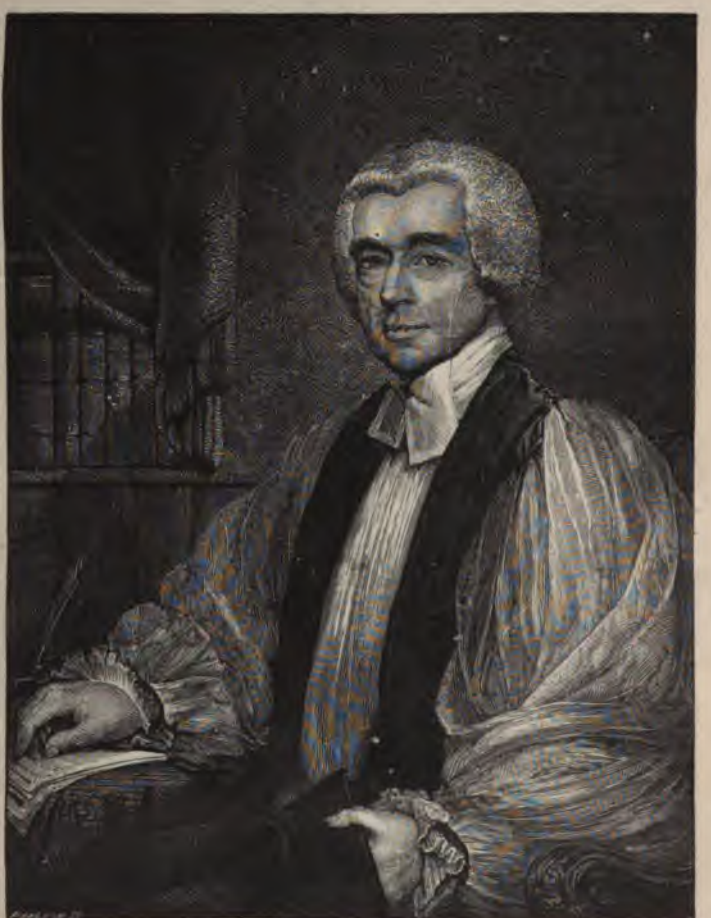
THE REV. DR. BRAY.

(See pp. 3–6.)

[*From the oil painting presented to the Society by His Honour Judge Kelvin Digby.*]



THE RIGHT REV. CHARLES INGLIS, D.D.

(The first English Colonial Bishop.)

CONSECRATED BISHOP OF NOVA SCOTIA, AT LAMBETH, ON AUGUST 12, 1787.

TWO HUNDRED YEARS

OF THE

S. P. G.:

AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,

1701—1900.

(BASED ON A DIGEST OF THE SOCIETY'S RECORDS.)

BY

C. F. PASCOE,

KEEPER OF THE RECORDS.

"GOD is working His purpose out, as year succeeds to year:
God is working His purpose out, and the time is drawing near—
Nearer and nearer draws the time, the time that shall surely be,
When the earth shall be filled with the glory of God, as the waters cover the sea.

All we can do is nothing worth, unless God blesses the deed,
Vainly we hope for the harvest, till God gives life to the seed;
Yet nearer and nearer draws the time, the time that shall surely be,
When the earth shall be filled with the glory of God, as the waters cover the sea."

A. C. AINGER

"*Lift up now thine eyes, and look . . . northward, and southward, and eastward and westward. . . . Arise, walk through the land.*"—GEN. xiii. 14–17.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Published at the Society's Office,

19 DELAHAY STREET, WESTMINSTER, S.W.

1901.

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The Society's Seal.

(*See page* 6.)

"That quaint device upon the Seal of this venerable Society, with its queer old ship and the man at the bow holding an open Bible in his hand, is one of those anachronisms in naval architecture which tells at a glance the story of its age. But it is the legend, 'Transiens adjuva nos,' which explains the fact of the almost universal adjective instinctively applied to the Society. For S.P.G. is venerable and venerated the world over because it has always listened for and heard the call, 'Come over and help us'; across seas, pathless until the Mission-ship made a wake in them, glowing with other than the phosphorescent light of ordinary wakes; through wildernesses, trackless until they were trodden by the feet of men shod with the preparation of the Gospel of Peace; and over continents whose primæval forests the missionary blazed with the Sign of the Cross."—Bishop Doane, of Albany, U.S.A.)

TO THE

MEMORY OF THOSE APOSTLES

WHO ARE NOW AT REST FROM THEIR LABOURS:

AND TO

THOSE WHO ARE STILL AT WORK,

WHOSE NAMES AND ACTS ARE HERE RECORDED,

This Book is Dedicated

"Their sound is gone out into all lands:
and their words into the ends of the world."

ARCHBISHOP WAKE, 1716–37.

ARCHBISHOP POTTER, 1737–47.

ARCHBISHOP HERRING, 1747–57.

ARCHBISHOP TENISON, 1701–15

ARCHBISHOP HUTTON, 1757–8.

ARCHBISHOP SECKER, 1758–68.

ARCHBISHOP CORNWALLIS, 1768–83.

The Society's Charter of 1701 named Archbishop Tenison as the first President, and owered the Society to choose, on the third Friday in February, "one President" for the ensuing. The Archbishop of Canterbury was always elected annually until, by the *lemental* Charter of April 6, 1882, the Archbishop became *ex officio* President.

Archbishop Moore, 1783–1805.

Archbishop Sutton, 1805–28

Archbishop Howley, 1828–48.

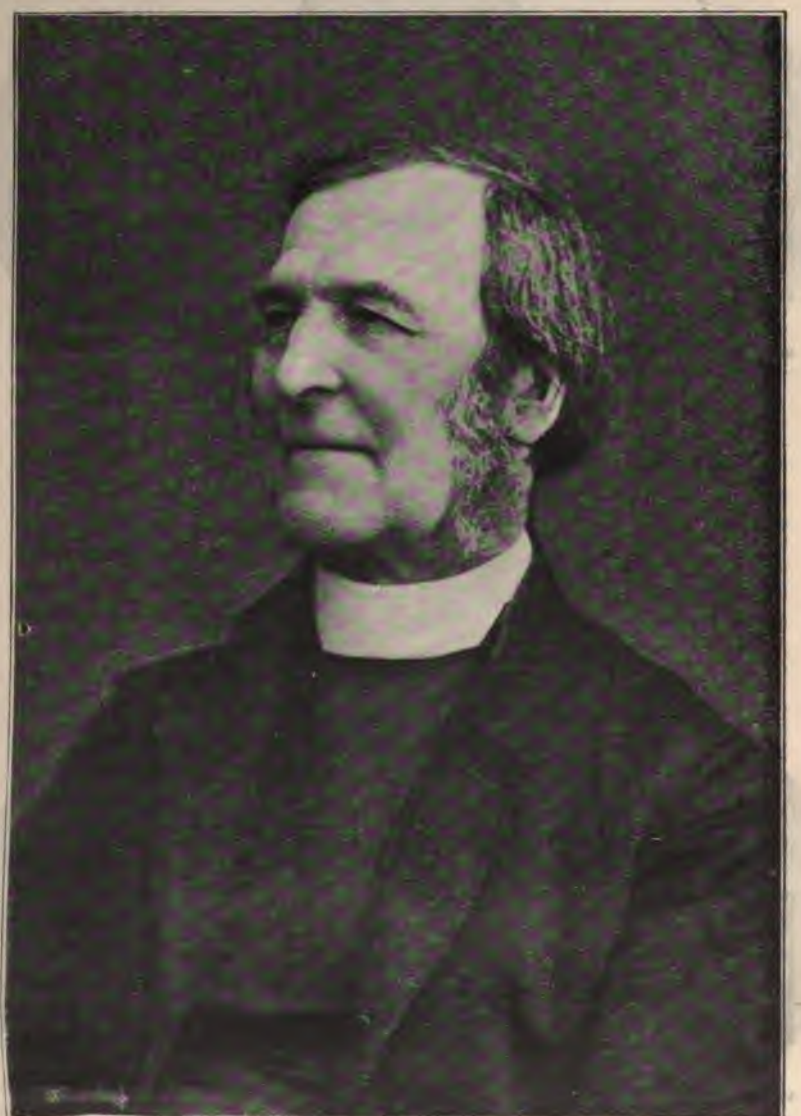
Archbishop Benson, 1883–96.

Archbishop [Sumner, 1848–62.

Archbishop Longley, 1862–8.

Archbishop Tait, 1868–82

The portraits in the Society's possession have been reproduced in the above form through the bounty of the late Rev. Brymer Belcher (one of the Society's Vice-presidents) and with the aid of his son, H. W. Belcher, Esq.



[*From a photograph by Russell & Son*

ARCHBISHOP TEMPLE.

PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY SINCE 1897.

PREFACE.

THE Society on entering on the two hundredth year of its existence recognised with devout and humble thankfulness to Almighty God the measure of success vouchsafed to its labours in planting the Church in the British Colonies and in evangelising the heathen. In giving expression to this feeling at the opening meeting* of the Bicentenary, the Marquis of Salisbury (a Vice-President of the Society) described the occasion as a great one: "a standpoint in the history not only of our Church, but of our nation." That the Society should have lasted during these two centuries and "grown constantly in authority and power shows not only that God is with us and has honoured us with a special call," but that there is "a great field of duty open" to us which we are "now summoned to possess."

To "make disciples of all the nations" was the great command, and with this end in view the Society has adopted what Bishop G. A. Selwyn termed "the surer way of spreading the Gospel to the uttermost parts of the earth," by building up the Colonial Churches as Missionary centres. But though its primary aim has been to save our fellow-Christians from lapsing into Pagans, the work of converting Pagans into Christians has gone on simultaneously from the first.

It seems fitting at a time when there has been so much rejoicing over the expansion of the Empire, that the spiritual side of the Imperial shield should be presented, showing what has been done towards the building of that Empire "on the best and surest foundations," and to ensure that the people may so pass through things temporal as to finally lose not the things eternal. One of the leaders† of the American Church recently asserted in St. Paul's Cathedral

* Held in Exeter Hall on June 19, 1900.

† Bishop Dudley of Kentucky (*see* "The First Week of the Bicentenary," p. 14).

that "Greater Britain had been hardly a possibility save for the development of the Missionary spirit in the Church of England, largely through the operations of this Society."

And (as so well expressed by the venerable Primate of Ireland), that "the expansion of the Empire is not a mere vain boast," but that it "means the expansion of the knowledge of Christ," and is due, "under God, in great measure to the Society," is evident from the view here presented.

It will be seen that in the various Colonies and Dependencies of Great Britain there are branches of the Mother Church, ministering to both colonists and natives—races so numerous and varied that the mere acquisition of their names is no light task. Much of this must have been made manifest during the recent tour of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cornwall (now the Prince of Wales) around the world.

But while the Society's first duty is to the peoples within the Empire, its work of "propagating the Gospel in foreign parts" has extended to regions beyond Greater Britain, so that our own kith and kin, wanderers from home, are enabled to sing the Lord's song in strange lands, while at the same time Chinese, Manchus, Japanese, Coreans, and the dwellers in Madagascar, and in the Hawaiian Islands, and in Central America: and Ba Ronga and Ba Tonga, and Ba Putyu and Basuto, and Kaffirs and Zulus, and Swazis and Susus are also enabled to hear in their own tongues the wonderful works of God.

This does not exhaust the list, but it will serve as an illustration; and a full view both of the "field" and the "harvest" is given on pages xxxviii–xli. It is there shown that the Society's field of labour *in the past two hundred years* has embraced every one of our Colonies excepting the Falkland Islands, besides India and the foreign regions named, and that of the ninety-seven Colonial, Indian, and Missionary Bishoprics of the English Church, **all but fifteen** contain Missions which were planted or supported by the Society (pp. xxxviii–ix). Many of the Churches thus planted are not only self-supporting but are also taking their part in the evangelisation of the world. For example, to-day there is "not an acre" of the territory of the great Republic on the continent of America that is not under the jurisdiction of some Bishop of the American Church. "From the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the furthest frozen North to the flower-bordered shores of the Mexican Gulf, stand the sons of the Church, the disciples of the Missionaries of this Society, to bear the one witness which they did bear."* In foreign

* Bishop Dudley.

parts also—in West Africa, China, Japan, Hayti, Mexico, and Brazil, as well as in Cuba and Porto Rico—the American Church is bearing witness for Christ; and it has recently taken over the spiritual care of the Hawaiian Islands, and is preparing to send a Bishop to the Philippines.* Dean Lefroy says there is hardly anything in the history of religion that can compare with this for power and for progress, and Bishop Dudley bids us "be of good cheer! for despite the lukewarm indifference of two hundred years ago, the result of the Society's labours in America is a marvel."

The races and tribes ministered to in the various fields of the Society in the same period exceed 180 in number, while the languages and dialects used by the Missionaries number more than 115 (*see* p. xli).

The first "Historical Account" of the Society consisted of a summary of its work in North America from 1702 to 1728, by the Rev. Dr. Humphreys, the Secretary, and was published in 1729 (356 pages).

After an interval of ninety years there appeared "Propaganda," consisting principally of extracts from the Society's anniversary sermons, arranged under appropriate heads. This book of some 200 pages deserves honourable mention from the fact that it was compiled and published in 1819 by the Rev. Josiah Pratt, Secretary of "the Church Missionary Society," with the object of furnishing the Clergy with "such statements and reasonings as might enable them to plead the cause" of the S.P.G. in connection with the King's Letter which was being issued on behalf of Bishop's College, Calcutta. The compiler ("a Member of the Society") is said to have concealed his identity "for fear it might hinder the circulation of the book." In any case grateful acknowledgment is due to him for his generous efforts to revive and extend interest in a sister Society. Already, in the "Missionary Register" (started by him in 1813), he had urged the S.P.G. to make its work better known. "Justice" (he said) "is not done to those patient and successful exertions by which it long reproached the supineness of others."

(It is characteristic of the cordial relations between the two Societies at headquarters that at the time when the older institution was preparing to celebrate its Bicentenary, another Secretary of

* The sending of a Bishop to the Philippines is the outcome of a petition of Church Clubs in America to the General Convention of the American Church with a promise of support.

the C.M.S. should have come forward to advocate the claims of the S.P.G. Such proofs of sympathy should never be forgotten, and it will be gratifying to the gifted historian of the C.M.S. (Mr. Eugene Stock) to know that his sketch of the history of the S.P.G. and brief account of "its world-wide operations" in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* of May, 1900, proved of immense service in promoting the cause of the Society.)

In 1823 the compilation of a history of the Society was entrusted to the Rev. John Wenham, while acting as "Assistant to the Secretary of the Society," but in the following year Mr. Wenham took up a Missionary appointment in Canada, and the only trace of his literary labours is an incomplete *proof* of 313 pages. The publication stage does not appear to have been ever reached, and the attempt is not even mentioned by the Rev. Ernest Hawkins (Secretary of the Society from 1843 to 1865), in his "Historical Notices of the Church of England in the North American Colonies, previous to the Independence of the United States." This valuable book of 467 pages, published in 1845 by Fellowes (Ludgate Street, London), contained an account of the Society's work in the (now) "United States" and in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia in the eighteenth century.

In subsequent years brief accounts of some Missions and Dioceses were published by the Society itself from time to time; but the mine of material for a complete and authentic history of the Society's work remained to a great extent unexplored – even the mere number of the Missionaries employed in the past being unknown, to say nothing of their names, which were in most cases forgotten.

The increasing number of requests made to the Society for the evidence, which only its records can supply, of early Church life, especially in North America, suggested in 1885 the idea of printing, *verbatim et literatim*, the Society's MS. Journals for the years 1701–1800.

Valuable as such a publication would have been, it would only have supplied in a more convenient form a *portion* of the materials for a history of the *first* century, and as the estimated price—six guineas for the set of five large quarto volumes—proved prohibitive, the scheme was abandoned.

The present writer then undertook the compilation of an authentic "chronicle of the Society's work in all parts of the world for the period 1701 to 1892," which was published in 1893 under the title of "A Classified Digest" of the Society's Records (996 pages). In this book a narrative form was adopted, every field in which the Society had laboured coming under review in its turn, and copious references to *the authorities* on which each statement rested being given at the

end of the chapters.* After passing through seven editions the book has been carefully revised and nearly **500 pages added,** so as to give a **complete account** of the Society **from its foundation to the present time.** The additional pages represent a **summary** of 15,000 pages of new matter. To ensure accuracy the local authorities have been consulted, and the aid received from the foreign Bishops and other Missionaries in correcting the proof-sheets, adds greatly to the value of the book, which is further enriched by many new illustrations, including portraits of the Rev. Dr. Bray, General Codrington, the Rev. John Wesley, Bishop Gray, and Dr. Machray, the first Colonial Archbishop.

It will be noticed that in every instance the narrative has been continued, without a break, by the insertion of supplementary pages connecting with the old sheets, the references to the authorities being transferred to the end of the book. By this plan the inconvenience which would be caused to the reader by a separate supplement has been avoided, as well as the great cost which the alteration of the old stereotyped paging and cross references would have involved. It was not possible to connect the Missionary Roll in the same way, and the necessary additions in this instance are therefore given in a second part. One point in connection with the Roll deserves special notice here, viz., the loyalty of the Society's Missionaries to the Church of England. Of the 4,267 employed in the two hundred years, only four cases of secession to other Christian bodies are recorded in the Roll, while the accessions in the same period number over 100. Of the three who joined the Church of Rome, one had been selected and ordained by Bishop Broughton of Sydney, another (a native of Madagascar) "returned" to the Romanists, "whom he had left as a boy"; and one, *and one only*, was *sent out by the Society*. This is a sufficient answer to the attacks which have been made from time to time on the Society, and should serve to reassure those whose confidence has been shaken by unfounded charges. It should be remembered that the Society has never been, and never can be, a party institution. As it represents the Church of England, no candidates are excluded from its service whom the Church would admit, and none admitted whom the Church would exclude.

The day may come when the Society will benefit pecuniarily from this position, instead of suffering as in past years. At present (as Archbishop Temple shows), though the Society "has opportunities

* The MS. letters and Reports of the Missionaries and others, and the printed Reports and magazines of the Society, were consulted as well as the Journals—the records generally, in fact—but no use was made of Wenham's proof, or, save in a few instances, of Humphreys' and Hawkins' accounts.

given to no other set of men," and is "presided over by all the Bishops of the Church," and "falls in with the ordinary working of the Church in all its regulations," and "may be said in a very real sense to represent the Church abroad," it is "not supported at all in proportion to that position which it has claimed from the beginning, and which has been accorded to it by all the leaders of the Church."

The strength and importance of the Society's claims rest not alone on the achievements of the past: there is that "great field of duty open" to which Lord Salisbury referred when he urged the Society to remember that the world, however slowly, "is travelling to the point where the government of all races will be done, not by organised force, but by regulated and advancing public opinion; that you have in your hands one of the most powerful and one of the most sacred levers that ever acted upon opinion, and that it will be dependent not only on the zeal but also on the wisdom and Christian prudence with which you work that instrument, that the great results which we all pray for will be achieved." *

How far these qualities have characterised the operations of the Society may well be left to the reader, but it may be added that "an Apostolical Zeal, tempered with Prudence, Humility, Meekness, and Patience," was laid down in 1706 as one of the qualifications required for the Missionary office, and the Missionaries were also instructed to "take special care to give no Offence to the Civil Government, by intermeddling in Affairs not relating to their own Calling and Function." The faithful observance of this "instruction" has contributed much to the success of the Mission cause, though it has not always secured the Missionaries from molestation, persecution, and death. As this touches the indemnity question, it is well to state here that in the late troubles in China, when three of its Missionaries were murdered, the Society not only declined to claim, but actually refused to accept, compensation for the loss of life or of property, sustained by or in connection with its Missions.

It remains to say that this book to some extent may be regarded as an endeavour to respond to the charge of the President of the Society to its officers in 1899 to "try to do the work which it is necessary to do at home—the work of stirring to the very depths the hearts of Christians, and making them understand why it is that the task" [of preaching the Gospel everywhere] "has been undertaken, and why it is that so long as the Church exists so long are we bound to persevere in pushing the great call on the attention of all who can be reached in any way."

* Speech at the opening meeting of the Society's Bicentenary.

Another charge of his Grace on the same occasion, and having a wider application, is here reproduced : Abp Temple

"I charge all the members of the Society wherever they may be to be missionaries for the work which has to be done, and so to second the labours of the missionaries abroad and make them feel that the whole heart of the Church of England is at their back, and that with all her strength the Church of England means to take up the task and to carry it to its effective end. I beg all the members not to think that they have done enough if they attend meetings . . .; not to think that they have done enough when they contribute of their money to the work of this Society, but to take in, as part of the work that they have to do, the conversion, not of the heathen, but of the Church of England herself, to understand what the Lord is asking her to do."

May this solemn charge meet with such a response as will enable the Society to do all that the Church abroad is asking it to do for the extension of Christ's Kingdom on earth! As Bishop Corfe says:—

"The S.P.G. stands upon the highest of all possible levels. It recognises its duty both to Englishmen and to persons who are not Englishmen, and declares in the most emphatic way that Jesus Christ is an universal Saviour, and hung on the Cross not only for Englishmen, wherever they may be found, but also for the whole world."

C. F. P.

Christmas 1901.

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C. F. P.

Christmas 1901.

NOTABILIA.

[*This list is drawn up for the convenience of readers, especially those who are desirous of advocating the claims of the Society, but it must not be regarded as a complete epitome. Further references will be found in the Index* (pp. 1390–1429).]

THE unique position accorded to the Society by its establishment—the joint action of the Church and of the State—as the Church's own instrument* for effecting her extension into foreign parts (pp. 4, 5, 932-5).

The maintenance and strengthening of that position, the whole Episcopate being now *ex officio* at the head of the Society's administration, and every Incorporated Member represented on its executive by his freely-elected Diocesan Representatives (pp. 940–2).

The extent to which the Society has obeyed the command to go into "all the world" and preach the Gospel to "every creature" (pp. xxxviii–xli).

[Bishop Samuel Wilberforce likened the Society to an "Angel of Mercy" "coming down into the troubled waters of an ungodly colonization, making one and another whole as they stepped into them," and he did not think it "too much" to say that "to its past labours America and our many Colonies owe their Christianity." The full force of this testimony is exemplified in the early history of North America and Australia.]

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* The S.P.G. wishes to act, *not* as a Society, but as the handmaid of the one Christian Society, gathering together in one the many members that each may do his or her part.—BISHOP SAMUEL WILBERFORCE (of Oxford).

"We have in connection with this Society, not a dead organisation, but a band of soldiers and servants of Christ, each occupying his allotted post in those harmonious relations of authority and willing obedience such as were ever seen in the 'willing armies' of our God. This Society is the accredited organ of the whole Episcopacy of our branch of the Church Catholic; it has all along addressed itself peculiarly to those duties which lie upon us as a Nation, those relating to our Colonies and dependencies; it has ever gladly submitted itself to our Bishops abroad, and placed its Missionaries at their disposal; it has in connection with it, in east and west and north, seminaries for the education of Native Missionaries. I would speak freely though kindly as to other institutions; but I would say, that however little this Society may in some places be known, because it has preferred to do rather than to speak of its doings, it is at present the institution in this country eminently entitled to the support of those who would wish, in a wise, orderly, self-denying, lasting way, to propagate the Gospel of their God and Saviour."—THE REV. DR. PUSEY.

The Society holds "a defined relation to the Church of England . . . authoritatively representing her both in its work abroad, and also in its claims upon all Church members for their contributions towards Missionary enterprise."—BISHOP COPLESTON (of Colombo).

See also the Society's action, and the definition of its position, on the transfer of the S.P.C.K. Lutheran Missions to it in India in 1825 (p. 503).

NORTH AMERICA.

(THE OLDER COLONIES, NOW "THE UNITED STATES.")

Note the condition in which the Society found the older Colonies--some of the settlers being among "the most ignorant and wicked people in the world," either living without any religion, or "like wild Indians," or "worse than the heathen" (pp. 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 20, 28, 33, 41, 52, 54, 57); others, in danger of becoming so, crying to the Society, "Come over and help us" (*see* the Salem appeal, pp. 53–4, also 10, 11, 23, 34); others, distracted with fanatical preachers and a variety of strange doctrine (pp. 37, 41, 45, 63). ["In the darkness of colonial isolation, when no man seemed to care for their souls, they trusted in Thee, and Thou didst raise up this Society to be their helper and guardian" (Bishop Dudley).]

The peculiar trials and hindrances encountered by the Missionaries:—

(*a*) on the voyage from England (pp. 12, 31-2, 35);

(*b*) in their Missions--from the ravages of Indians (pp. 17, 18, 21–2, 36, 38), and from the opposition of "sectaries," whose persecution of Churchmen contributed to the conformity of many Dissenters and their teachers to the Church which showed "a more excellent way" (pp. 15, 21, 24, 37–8, 41–7, 51–61).

The disadvantageous position of the Church for want of a Bishop, and the sacrifices which had to be made by American Candidates for the ministry (pp. 24, 35, 748–50, 840–1).

The Mission of John Wesley to Georgia (pp. 26–8).

The work among the natives—begun (in 1708) and carried on in the face of much opposition from the settlers, and yet resulting in the conversion of "great multitudes" of Negroes and Indians in less than forty years (pp. 8, 12, 15–16, 22, 46–8, 38–9, 55, 68–74).

Note the baptism of a Yammonsee Prince in London in 1715 (pp. 16, 17), and the interview of Indian Sachems with the Society in 1710 (p. 69), and the loyalty of the Mohawks to England, even to the point of exile and death (pp. 78–4).

The Society's care of French and German refugees from Europe* (pp. 19, 26-7, 59, 61).

The assistance rendered to the Church by Colonial Governors (61–2).

The heroic devotion to duty shown by the Missionaries, who, in spite of all disadvantages and hindrances, succeed in planting the Church in the land (pp. 8, 14, 15, 18, 23–4, 35–6, 39, 54, 62–74).

The loyalty and sufferings of the clergy during the Revolution (*see* the curious use of Cromwell's picture as a means of punishment, p. 49) (pp. 76–8, and 19, 25, 29, 39, 40, 48–51, 55–6, 74–5).

The withdrawal of the Society from "the United States" (p. 79), the consecration of the first American Bishop (p. 79), the fruit of the seed (sown in tears), and the undying gratitude of the American Church (pp. 79–87), which acknowledges that "whatever this Church has been in the past, is now, or will be in the future, is largely due, under God, to the long-continued nursing care and protection of the venerable Society" (p. 85).

(THE PRESENT BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.)

Christian colonisation in Nova Scotia in 1749 (pp. 108–9).

The Society's response to the call for Ministrations for the various nationalities in Canada in the eighteenth century:—

* *See also* p. xxx.

(*a*) British loyalist refugees (pp. 114–5, 126, 139, 142).
(*b*) French, German and Swiss communities (pp. 111–2, 142–3).
(*c*) Negroes (pp. 116–7, 133–4).
(*d*) Mohawk Indians (*see* next page).

Deplorable effects of schism in a new country (p. 149).

The Church a barrier against fanaticism (pp. 118, 148), and a centre of unity (pp. 151-2).

The first English church and the first organ in Canada (pp. 142, 144).

The introduction of the system of National Education into Canada by the Society (pp. 119, 130, 146), and the establishment of Colleges for the training of an indigenous ministry (pp. 119, 130, 145, 779, 841).

The foundation of the Colonial Episcopate (pp. 117–8), and the labours of Bishops C. Inglis (pp. 117–8), J. Inglis (pp. 119–20), C. J. Stuart (pp. 144–5, 157), Feild (pp. 96–7, 100), McLean (pp. 180*d*, *e*, *f*), Ridley (p. 191*a*).

First visit of an English Bishop to Canada (p. 143), and to Newfoundland (pp. 94–5).

Labours of the clergy (" not unworthy of the primitive ages ") (pp. 146–7, 160); their services during pestilence (pp. 150, 157); Milner the church builder (p. 131); Mr. Colley's jubilee (p. 101*a*); Mr. Temple (p. 99); Mr. Rule (p. 99); Labrador Missionaries (pp. 97–8, 101*b*).

" The trivial round, the common task," in Newfoundland (101*a*), and in Algoma Diocese (p. 176*a*).

The good effected in Bermuda (pp. 104–6), and the rapid progress of a manumitted slave (p. 105).

The reformation effected among white men (pp. 101, 147–50, 184–5).

Fruitful work among gold miners at Essington (pp. 189–90) and Glenora (" How is it we cannot get away from the old Church ? ") (p. 191*b*).

Lay help and lay ministrations (pp. 95, 99, 101*a*-*b*). (Prince William Henry (William IV.) (p. 92); Mrs. Ridley (p. 191*c*).)

Lay Baptism (pp. 98–9, 148).

Affection shown for the Church in Newfoundland (pp. 88–91, 94, 99–101*b*), and in Labrador (p. 152, *footnote*), and New Brunswick (pp. 134–5), and N.W. Canada (p. 180*k*).

Missionary meetings in Newfoundland (p. 101*b*). Relief of distress caused by the fire and bank failures in St. John's, Newfoundland (p. 101*b*).

Growth of the Church in Manitoba and N.W. Canada (pp. 179–180*b*). The Riel Rebellion and Mr. McKay's gallantry (pp. 180*e*–*f*).

Immigrations into N.W. Canada and mixture of races (p. 180*g*). Remarkable spirit of self-support in Manitoba and N.W. Canada (180*a*, *h*, *l*).

A model cathedral establishment (p. 180*b*).

Mission to the Danes in New Brunswick (p. 134).

Confiscation of the Clergy Reserves; Self-support elicited at the time by the Society's aid (pp. 150, 161–3).

Quebec's relinquishment of the Society's help (p. 152).

Consolidation of the Church in Canada (pp. 176, 180*c*). The first Colonial Archbishop, and his great work (pp. 180*b*–*c*; portrait, p. 176*b*).

Canadian Mission to Japan (p. 175).

Loyalty the fruit of Church principles (pp. 148, 158, 160). First Imperial Church Parade in Canada (p. 152). [In connection with this we are reminded that though the Church of England can claim only some thirteen per cent. of the population of Canada, yet about sixty per cent. of the Canadian Volunteers for South Africa in 1899-1900 were members of the Church of England, a large proportion coming from Manitoba and the North-West. " Whatever strengthens the Church of England materially strengthens the British sympathy and connection " (Archbishop Machray).]

Indian Missions in :—

(1) Quebec and Ontario Provinces (pp. 136–40, 150, 153–4, 165–74). The loyal Mohawks' care of the Communion service given by Queen Anne (p. 165). Wonderful change wrought by Missions (pp. 171, 174, 176). Rev. A. and Mrs. Jamieson's services during epidemic (p. 178). Pagan Indians wait thirty years for "the English Black Coat" (174).

(2) Nova Scotia and New Brunswick (pp. 112–3, 125–6).

(3) North West Canada (Indians and half-breeds) (pp. 180*h–j, m, n*). Attachment to the Church (p. 180*h*).

(4) British Columbia (pp. 181–8, 191*a–f*); demoralisation caused by whites (pp. 183–6). Indians' cry for "light" (p. 191*a*); Chief's speech (pp. 187–8). Missions the miracle of the century (p. 191*c*). "Men whose histories were written in blood and sorceries" become disciples of Christ (pp. 187–8). Rescue of a Tahltan lad (p. 191*a*).

The last of the Bœothick (p. 94).
Chinese Missions (pp. 189, 191*d–e*).
Statistical Summary (pp. 192–3).

THE WEST INDIES, CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA.

Early efforts on behalf of the coloured population (pp. 194–5); the opposition to the same (pp. 196, 213, 220); the Society's exercise of its Trusteeship of the Codrington Estates "a noble exception" to the general neglect and prepared the way for freedom (pp. 196, and 198, 197–203).

The evangelisation of the freed slaves (pp. 194–6, 208–5, 229–30).

How the day of emancipation was observed in Barbados (p. 208), and in Jamaica (p. 231).

Codrington College—its foundation and work (pp. 198–9, 205*a*, 782); its closing averted by the help of the West Indian Committee (p. 205*a*); (view of College, p. 782); portrait of General Codrington (p. 200*a*).

Present condition of the Codrington Estates (pp. 205*a–b*).

The first Medical Missionary of the Society (p. 199).

The tyranny of vestries (p. 196).

Mr. Macmahon's escape in the slave insurrection (p. 200*b*).

Consecration and reception of the first Bishop in Barbados (pp. 200*b*, 239*a*).

Spanish cruelty in the West Indies and the benefits of British rule (pp. 228, 233).

Devoted attachment of the coloured population to the Church (pp. 214, 215*c*, 224, 239*b*). Church building extraordinary (pp. 213, 230).

Labours of Bishop Jackson—[the St. John of the West Indies] (pp. 215*a–b*), and of the Clergy in Antigua Diocese (pp. 215*b–c*).

Hurricanes, and funds for relief of distress (pp. 198, 200, 208, 205–7, 214, 215*c*). The church in which Nelson was married (p. 215*c*).

The delays and dangers of travelling in days of old (p. 222).

Missionary character of the work in the Bahamas, and progress during the episcopate of Bishops Venables, Cramer-Roberts and Churton (pp. 226–7*b*).

Mission to the Mosquitos in 1747–85 (pp. 234–6).

First English Church in Nicaragua (p. 237).

Colon (Panama) during the rebellion of 1885 (pp. 240–1).

British Guiana as a Mission-field—the evangelisation of

(*a*) the Negroes (pp. 242–3);
(*b*) the Aboriginal Indians (*see* Mr. Brett's labours and great ingatherings) (pp. 248–251*c*);
(*c*) Chinese (pp. 249–50, 251*c*);
(*d*) East Indians (pp. 249–50, 251*d*);

practically accomplished in the first three instances.

Success of the Coolie work in Trinidad (pp. 208–9*a*).

Mission to West Africa (p. 205).

First consecration of a Bishop *in* the West Indies (pp. 205*a*, 239*a*).

The first Archbishop of the West Indies (p. 233).

Statistical Summary (pp. 252–3).

AFRICA.

Thompson's Mission to West Africa in 1752, the ordination of a native in 1765 and his fifty years' service (pp. 255–8). The Pongas Mission (its welcome by Chief Wilkinson, p. 268) and the results of its work (pp. 260–7*b*).

(South Africa.)

The Society's field: Capetown to the Zambesi (p. 254); beginning of work in 1820, and need of a Bishop (pp. 269–73). Consecration of Bishop Gray (p. 273); his first Visitation and Confirmations (pp. 275–6); interview with Kaffir chiefs (p. 276); toilsome journeys (pp. 281–2, 293); his death and review of his work (pp. 293–4); portrait (p. 295).

The Society the mainstay of the whole Colonial Church (p. 274). Colonists' attachment to the Church in spite of neglect (pp. 277, 288–9). Communion after 34 years (p. 289).

Mission to Mahommedans in Capetown (pp. 277–9, 295–6, 296*b*).

Mission to Natives in Capetown Diocese (pp. 281, 286–7, 291–2, 295); the Church's strength among the coloured people (p. 296); progress almost startling (pp. 296*a*–*b*). Malay Mission (pp. 277–9, 295–6, 296*b*).

Exclusion of natives from the Dutch Church (pp. 278, 281, 328, 351, 358*c*). The first free and open church at the Cape, and in which a Kaffir communicated (p. 279).

Kaffir War of 1851: Day of humiliation and prayer, and observance of the Society's third Jubilee (p. 283).

The Church (in 1855) doing more than any other religious body in South Africa (p. 287). "The Communion of Saints" (pp. 287–8). "A marvellous alteration for the better" (p. 293). Progress during Archbishop Jones' episcopate (pp. 295, 296*b*–*c*).

Native Missions in Grahamstown Diocese (pp. 279–80, 297, 305). Murder of Rev. J. Willson (p. 301). Government support of Missions as a safeguard against rebellion (pp. 298–9). Keiskamma Hoek and industrial training (pp. 302–3, 304*b*). A polyglot Mission (p. 304*c*). Great and rapid growth of Kaffir Missions (pp. 304, 304*a*). Kaffirs' musical capacity (pp. 303, 316*j*), and Kaffir offerings in church (pp. 304*b*–*c*). Grahamstown Cathedral (p. 304*d*); Railway Mission (304*d*). Ethiopian movement and the Order of Ethiopia (304*e*–*f*, 305).

Kaffraria and Kaffirs (p. 306). Archdeacon Waters' Mission (pp. 307–10, 313, 316). The cattle killing delusion (pp. 307–8). Visit of Prince Alfred in

1860 (p. 308). Witchcraft and its horrors (pp. 306, 309-11, 316*l–o*, *q*). Mission to Griquas (pp. 311-12, 316*o–r*, 317). Bishop Callaway's work and death (pp. 312–16). Bishop Key's labours among the Pondomisi (pp. 310–11); growth of work (pp. 316, 316*a*); his review of native Missions (pp. 316*a–c*); his work and death (pp. 316*d–e*). Massacre of native teachers and other Christians (p. 311). Labours of Mr. Dodd (pp. 310–11). Loyalty of Kaffir Christians (p. 313). Native ministry (pp. 315, 316*a*, 316*e*). ("A body of faithful, efficient, and excellent men.") First native priest (p. 315). The Fingoes as the missionary race of Africa (p. 316*i*). Rev. P. K. Masiza's work (pp. 316*i–k*); his Easter services (p. 316*j*); his visit to the Holy Land (p. 316*k*). Missions in Pondoland, where murder and horrible atrocities were of "almost daily occurrence" (pp. 316*l–o*). Dr. Sutton's medical work (pp. 316*n–o*). Native Church Conferences (p. 316*d*). Work among lepers (p. 316*f*). St. John's College (316*g–h*); native evangelists (p. 316*f*). The rinderpest year and its influence on the naming of children (p. 316*q*).

Kimberley as a Mission field (pp. 318*a–b*).

Work among liberated slaves and Zulu exiles (pp. 321–2); in St. Helena (pp. 320–1). The story of Tristan d'Acunha (pp. 322–4).

Progress in Basutoland (pp. 326–7*a*). Bishop Hicks' death (p. 327*c*).

Bishop Gray's visit to Natal (p. 328). Consecration of Bishop Macrorie (p. 332). Springvale Mission (pp. 332–3, 334*i–j*). Coolie Missions in Natal (pp. 334, 334*e*).

Zulu cruelty (pp. 335, 338). Bishop Colenso's visit to Panda (pp. 335–7). Rorke's Drift and Isandhlwana (p. 340). The Tinnevelly of South Africa (pp. 341*b–e*, 345*b*). No crime among native Christians in Zululand (pp. 341*a*, *c*). Dinizulu desire for teachers (p. 341*f*).

Pioneering in Tongaland (pp. 344–5*b*). Delagoa Bay, &c., demoralisation of natives (p. 346). Evangelistic efforts (pp. 346*a–f*). Testimony to American Christians (p. 346*f*).

Bishop Gray's visit to the Orange River district (pp. 347–8). Barolong at Thaba 'Nchu (pp. 352–3*a*).

The Transvaal as a Mission field (pp. 357–8*a–j*). White and black heathenism at Johannesburg (p. 358*g*). Wonderful spread of the Gospel by native converts (pp. 358*c–f*, 358*h–i*, *l*). A native chief's example (p. 358*i–j*). The glory and excellence of the prospect before the Church (p. 358*j*).

The Boer Invasion and War: Clergy relief fund (p. 296*d*); Siege of Kimberley (pp. 318*b*, 319), and of Ladysmith (p. 334*g*), and Mafeking (pp. 361*c–d*). Expulsion of Bishop and Clergy from Transvaal and sentence on Mr. Jones (p. 358*j*); Wakkerstroom (p. 358*i*), Potchefstroom (p. 358*c–d*), Bloemfontein (pp. 353*a–b*), Mashonaland (p. 366*o–p*), Zululand (pp. 341*d e*, 342), Enhlonhlweni (pp. 334*h–i*), and Dundee (p. 334*i*) during the war. Death of General Symons and Mr. Bailey (p. 334*i*); Ministrations of Clergy to troops, and sick and wounded and refugees (pp. 334*d–g*, 346*f*), in particular at Umtali (p. 366*j*) and Delagoa Bay (p. 346*f*); capture of Mr. Leary (pp. 362*g*, 366*p*). Services of Dr. Booth and Indian stretcher bearers at battle of Colenso (p. 334*e*). Loyalty of Kaffirs (p. 304*e*), and of Basutos (p. 327*d*), and Zulus (p. 341*e*). Bishop Key (p. 316*d*) and Bishop Carter (p. 341*e*) on the war—the latter's experiences (pp. 358*k–l*).

Bechuanaland (p. 359); Canon Bevan's labours (p. 361*a*); Mafeking (p. 341*b*).

Matabeland: Cruelty of the "noble savage" (pp. 362–362*c*, *e*, 364, 366*b*, *d*, *m*); "killing Mashona is to them no more than killing sheep is to an Englishman" (p. 366*m*). The expedition against Lobengula: Bishop Knight-Bruce's services (pp. 362*a–c*); Bulawayo Mission (pp. 362*b*, *d–e*).

Mashonaland: Bishop Knight-Bruce, pioneer and founder (pp. 363–4, 366*b*); first service at Fort Salisbury (pp. 364–5). Universal acceptance of

Church teaching (pp. 366, 366*b*, *f*); work of the pioneers (366*a*–*c*, *f*). First church in Mashonaland (p. 366*f*); Mashona language (pp. 366*b*–*c*). Bishop Gaul's work (p. 366*c*). Illustration of the ignorance of first principles of free Church life and organisation (p. 366*e*). Defects of education in England (pp. 366*d*-*e*). Native rebellion (p. 366*d*). England's responsibilities to native races (p. 366*e*). Steadfastness of Native Zulu Christians (p. 366*g*); the martyrdom of Bernard (p. 366*h*). The story of Umtali: baptism of the first two Mashona converts (p. 366*i*); "How is there an English church here?"; the same church a miniature kaleidoscope of Greater Britain (p. 366*j*); Medical and Industrial work (p. 366*l*).

Paramount importance of Missions to Colonists (pp. 290, 362*d*, 366*i*). Conversion of the whites a necessary step to conversion of natives (p. 366*d*). White heathenism (pp. 300, 346*g*). What heathenism really is (pp. 366*g*, *m*, *o*, and 316*l*–*o*). Effects of Christianity and heathenism contrasted (pp. 362*e*–*f*, 366*k*, and 316*q*).

Laymen's testimony to Missions (pp. 296*d*, 316*c*). No other way of raising the natives (pp. 341*a*, *e*). Lord Milner's testimony to the Society (p. 296*d*).

Grant of £30,000 from the Bicentenary Fund (p. 296*d*).

Mauritius: Coolie work (pp. 371–3*a*).

Madagascar: The opposition to the sending of a Bishop (p. 377). Progress during Bishop Kestell-Cornish's episcopate (p. 380). The French occupation and the anti-Hova movement (pp. 380, 380*a*–*b*, *d*–*e*, *g*). Formation of a Brotherhood (p. 380*d*). The Training College (p. 380*c*-*e*). French recognition of Mr. Gregory's services (p. 380*e*). Progress at Ramainandro (pp. 380*e*–*f*). Cruelty of the Malagasy (p. 380*h*). The Coast Missions (pp. 380*g*–*l*). A brave and faithful Christian (p. 380*h*). Persecution of converts (p. 380*j*). Murder of Catechist Abel (380*j*). Medical work (pp. 380*g*, *k*).

English Church at Assouan (p. 381).

Statistical Summary (pp. 382–5).

AUSTRALIA.

Ungodly colonisation in its worst form, in New South Wales (pp. 386, 390-4, 396), Norfolk Island (pp. 386, 390–1), Tasmania (pp. 428–31 —note the convict's letter, p. 430), Victoria (pp. 405–6); and Queensland (pp. 410, 414*d*, 415).

The Society's efforts to save the convicts from a state more pitiful than that of the heathen (pp. 387–9, 392–7, 402, 429, 432, 771), and others from lapsing into heathenism (pp. 403, 411, 417, 421, 427*b*); the seed thus sown "increased a hundredfold" (pp. 402, 433).

Labours of Johnson (pp. 386–8); of Bishops Broughton (pp. 390–3, 397, 399) (protest against claims of Church of Rome, p. 395), Tyrrell (pp. 400–1), and Stanton (p. 414); and of Synge, the travelling Missionary (p. 399). Testimony to the clergy, past and present (pp. 396, 427*b*). Ministrations to gold miners in Victoria (p. 407) and W. Australia (p. 427*b*). Bishop Riley's charge of a diocese over a million square miles in area (pp. 427*a*–*c*).

The importance of Christian colonisation further illustrated (p. 414*b*); its recognition in S. Australia (pp. 415–8), in Victoria (pp. 404–5); and in W. Australia (pp. 424–5, 428); first church at Perth (pp. 424–5). Bishop Montgomery's testimony (p. 433). The need in the bush districts (pp. 414*b*–*c*). Six

clergy for a district as large as the German Empire (p. 414*c*). Community Mission at Longreach (p. 414*c*). Bishopric of Carpentaria (pp. 415, 424).

Church growth (pp. 395–7, 414, 414*a*). Moore College (pp. 414*b*-*c*). Foundation and extension of the Episcopate (pp. 392, 395, 397–8, 400). What the Federal Commonwealth owes to Church organisation (p. 386).

Tasmania's example in self-help (pp. 432–3).

Australasian Board of Missions (pp. 398, 409, 445, 451, 464); its jubilee (p. 403). Mission work among natives in Australia: (*a*) Aborigines (pp. 398, 409, 413–4, 414*d*, 417–9, 425–7*a*), Dr. Hale and Poonindie (pp. 419–20), Atrocities of bush settlers (p. 418); (*b*) South Sea Islanders (pp. 412, 414*a*), a Judge's testimony (p. 414*a*); (*c*) Chinese (pp. 398, 409, 412, 423); (*d*) Japanese (p. 414*d*). New Guinea Mission (pp. 463–5).

Statistical Summary (pp. 466–7).

NEW ZEALAND AND THE PACIFIC.

Christian colonisation in N.Z. (pp. 434–5). Canterbury Association (p. 439). The Church foremost in the field (p. 436). Advantages of the endowment system over annual grants (p. 435). St. John's College, "the key and pivot" of Bishop G. A. Selwyn's operations (pp. 436, 438). Value of industrial training (pp. 438–9).

Labours of Bishop G. A. Selwyn (pp. 435–42); his testimony to the Society (pp. 437, 439, 440). Six dioceses mainly due to its aid (p. 442). A settler's testimony (p. 440).

Maori Mission (pp. 440, 442). The Maori War and the Hau Hau fanaticism (pp. 441–2).

How starving the Colonial Churches hinders "the surest method of preaching the Gospel to the heathen" (p. 439). Diffusive and fructifying character of the Society's colonial work: Melanesia an instance (pp. 445–449).

The martyrs of Melanesia—Bishop Patteson and others (pp. 446–50). Society's efforts for suppression of the slave trade in the Pacific (p. 449). Bishop John Selwyn's noble work (p. 451).

Pitcairn Island: stranger than fiction (pp. 452–4).

Norfolk Island as a convict settlement (pp. 386–91, 394) and as a Mission centre (pp. 454–6).

How the Church has done her duty in Fiji (pp. 457–9*a*) and in the Hawaiian Islands: The coming of kings "to the brightness," and Kamehameha's translation of the Prayer Book (pp. 461–2). Chinese Mission and polyglot services in Honolulu (pp. 463–463*a*). Transfer of that diocese to the American Church (p. 463*a*).

New Guinea Mission (pp. 463*b*–465).

Statistical Summary (pp. 466–7).

ASIA.

(INDIA—EXCLUDING BURMA.)

Early Missions in India: Syrian Christians and Roman Catholics (p. 471). English settlers' and traders' neglect of religion—seventy years pass before an English church is begun: the first Governor of Bengal becomes an avowed Pagan (pp. 471, 501).

The first Lutheran Mission to India one of the fruits and effects of the Society's example in America, and its object promoted by the Society (pp. 471–2, 501; *see also* pp. 468–9).

Foundation of Bishopric of Calcutta, and commencement of Society's work in India (pp. 472, 474). Bishop's College, Calcutta, its work and present position (pp. 474–6).

Transfer of the S.P.C.K. Lutheran Missions to S.P.G., and consequent employment of only "episcopally ordained clergymen," in accordance with the "invariable practice" of the S.P.G. (pp. 501–3).

Subsequent extension of the Society's operations (pp. 472*a*, 505), and of its system of work, which covers the whole ground of Missionary enterprise—educational, pastoral, evangelistic, medical (p. 504*a*).

The Society's principal Missions:

(1) Tinnevelly, in which stronghold of devil* worship (p. 582) Dr. Caldwell helped to found the Church, and, as Bishop, to build up and consolidate a work till it "attained a prominence unequalled in the Missions of the world" (p. 550). Nazareth, the model Mission, "a very home and workshop of Christ," with its 12,000 Christians, is cited as "a perfect specimen of the harmony of all forms of study and energy under the dominant power of the Christian faith" (pp. 550 1, 553*c*, *e*, *f*). Rejection of proposed transfer of Society's Mission to C.M.S. (p. 584). Progress (pp. 538–40, 547–8, 550–1); "Encouragements quite outweighing any disappointments" (p. 553*c*). Visit of Bishop Spencer (pp. 585–6). Native Christians' address to Queen Victoria (pp. 540–1). Visit of the Prince of Wales (King Edward) (p. 547), and the Duke of Clarence (p. 551). Accession of 35,000 natives during the famine of 1877–8. Centenary celebration (pp. 547–8).

(2) The Telugu Mission (pp. 562*c*–7), "perhaps the most promising of all the S.P.G. Missions in India" (566, 566*a*), people "coming daily to Capernaum, as it were, seeking Jesus," flocking in more rapidly than the missionaries can receive them (pp. 566*a* *b*), and proving their sincerity by noble sacrifices (pp. 566*a*, 567). Progress arrested by lack of workers—suffering and sacrifice of overworked staff (p. 566*b*). The Nunc Dimittis of Basil Wood (p. 566*c*). Nandyal College and Mr. Andrews' aid (p. 566*d*).

(3) Chhota Nagpur (pp. 495*a*–500*a*). "Sirs, we would see Jesus." At the death (in 1895) of one of the inquirers there were over 120,000 Christians, where fifty years before the people were all devil-worshippers (pp. 496, 500). *See also* Mr. Batsch's Nunc Dimittis: he finds Chhota Nagpur without a single Christian, and leaves it with more than 42,000 (p. 499).

(4) Ahmadnagar (pp. 580–6*b*), the most promising and the largest of the Society's Missions in *Western* India (p. 586*b*). The helpless outcasts, despised as "the lowest of the low," are the first to throw away their idols and embrace the one true God, and are "rising up," while the high and mighty Brahmins, on their own testimony, are "going down." "What a work Missions are doing in this country!" says a Brahmin doctor (pp. 580, 586*b*). Most of the Mahars and Mangs are more or less willing to become Christians. Pathetic appeals for teachers (pp. 586 586*a*). Ernest Browne—"an example to all workers" (p. 586*b*).

* The devils are supposed to be ever going to and fro in the earth and wandering up and down in it seeking for opportunities of inflicting evil, always malignant, never merciful, their wrath to be appeased, not their favour supplicated. In one hamlet of nine houses as many as thirteen devils were worshipped (pp. 582, 539–40).

(5) Cawnpore and (6) Delhi—Missions originated by the English residents (pp. 590, 612). Massacre of missionaries in the Indian Mutiny (pp. 595-7, 615-6), and revival and extension of the Missions (Cawnpore, pp. 598-600; Delhi, pp. 615 28*g*). Steadfastness of Ram Chunder (pp. 613-5); labours of Mr. and Mrs. Winter (pp. 627, also 615-26), and Mr. Maitland, and the Maitland Bequest (pp. 627 and 628*a*).

(7) Roorkee (p. 602). Converts from all classes and castes, the result of twenty years' work (p. 603).

(8) Rewarri (p. 628*g*), an example of patient labours in a heathen wilderness (pp. 628*g*-*h*).

(9) Assam (pp. 606-11*b*); an instance of "thoroughly sound and good" results of work among natives and Europeans (p. 611*a*); a "flourishing Christian colony," the outcome of a Kol convert's zeal (p. 611).

(10) Tanjore (pp. 511-16*b*) and (11) Trichinopoly (pp. 527-530*b*); examples of great success in the educational branches, and (from lack of workers) of stagnation in other respects (pp. 516, 530). Schwartz centenary (pp. 516*a*-*b*).

(*See also* Cashmere and the hopeful Mission at Jammu, pp. 656-7.)

Work of Community Missions at Delhi (pp. 626-8*g*), Hazaribagh (pp. 500*h*-*n*) (*see* welcome by Ranchi Christians, p. 500*k*), and Cawnpore (pp. 599*a*-600).

Education (*see also* p. xxx-xxxi): Value of Society's schools and colleges (pp. 500*d*, *h*, *m*, 504*a*, 506, 510, 515-6, 530-530*b*, 771-3); nearly all the education of Tinnevelly in the hands of the missionaries (pp. 543, 553*c*); change wrought in the boarding schools "a moral miracle" (p. 566*a*), and gives a new perception of the power of Christ in His Church (p. 566*d*). Higher education influences those who can be reached in no other way (pp. 500*d*, *h*, *m*, 509, 516, 549, 553*c*): offers "almost boundless opportunities," and apart from its secular success its moral and religious influence is incalculable (pp. 529-30*b*, 628*b*-*c*, 773).

A pupil of Dapoli School becomes Senior Wrangler at Cambridge (p. 587*j*).

Government recognition of the need of moral training in its educational system: "What India wants is not so much M.A.s and B.A.s as men who can be trusted with small sums of money" (p. 628*b*, and *see* p. 772). A Hindu's indictment of the Government system of religious neutrality: "Your scientific education has made our children irreligious, atheistic, agnostic; . . . you say you have given us light, but your light is worse than darkness. . . . Better far that our children should remain ignorant of your sciences, but retain the simple faith of their ancestors, than that they should know all the *ologies* of the day, but turn their backs upon religion and morality as rags and remnants of a superstitious age" (*see* the remainder, p. 628).

Work among Women: Without their education and enlightenment the difficulties of the conversion of Hindus and Mahommedans "almost insuperable" (p. 617). Female education the greatest lever which can be used for the regeneration of Indian society (p. 553*c*). Hindu girls, ordinarily, "do not count as members of a family, and they rank more with the cattle" (*e.g.*, "You might as well teach monkeys as women") (p. 553*d*). Education and training of women now carried on in variety of forms, and with blessed results. (*See* Index references under the following heads: "Education, Female," "Orphanages," "Women, Work among," "Women's Mission Association," "Zenanas," and "Medical Missions," and note the Christlike work done at Delhi (pp. 628*e*-*f*) and elsewhere.)

Medical work (p. xxxiii).

Evangelistic bands: The Gospel preached to 80,000 heathen in one year (pp. 530, 553*d*–*e*).

Work among the blind (pp. 500*f*-*g*, 553*c*), the deaf and dumb (p. 553*c*).

Famine: Over 100,000 sufferers relieved by the Society without respect to race, caste, or creed, and provision made for the maintenance of numbers of orphans (pp. 472*b*, 485, 548, 599*c*, 628); advantages and benefits of this system (p. 472*b*). Services rendered by the missionaries during the time of plague. Danger arising from ignorance and want of sympathy between Indians and Europeans (pp. 485, 572, 588*b*, 599*b*-*c*, 628).

Caste and caste troubles: caste "a more serious evil than superstition" (p. 539) (pp. 500*h*, 506, 512-4, 516*a*, 517, 519, 521-2, 524, 530*c*, 538 (riots, pp. 553*a*-*b*)). Caste agitation in Tinnevelly, and Bishop Gell's pastoral (pp. 504*a*-*b*, 553*a*). Christian fraternity at Nazareth, where members of eighteen castes unite (pp. 553*b* and 504*b*). (*See also* pp. 537, 560.)

Other trials, sacrifices, and persecutions which natives have to face on becoming Christians: On joining the Christian Church they are (*a*) regarded as dead by their relatives (pp. 530*d*, 538) (*e.g.*, Simeon's cross: his relations would have killed him "rather than he should have lived to forsake the faith of his forefathers," p. 593); (*b*) or are persecuted (*e.g.*, a Christian's ears cut off because he refused to perform an idolatrous service, p. 542) (pp. 477, 487, 497, 508, 520, 537, 539, 560*b*, 564, 566*c*, 601, 603, 603*a*); (*c*) or deprived of their property (pp. 497, 542, 560*b*, 656*b*). *See* other references to "Persecution" in Index. (Note how converts witness a good confession under the most grievous persecution, and "endure to the end.")

Society's policy in regard to Mission boundary questions—cases of Vellore (pp. 526–7), Madura (pp. 554–5, 558–9), Ahmadnagar (pp. 580–1, 583–4), and Jammu (pp. 656*a*–*b*) (and *see* "Boundary" in Index).

Religions of India (p. 471); *see* notes on the Arya-Samaj and Brahmo-Samaj (p. 600); Mahommedanism (p. 628*d*), and Hindu Pilgrimages (pp. 488, 500*n*, 603*b*). Note also how Mahommedans and Hindus fraternised recently in combining to resist the Government plague regulations (pp. 599*b*-*c*, 628).

Legal rights and disabilities of native Christians (pp. 472*b*, 473, 513, 628*f*); the Lex Loci Act of 1850 (the charter of religious freedom), and a case in point (p. 508). The Royal Proclamation of 1858 (p. 473).

The extension of the episcopate (pp. 472*a*, 755–6, 767). Size of the original Diocese of "Calcutta" (pp. 752–3). State opposition to its subdivision (pp. 755). Society's scheme of 1876 for ten Missionary Bishoprics (pp. 755-6). Failure of experiment of Assistant Bishops (pp. 504, 547, 551-2). Satisfactory scheme (due to Bishop Johnson's statesmanship) for additional Bishops on the basis of consensual compact and canonical obedience (pp. 499, 552, 757). Contrast the jealousy and alarm caused by the foundation of the first Indian Bishopric in 1814, especially the suppression of the sermon at the consecration (p. 472), with the present position—six of the Bishoprics being now filled by former Missionaries (p. 472*a*). Note Bishop Wilson's testimony to the Society (pp. 480–1) and deaths of Bishops Heber (p. 528), French (p. 627), and Matthew (p. 628*a*).

Increase of Christian population of India—"four times as fast as the Hindu and Mahommedan populations generally" (p. 472*b*). Marvellous progress of the native Church in S. India during episcopate of Bishop Gell, to whose worth Orthodox Hindus bore witness as eloquently as the most enthusiastic of his followers (pp. 504, 504*a*).

Native ministry. Examples: Kols in Chhota Nagpur, "an earnest, excellent, God-fearing set of men" (p. 500*e*). Tamils in S. India, "priests who themselves are the descendants of devil-worshippers, but who, through the

power of Christ, would be an honour to any Church in Christendom" (p. 504*a*). Some undertake foreign service (pp. 507, 510). Note murder of Rev. J. Gnanaolivu (p. 510). (*See also* "Karens" in Burma.)

"Self-support." Examples: Tinnevelly (pp. 545–6, 550, 553–4); Telugu district: The converts in some instances "for every Rs. 100 contributed" "are actually out of pocket to the extent of Rs. 1,000" (pp. 566, 566*a*, 567), and *see* Index.

Value of industrial training in enabling converts—even the blind and deaf and dumb—to obtain an honest livelihood (pp. 553*c-d*), and in raising the tone of a Mission and helping to spread Christianity (pp. 553*c-d*, 579–80, and 500*g*, 558, 599*c*, 603). Lace-making introduced by Mrs. Caldwell (p. 544). Scheme of agricultural settlements for oppressed converts (p. 530*d*).

Further testimony to Missions: "No class of Englishmen who have done so much to render the name of England respected in India as Missionaries" (Sir W. Hunter, p. 472*a*). Their lives "a standard, an example which all of us would wish to follow" (Sir C. A. Elliott, Lt.-Gov. of Bengal, p. 472*b*). A large Christian congregation formed among a people of whom a Government official had said "if you can make this kind of creature into men you can do wonders" (p. 500*g*). "The knowledge and the integrity of this irreproachable Missionary have retrieved the character of Europeans from imputations of general depravity" (Report of Commander of British Army in 1783). Of the same Missionary (viz. Schwartz), the ferocious Hyder Ali said, "Let them send me the *Christian*, *he* will not deceive me" (p. 511). "The sight of Tinnevelly scatters to the winds almost all that has been written to disparage Mission work" (Bishop Gell, p. 543). "The spiritual life of the Christians of Tinnevelly will bear comparison with any body of Christians of the same standing in the Church; whether in ancient or modern times" (Madras Diocesan Committee, p. 552; *see also* p. 504*d*). "I cannot imagine a more perfect and complete system of education," combining as it does "the mental, spiritual, and bodily training which we all desire" (Sir A. Havelock, Governor of Madras, on Nazareth Schools, p. 553*f*). "Your Christians are the poorest, the lowest in the country, and yet in spite of famine, opposition, and even persecution, they are increasing in numbers and influence. I can only explain this on the ground of the high moral teaching and the goodness of which Christianity is the expression" (a Hindu gentleman, p. 560*d*). "Christianity is the only religion which can raise up these poor people. Hinduism is useless for this. Mahommedanism cannot raise them" (a Mahommedan magistrate, p. 566*d*). As an example, *see* the contrast between a Hindu village and a Christian settlement—the former with its fear of demons, the whole life and existence of the people centred in the heathen temple and its worship—and the latter with its service of love (not of fear and trembling), and the superiority of the people, socially, mentally, and spiritually everywhere apparent (p. 553*f*). (*See also* pp. 488–9, 500*c*, and 832*d* on the effect of Christianity in the appearance of converts, "the new look in the very faces of those who have turned from the worship of devils to pray to a Father in heaven," and 500*c-d*, 503–4, 504*a*, 515, 625–6, and other "Testimony" pages in Index.) Note also the Bengali Life of Christ, written by a Hindu Pandit (p. 500*l*).

England's duty to India—to give her Christianity in place of the ancient religions, which are being killed (p. 472*a*). Inadequacy of the Society's means to enter "regions rich with the promise of future blessing" (pp. 505, 516, 516*b*, 530).

Ministrations to Europeans: Bishop Welldon's efforts to secure a loftier Christian standard (pp. 472*a*, 658).

Statistical Summary (pp. 730–3).

(BURMA.)

Buddhism "the religion of despair" (pp. 629–30*a*). No country more open to mission work. Variety of races: Forty-two languages spoken (p. 630*a*). A heathen contributes to the starting of the first Church Mission (p. 631). St. John's College: its great and varied work; 9,000 pupils of many races educated under Dr. Marks (pp. 634–9); Mandalay Mission one of its offshoots: Burmese King's gift of church and other buildings, and Queen Victoria's gift of font (pp. 648–51). The first Burmese priest of the English Church (pp. 631, 651). James Colbeck's life and influence (pp. 651–2). The deliverance of the Karens, and their steadfastness and love for the Church (pp. 641–7). Humble and devout, and contented with small salaries, the Karen Clergy have proved eminently suited to the wants of the people (pp. 645, 646*b*). Salmon the master-builder (p. 646*a*). Attempts to raise the Andamanese and Nicobarese (pp. 653–5).

(CEYLON.)

England's former neglect of religion (pp. 660–2). Twenty-five years' progress (p. 663). The Society gives a missionary character to all the Church's work and proves "the true handmaid" (pp. 665–7). St. Thomas's College the great spiritual centre (pp. 665, 669). Industrial education (pp. 669–70). Work among the Veddahs (p. 678). Mistaken views as to Buddhism (pp. 664–5). Buddhist activity and opposition (pp. 664, 667, 670–1).

(BORNEO.)

Benefits of Rajah Brooke's administration (pp. 682–8), and of Dyak Missions: head hunting, cannibalism, and other evils give way to Christian teaching, the white man now regarded as a friend, and the missionary welcomed everywhere (pp. 682–8, 690, 690*b*, 691). Converts become voluntary evangelists, build churches, and prove faithful (pp. 686, 688, 688*b*, 690, 690*a*–*b*). Some villages entirely Christian (pp. 688*b*, 690, 690*a*). Work promoted by medical aid (p. 690*a*). Debt due to the pioneer Bishop and his fellow workers (p. 687).

Chinese work—at first checked by rebellion (p. 685), afterwards makes good progress (pp. 687–8*a*, 689–90*a*, 693–4, 694*a*).

Work among Europeans (pp. 692–4) and natives (pp. 694*b*–*c*) in North Borneo.

The Straits Settlements reject disestablishment policy (p. 696). Polyglot Mission at Singapore, and Mr. Gomes' labours (pp. 697–8).

(CHINA.)

Bishop Schereschewsky's labours (p. 703). The Society's pioneers (pp. 705–6, 709). Famine Relief (p. 706). The anti-foreign movement of 1899–1900, and martyrdom of missionaries and their flocks (pp. 711*a*, 716*a*) (origin of the "Boxers," p. 711*a*); Lord Alverstone on the martyrs (p. 711*a*). Vindication of missionaries (p. 711*b*); "the Chinese enormously benefited by their labours," and the troubles "are directly due to heathenism"; Christianity the only hope of deliverance from the "yellow peril" (pp. 711*b*–*c*); testimony of Chinese authorities (pp. 711, 711*j*). Lord Salisbury's declaration that the Missionaries "cannot renounce, they cannot abandon, they cannot even be lukewarm in the commission which they have received. . . . There is nothing which can be more devoted and more free from

secondary motives than the Missionaries who leave these shores" (p. 711*b*). Caution and prudence of S.P.G. missionaries (pp. 711*i–j*). The Society's refusal of compensation for its losses (pp. 711*c*, *h*, *j*). Siege of Peking (pp 711*d–e*), and of Tientsin, and death of Mrs. Scott (p. 711*f*).

Mr. Greenwood's labours and bequest (pp. 709, 711*e*, *h*). Value of Medical Missions (pp. 708, 711*b*, *d*, *e*, *h*).

Proposed five new dioceses, one ("Shantung") practically provided for (p. 711*a*).

(COREA.)

A Mission with "the seal of apostolic poverty" (p. 714). Value of medical work in preparing the way for evangelisation, "The hospital of joy in good deeds" (pp. 714, 715, 715*a–e*). Native superstition—list of spirits (p. 715*a*). The tractate "Lumen" (pp. 715*b*, *c*). The (prospective) "Iona of Corea" (pp. 715*c*, *d*).

(JAPAN.)

The change effected within twenty-five years: formerly proscribed as an "immoral religion" (trampling upon the Cross being an annual ceremony), Christianity has "kindled a new light in the hearts and consciences of men," and won a secure position for itself, at least as a moral power (pp. 717, 723, 724*e*).

Wisdom of the various Anglican Church Missions (S.P.G., C.M.S., American and Canadian, and specially of Bishop Bickersteth) in establishing one duly organised body, which aims at becoming in reality, as well as in name, the National Church of the country, and a rallying point for the divided Christendom of Japan (pp. 724*a–c*).

Chaotic state of religious feeling in Japan (pp. 724*d*, *e*). Revival of interest in the ancient religions, and mischief * caused by the "Parliament of Religions" in Chicago in 1893 (p. 724).

N.B.—The Society and Archbishop Benson declined an invitation to take part in the so-called "Parliament." (*See* the reasons stated on p. 762*b*.)

The Society's aid in establishing the principle of "Non-Society" Bishops (pp. 724, 727); fruitful character of its work (pp. 724*e–f*). Services rendered by Archdeacon Shaw, and Japanese recognition of the same (p. 724*f*) and Bishop Foss (pp. 725–7*a*), also by the native clergy (who are "hardly to be excelled in any Church," &c.) (p. 724*e*), and by native converts (pp. 724*a*, *g*, *i*).

Work among Japanese soldiers and police (pp. 724*c*, *d*), and seamen (p. 724*f*) and the Eta (p. 724*g*), and in the Bonin Islands (pp. 727*a–b*), and Formosa (p. 727*b*).

Statistical Summary (pp. 730–3).

WESTERN ASIA.

The Assyrian Christians (pp. 728–9). Cyprus and Haifa (p. 729).

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* In illustrating the hopelessness of Asiatic life without Christian faith, Bishop Partridge of Kyoto recently referred to the case of a Buddhist priest found by some of the missionaries in a Chinese temple. He was dirty, unkempt, impure, degraded, and as he sat in his repulsive filthiness as the representative of his religion he had hanging from the cord about his neck a card of invitation to the Parliament of Religions. This represents the reality of that etherealised and idealised paganism conjured up by Western Christians as the result of reading the religious books or making a hasty survey of the life of the East.

EUROPE.

Help to Amsterdam and Moscow in 1702–3 (pp. 784). Society's "fraternal correspondence" with the Reformed Churches, and admission of representatives to honorary membership, lead to foundation of similar societies (p. 734). Help for galley slaves and persecuted Palatines, Vaudois,* and others, and for Debritzen University (p. 735). Vryhouven bequest (£44,971) to Society (pp. 735–6).

Chaplains for the Crimea, four of whom sacrificed their lives (p. 736). Crimean Memorial Church and Mission, Constantinople, and its work (pp. 737–8, 742–3) (view, p. 931*c*.) Ordination and death of two Turkish converts (p. 737)—"to convert a Turk of Constantinople . . . almost tantamount to inviting him to undergo immediate martyrdom" (p. 737).

Ministrations to English congregations on the Continent (pp. 738–42); not an intrusion or mission to make proselytes, or to interfere with other Churches (p. 741); but wherever our countrymen find their way they are accompanied by the Church (p. 740). Work among sailors (pp. 741–2). Intercommunion with Swedish Church (p. 739), and with American Church (pp. 739, 742); and friendly relations with the Eastern Churches (p. 742). Canon Curtis' work (pp. 736–7, 742–3). Church buildings vested in the Society (pp. 742*a*–*b*). St. Paul's, Valetta, and Hardman Trust (p. 742*b*).

APPENDIX.

Foundation and growth of the Episcopate (pp. 748–59). Note the struggle for Bishops for America (pp. 743–51); the opposition—unexampled for its intolerance—to the Church; and that for nearly the whole of the 18th century the Society "furnished the only point of contact, the only bond of sympathy between the Church of England and her children scattered over the waste places of the New World" (p. 746); *see also* list of headings under "Episcopate" in the Index, and list of Bishoprics and Bishops (pp. 757–8, 763–8), Society's expenditure on Bishops (viz., £362,760), and the number aided (viz., 134) (p. 759).

Church organisation—from "meetings" and vestries, to Synods (*see* "Organisation (Church)" in Index). Lambeth Conferences (pp. 761–2*a*). "If there had been no Society for the Propagation of the Gospel there would, humanly speaking, have been no Lambeth Conference" (Bishop Lightfoot). Recognition by the Conference of the work of Foreign Missions as standing "in the first rank of all the tasks which we have to fulfil" (p. 762*a*). "Parliament of Religions" at Chicago (p. 762*b*; *see also* p. xxix).

Education (pp. 769–74, also xxv). Comprehensive character of this branch of the Society's work: the beginning with a "Catechising School" for Negro and Indian slaves in New York in 1704 (p. 769); the introduction of the "National" system into North America in 1815 (pp. 769–70); the great work of educating freed slaves in the West Indies in 1834–50 (pp. 770–1); the schools for convicts and natives in Australia (p. 771); and the progress made in India, where the Mission schools rival the Government schools, and higher education is to a great extent in the hands of Christians—a result partly due to the exclusion of moral and religious instruction from the Government schools—an evil which even Hindus recognise (pp. xxv, 771–2). Value of the High Schools and of the Boarding Schools, Seminaries, and Colleges ("the strength of the Christian

* The Vaudois are said to be descended from those refugees from Italy, "who after St. Paul had there preached the Gospel," abandoned their beautiful country and fled to the mountains, where from generation to generation the Gospel has been handed down "in the same purity and simplicity as it was preached by St. Paul."

cause in India") (p. 778). Society's principles for conduct of Mission schools (pp. 778–4). The aid of the Marriott bequest in developing educational work (p. 774). Account of Colleges and Training Institutions (pp. 774*a*–97).

Books: Distribution of, and gifts to Colleges, including Harvard (an Independent) College (pp. 798–9). The Negus Fund (p. 799). List of Translations (pp. 800–13*d*). Note the Mohawk Prayer Book, begun in 1715 (p. 800). The Society's Home Publications (pp. 813*d*–16); its Library (MSS. "White Kennet," and general collections) (pp. 816–7).

Medical work: The beginning in Barbados in 1712, in New Zealand in 1842, in Borneo in 1848 (p. 816*a*), and subsequent development in Asia (p. 816*a*), and in Africa, &c. (p. 817), till there are now 36 Mission hospitals and dispensaries, and 178,000 cases are treated in a year (pp. 816*a*, *d*–*e*). Note (1) the great work at Nazareth, where natives thought that a God had descended amongst them (p. 816*b*), and at Delhi, eliciting the boundless thanks of the native women (pp. 816*b*–*c*), to whom the dispensary "is like an idol's shrine: with such amazed and adoring thankfulness do they receive help" (p. 816*c*). Mark also the Christlike services performed by the native Christian nurses (there is nothing in the creed of Hindu or Mahommedan to fit a woman for such work) in homes full of physical and moral filth, and in which the sad scenes and terrible sufferings of women and little girls are too shocking for publication (pp. 628*c*, 816*c*); (2) the wonderful opportunities for ministering to the souls as well as the bodies of the afflicted (p. 628*c*). Splendid work also in other parts of Asia, resulting in fear and prejudice giving way to friendship and confidence as the people experience mercy and love unknown in heathen life (pp. 816*f*, 817); while in Africa the power of the witch-doctors is broken, and the way opened for the Gospel (p. 817, also 316*n*–*o*), and the Coolie Mission wins the support of Hindus and Mahommedans, and renders praiseworthy service at the battle of Colenso (p. 817, also 334*e*).

Emigrants and Emigration: Past neglect (p. 818); reforms achieved on sea and land (p. 820). The great loss to the Church owing to the failure to supply emigrants with letters of introduction (pp. 818, 820).

Intercession: Day of united prayer suggested in 1709, but not fixed till 1872 (pp. 820–1). Further provision made and still needed (p. 821).

Funds and Home Organisation: First subscription list (p. 822). Notable help from Ireland (p. 823). Royal letters (pp. 823–5). Special Funds (pp. 828*b*–829*a*, and specially Archbishop Benson's remarks, pp. 829*a*–*b*). Table of Income and Expenditure (pp. 830–2), and "Funds" in Index. Junior Clergy Associations, their work, and boundless possibilities (p. 828*a*). Children's Associations (pp. 828*a*–*b*).

The Bicentenary: Co-operation received, especially from the C.M.S. (p. 832*a*); the opening services and meetings (pp. 832*b*–*c*); the meetings abroad: *e.g.* in Capetown, under Sir A. (now Lord) Milner, and the "Feast of Tabernacles" in Tinnevelly, where 5,000 Christians assembled (pp. 832*c*–*d*). Royal and other contributions to the Bicentenary Fund. Self-denial of native Christians* (p. 832*d*). Concluding meeting, and Grants from the Bicentenary Fund (p. 832*d*).

Security of Church property (p. 833). Anniversary Sermons (pp. 833–5). Analysis of preachers: only one Indian or Colonial Bishop as yet selected, viz. Bombay in 1901.

Society's Offices and Secretaries (pp. 835–6). Bishop Montgomery's election (p. 836).

* In the Nazareth Mission, all the Clergy, catechists, Christian masters and mistresses gave one month's salary in full, whilst the children in the schools denied themselves in various ways to give to the fund.

The Missionaries (pp. 886-46). *See* "Missionary" in Index. Note specially the strict observance of Church principles in the selection, appointment, and removal of missionaries, and in the management of the Missions generally (pp. 842–8), also the "choice Missionaries" from Ireland (p. 840), and the sacrifices made by the early colonial candidates from America – the voyage proving fatal to one-fifth of those who ventured on it (pp 840–1); the list of Brotherhoods (p. 846*b*), the Roll of Martyrs (p. 931*d*), the General Missionary Roll (pp. 849-931*c*), the Summary of the same (p. 847), and the loyalty of the Missionaries already noticed in the Preface (p. xiii).

The Women's Mission Association (pp. 846, 846*a*, and Index)—what it owes to Mr. Bullock (p. 846) and Miss Bullock (p. 846*a*), and the value of its ever-growing work, by which means thousands of children are brought under instruction, and native women in zenanas and harems receive offices of mercy and love which only ladies can perform (p. 846*a*; *see also* "Medical Work," 816*c*, &c.). Grants from the Bible Society for Bible women (p. 846*a*).

The Charters (pp. 932–8) and the notes thereon, and on the constitution and functions of the Society and its Committees (pp. 939–42).

List of References to authorities (pp. 1800–1889).

The Index (pp. 1890-1429), especially the following subjects:—

Agreements as to Mission Boundaries.
Apostasy.
Baptism.
Bible, The.
Boards of Missions.
Books.
Caste.
Catechists.
Cathedrals.
Church building.
Church Councils.
Church Discipline.
Colonies, Religious State of.
Colonists, Hindrances of, to Conversion of Natives.
Colonists in a Heathen Condition.
Comity.
Coolies.
Demons and Demon-worship.
Discipline, Church.
Disendowment (*see* State Aid).
Disestablishment (*see* State Aid).
Dissent and Dissenters.
Drink.
Education.
Endowments aided by S.P.G.
Episcopate.
Famines.
Foreign Mission Work of American and Colonial Churches.
Funds.
Intercommunion.
Ireland.
Languages.
Lay Mission Agents.
Martyrs.
Medical Missions.
Missionary Effort.
Native Church Councils.
Native Ministry.
Native Races under British and under Foreign rule.
Organisation (Church) abroad.
Organisation, Home (*see* Funds).
Parliamentary Grants for Religion.
Persecution.
Polygamy.
Principles of Society.
Races.
Results of Society's Work.
Roman Catholic Missions, &c.
Roman Catholic Opposition to Anglican Missions.
Roman Catholic Accessions and Secessions.
Schoolmasters.
Scottish Church.
Self-help and Self-support.
Slaves and Slavery.
Societies.
State Aid to Religion.
Testimony to Missions.
Testimony to the Society and its Missionaries.
Victoria, H.M. Queen.
Wales, The Church in.

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CONTENTS.

(*See also* "NOTABILIA," pp. xvi–xxxii, *and* INDEX.)

FRONTISPIECE THE SOCIETY'S PRESIDENTS, 1701–1901 (pp. vi–viii), AND DR. BRAY AND BISHOP C. INGLIS (pp. i, ii).
THE SOCIETY'S SEAL (p. iv).

PREFACE (pp. ix–xv), AND NOTABILIA (pp. xvi–xxxii).
THE FIELD (pp. xxxviii–ix).
THE HARVEST, RACES AND LANGUAGES (pp xl, xli).

	Historical Part	Statistical	Appendix			
			Bishoprics	Colleges	Missionary Roll	Authorities
CHAPTER	PAGE	PAGE	PAGE	PAGE	PAGE	PAGE
I. Origin, Object, and First Proceedings of the Society	1-9	—	—	—	—	1301
II. North America— The United States Introduction	9-12	—	757	—	—	1301
III. South Carolina	12-20	86-7	,,	—	849-50	1301
IV. North Carolina	20-5	,,	,,		850	1302
V. Georgia	26-9	,,	,,	—	851	1302
VI. Virginia	30	,,	,,	—	,,	1302
VII. Maryland	31-3	,,	,,	—	,,	1302
VIII. Pennsylvania	33-40	,,	,,	—	851-2	1303
IX. New England	41-51	,,	,,	—	852-4	1303
X. New Jersey	52-6	,,	,,	—	854-5	1304
XI. New York	57-78	,,	,,	775	855-6	1304-5
XII. Summary of Results	79-87	—	—	—	—	1306, 1358
Statistics	—	86-7	—	—	—	—

	Historical Part	Statistical	Appendix			
			Bishoprics and Bishops	Colleges	Missionary Roll	Authorities
CHAPTER	PAGE	PAGE	PAGE	PAGE	PAGE	PAGE
XIII. British North America — Introduction	88	192-3	758, 764	—	—	—
XIV. Newfoundland & N. Labrador	88-102	,,	—	781	856, 930	1306, 1358
XV. Bermuda	102-6	,,	—	—	860, 930*a*	1307
XVI. Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, & P. E. Island	107-24	,,	758, 763	776	860, 930*a*	1307, 1358
XVII. New Brunswick	125-35	,,	,,	777	865, 930*b*	1308, 1358
XVIII. Quebec & Ontario Provinces	135-41	,,	,,	—	—	1308
XIX. Quebec (*cont.*)	142-52	192-3	,,	778*b*	869, 930*c*	1309, 1358
XX. Ontario (*cont.*)	153-76	,,	,,	778	873, 930*d*	1309, 1358
XXI. Manitoba and N.-W. Canada	— 177-81	— 192-3	,, ,,	779-80 —	879, 930*e* —	1311, 1359 —
XXII. British Columbia	181-91*f*	,,	758, 763-4	—	882, 930*g*	1311, 1360
Statistical Summary	—	192-3	—		—	—
XXIII. West Indies, Central and S. America Introduction	194-6 —	252-3 ,,	758, 764 ,,	— —	— —	1311, 1361 —
XXIV. Windward Islds.	196-206	,,	,,	782	883, 930*g*	1312, 1361
XXV. Tobago	206-7	,,	,,	,,	884, 930*h*	1312, 1361
XXVI. Trinidad	208-9*b*	,,	,,	,,	885, 930*h*	1312, 1361
XXVII. Leeward Islands	210-15*d*	,,	,,	,,	885, 930*h*	1313, 1361
XXVIII. Bahamas	216-27*b*	,,	,,	,,	886, 930*i*	1313, 1362
XXIX. Jamaica	228-33	,,	,,	783	887-8	1314, 1362
XXX. Moskito Shore	234-7	,,	,,	—	—	1314, 1362
XXXI. British Honduras	238-9*b*	,,	,,		888, 930*i*	1314, 1362
XXXIA. Costa Rica	239*b*	,,	,,	—	930*j*	1362
XXXII. Panama	240-1	,,	,,	—	889, 930*i*	1314, 1362
XXXIII. British Guiana	242-51*d*	,,	,,	783	889, 930*j*	1315, 1363
Statistical Summary	—	252-3	—	—	—	—
XXXIV. Africa — Introduction	254	382-5	758, 765		—	—
XXXV. West Africa	254-67*b*	382-3	,,	—	891, 930*j*	1315, 1363
XXXVI. Cape Colony: W. & E. Divs.	268-85	,,	,,	—	—	1316
XXXVII. Cape Colony: W. Division	286-96*d*	,,	,,	783*b*, 784	891-2, 930*j-k*	1317, 1363

CHAPTER	Historical Part	Statistical	Appendix			
			Bishoprics and Bishops	Colleges	Missionary Roll	Authorities
	PAGE	PAGE	PAGE	PAGE	PAGE	PAGE
XXXVIII. Cape Colony:—E. Division (*continued*) .	297-305	382-3	758, 765	785-*a*	893-5, 930*k-l*	1317, 1364
XXXIX. Kaffraria . .	305-17	,,	,,	786*a-b*	895, 930*l*	1318, 1364
XL. Griqualand West . .	317-19	,,	,,	—	896-7, 930*m*	1318, 1364
XLI. St. Helena .	319-21*b*	,,	,,	—	897, 930*m*	1318, 1365
XLII. Tristan d'Acunha	322-4	,,	,,	—	,,	1319, 1365
XLIII. Basutoland .	324-7*d*	384-5	,,	786*c*	897, 930*m-n*	1319, 1365
XLIV. Natal . .	328-35	382-3	,,	786	898-9, 930*n*	1319, 1365
XLV. Zululand . .	335-42	,,	,,	786*b*	899, 930*o*	1320, 1366
XLVI. Swaziland .	342-4	,,	,,	—	900, 930*o*	1320, 1366
XLVII. Tongaland or Maputaland .	344-5*b*	,,	,,	—	—	1320, 1366
XLVIII. Portuguese S.E. Africa: Delagoa Bay, &c.	346-346*g*	384-5	,,	—	930*o*	1320, 1366
Gazaland . .	346*h*	,,	,,	—	—	1321, 1367
XLIX. Orange River Col.	347-53*b*	,,	,,	786*c*	900, 930*o*	1321, 1367
L. Transvaal .	354-8*l*	,,	,,	786*c*	901, 930*p*	1321, 1367
LI. Bechuanaland .	359-61*d*	,,	,,	—	901, 930*p*	1321, 1368
LII. Matabeleland .	362-362*h*	,,	,,	—	930*p*	1322, 1368
LIII. Mashonaland .	363-6*p*	,,	,,	—	902, 930*p*	1322, 1368
LIV. "Makombe's"	366*p*	—	—	—	—	1370
LV. Central Africa .	367-8	,,	,,	—	902	1322
LVI. Mauritius .	368-73*b*	,,	,,	787	902, 930*q*	1322, 1370
LVII. Madagascar .	374-80*l*	384-5	758, 765	787	903-4, 930*q-r*	1322, 1370
LVIII. Northn. Africa .	380-1	,,	—	—	904, 930*r*	1323, 1370
Statistical Summary	—	382-5	—	—	—	—
LIX. Australasia—Introduction	386	466-7	758, 766	—	—	—
LX. New South Wales & Norfolk Island	386-403	,,	,,	787*a*	904-5, 930*r*	1323, 1370
LXI. Victoria . .	404-10	,,	,,	—	906, 930*r*	1324, 1371
LXII. Queensland .	410-15	,,	,,	787*b*	907-8, 930*s*	1324, 1371
LXIII. South Australia	415-24	,,	,,	—	908-9	1324, 1371
LXIV. Westn. Australia	424-8	,,	,,	—	909, 930*s-t*	1325, 1371
LXV. Tasmania . .	428-33	,,	,,	787*a*	910	1325, 1371
LXVI. New Zealand .	433-43	,,	,,	787*b*	910-1, 930*t*	1325, 1371

	Historical Part	Statistical	Appendix			
			Bishoprics and Bishops	Colleges	Missionary Roll	Authorities
CHAPTER	PAGE	PAGE	PAGE	PAGE	PAGE	PAGE
LXVII. Melanesia	444-52	566-7	758, 766	788		1326, 1371
LXVIII. Pitcairn Island	452-4	,,	,,	,,	911, 930*t*	1326
LXIX. Norfolk Island (*continued*)	454-6	,,	,,	788*a*		1326, 1371
LXX. Fiji	456-59*b*	,,	,,	—	912, 930*t*	1326, 1372
LXXI. Hawaiian Islands	460-3*a*	,,	,,	—	912, 930*t*	1327, 1372
Samoa	463*b*	,,	,,	—	—	
LXXII. New Guinea	463*b*-465	,,	,,	—	913	1327, 1372
Statistical Summary	—	466-7	—	—	—	—
LXXIII. Asia } Intro-	468-9	730-1	758, 767-8	—	—	—
LXXIV. India } duction	469-73	470-1, 730-1	758, 767	—	—	1327, 1372
LXXV. Bengal	473-500*n*	730-1	,,	788, 795*a*-*b*	913-5, 930*u*	1327, 1372
LXXVI. Madras	501-68	,,	,,	792-5*a*	915-20, 930*u*-*w*	1331, 1374
LXXVII. Bombay	568-89	,,	,,	—	920-1, 930*x*	1337, 1377
LXXVIII. N.-W. Provinces	590-603	,,	,,	795	921-2, 930*x*	1340, 1377
LXXIX. Central ,,	604-5	,,	,,	—	922	1340, 1378
LXXX. Assam	606-11*b*	,,	,,	—	922, 930*x*	1340, 1379
LXXXI. Punjab	612-28*h*	,,	,,	791	922-3, 930*y*	1341, 1379
LXXXII. Burma	629-55	732-3	,,	792	923-4, 930*y*-*z*	1342, 1380
LXXXIII. Cashmere	656-7	730-1	,,	—	924, 930*x*	1345, 1381
LXXXIV. Ajmere	657-8	,,	,,	—	924, 930*z*	1345, 1381
LXXXV. Europeans in India	658-9	659	—	—	—	1345
LXXXVI. Ceylon	660-81	730-1	758, 767	795*b*	925-6, 930*z*	1345, 1381
LXXXVII. Borneo and The Straits	682-702	,,	758, 768	,,	926-7, 930*z*, 931	1348, 1382
LXXXVIII. China	703-12	,,	,,	796	927, 931	1351, 1384
XXXIX. Corea	712-15*e*	,,	,,	—	928, 931*a*	1351, 1385
XC. Manchuria	716-716*a*	,,	—	—	928, 931	1352, 1386
XCI. Japan	717-27*b*	,,	758, 768	796	928-9, 931*a*	1352, 1386
Formosa	727*b*	—	—	—	—	1387
XCII. Western Asia	728-9	730-1	758, 768	—	929	1355, 1387
Statistical Summary	—	730-3	—	—	—	—
XCIII. Europe	734-42*b*	742*b*	758, 768	796-7	929-*b*, 931*b*-*c*	1353, 1387

APPENDIX.

XCIV. The American Episcopate and the English Colonial and Missionary Episcopate, with Notes on Church Organisation Abroad (pp. 743-68). (Authorities, pp. 1353-4, 1387.) (List of Bishoprics, pp. 757-8, 763-8.)

XCV. Education, Part I. (pp. 769–74). Part II. Colleges, with illustrations (pp. 774*a*–797). (Authorities, pp. 1355, 1388.)

XCVI. Books and Translations (pp. 798-816*a*) (Authorities, p. 1355.)

XCVII. Medical Missions (pp. 816*a*–18). (Authorities, p. 1388.)

XCVIII. Emigrants and Emigration (pp. 818–20). (Authorities, p. 1355.)

XCIX. Intercession for Missions (pp. 820–1). (Authorities, pp. 1356, 1388.)

C The Society's Funds (pp. 822–32). (Authorities, pp. 1356, 1388.)

Ca. The Society's Bicentenary (pp. 832*a*-*d*). (Authorities, p. 1388.)

Cb. Security of Church Property (p. 833).

CI. Anniversary Sermons (pp. 833–5). (Authorities, pp. 1356, 1388.

CII. The Society's Offices and Secretaries (pp. 835–6). (Authorities, pp. 1357 1389.)

CIII. The Missionaries of the Society, 1702–1900 (pp. 836–931*d*). (Authorities pp. 1357, 1389.) (The Missionary Roll *begins on* p. 849.)

CIV. The Society's Charter (1701) (p. 932). The Society's Supplemental Charter (1882) (p. 936). Notes on the Constitution and Functions of the Society and its Standing Committee (pp. 939–42). (Authorities, pp. 1357, 1389.)

References to Authorities, pp. (944 =) 1300–89.

Index (pp. 1390–1429).

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE

Portraits:—Rev. Dr. Bray i
Bishop C. Inglis (the first English-Colonial Bishop) . . . ii
The Society's Presidents, 1701–1901 . . . . . vi–viii
Rev. John Wesley 29
Bishop Seabury (the first American Bishop) 80
Archbishop Machray (the first English-Colonial Archbishop) . 176*b*
General Codrington 200*a*
Bishop Gray (the first Bishop of Capetown) 285
Bishop Knight-Bruce (of Bloemfontein and Mashonaland) . 367
Bishop Whitley of Chhota Nagpur and Clergy in Synod . . 500*j*
Bishop Caldwell, Assistant-Bishop for Tinnevelly . . . 531
Rev. A. Britten and Choir, Nandyal 563
Rev. Dr. Marks and Rev. J. Tsan Baw 630*b*
Bishop Strachan of Rangoon and Karen Clergy . . . 640*a*

Views of—Crimean Memorial Church, Constantinople 931
Colleges and Training Institutions 774*a*–797
The Society's House, 19 Delahay Street, Westminster . . 943

Seal of the Society:—Large Seal, p. iv; Small Seal, p. 1389.

THE WORLD IN WHICH THE GOSPEL HAS BEEN PREACHED

(The dates given show the year in which

"We thank Thee that Thy Church unsleeping,
While earth rolls onward into light,
Through all the world her watch is keeping,
And rests not now by day or night.

North America	West Indies, Central and South America	Africa
1702 South Carolina ¶	1712 Windward Islands	1752 Western Africa
1702 New York ¶	1733 Bahamas	1821 Cape Colony (West. Division)
1702 New England ¶	1748 Mosquito Shore (Central America)	1830 Cape Colony (East. Division)
1702 New Jersey ¶	1822 The Bermudas ¶	1832 The Seychelles
1702 Pennsylvania ¶	1835 Tobago	1836 Mauritius
1702 Virginia ¶	1835 The Leeward Islands	1847 St. Helena
1703 Maryland ¶	1835 Jamaica ¶	1849 Natal
1703 Newfoundland	1835 British Guiana	1850 Orange River Colony
1703 North Carolina ¶	1836 Trinidad	1851 Tristan d'Acunha
1728 Nova Scotia	1844 British Honduras	1855 Kaffraria
1733 Georgia ¶	1883 Panama	1859 Zululand
1759 Quebec Province	1896 Costa Rica	1861 Northern Africa
1783 New Brunswick		1864 Transvaal
1784 Ontario Province		1864 Madagascar
1785 Cape Breton		1870 Griqualand West
1819 Prince Edward Island		1871 Swaziland
1850 Rupert's Land (Manitoba)		1873 Bechuanaland
1859 British Columbia		1875 Basutoland
1875 North-West Territories, Canada		1879 Central Africa ¶
		1890 Mashonaland
		1893 Matabeleland
		1894 Portuguese South E. Africa
		1895 Tongaland or Maputaland

List of the English-Colonial and Missionary Bishoprics founded Missions which were planted

1787 Nova Scotia †*‡	1824 Jamaica ¶†‡	1847 Capetown †‡
1793 Quebec †‡	1824 Barbados †	1852 Sierra Leone †‡
1839 Toronto ¶†*	1842 Antigua †‡	1853 Grahamstown †‡
1839 Newfoundland †*‡	1842 Guiana †‡	1853 Natal †‡
1845 Fredericton †	1861 Nassau †*‡	1854 Mauritius †‡
1849 Rupertsland †	1869 Falkland Islands	1859 St. Helena †
1850 Montreal †‡	1872 Trinidad †‡	1861 Zanzibar and East Africa ¶†
1857 Huron ¶†	1878 Windward Islands †‡	1863 Bloemfontein †*‡
1859 British Columbia †	1883 Honduras †*	1864 Western Equatorial Africa
1862 Ontario ¶†‡		1870 Zululand †
1872 Moosonee		1873 St. John's †*
1873 Algoma †‡		1874 Madagascar †*
1874 Athabasca		1878 Pretoria †*‡
1874 Saskatchewan †*‡		1884 Uganda
1875 Niagara ¶†		1891 Mashonaland †*‡
1879 Caledonia †		1891 Lebombo †‡
1879 New Westminster †*‡		1892 Likoma
1883 Qu'Appelle †*‡		1898 Mombasa
1883 Mackenzie River		
1887 Calgary †‡		
1890 Selkirk		
1896 Ottawa ¶†		
1899 Keewatin †‡		
1900 Kootenay †		

¶ This mark signifies that the field or diocese is now independent of aid from the Society.
† *This signifies that* the Society has planted or supported Missions which now form a part of the Diocese.
* *This shows that the Society has contributed to* the support of Bishops by annual grants; and
‡ *That the Society has contributed to the* permanent endowment of the Bishopric.

BY THE SOCIETY: THE WORK OF TWO CENTURIES, 1701–1900.

the Society first entered each field.)

"As o'er each continent and island
The dawn leads on another day,
The voice of prayer is never silent,
Nor dies the strain of praise away."

Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific	Asia	Europe (Continent)
1793 New South Wales	1820 Bengal	1702–4 Amsterdam¶
1796 Norfolk Island	1825 Madras	
1835 Tasmania¶	1830 Bombay	1856 Constantinople
1836 South Australia	1833 North-West Provinces, India	1862 Chaplaincies for English congregations on the Continent, and for British Sailors, labourers, &c.
1836 Victoria¶	1840 Ceylon	
1840 Queensland	1846 Central Provinces, India¶	
1840 New Zealand¶	1848 Western Borneo	
1841 Western Australia	1851 Assam	
1849 Melanesia¶	1854 Punjab	
1853 Pitcairn Island¶	1854 Western Asia¶	
1862 Hawaiian Islands¶	1856 The Straits	
1880 Fiji	1859 Lower Burma	
1890 New Guinea¶	1863 North China	
	1866 Cashmere	
	1868 Upper Burma	
	1873 Japan	
	1881 Ajmere	
	1888 North Borneo	
	1889 Corea	
	1892 Manchuria	

in the above fields, in number 97, all but 15 of which contain or supported by the Society. §

1836 Sydney¶†	1814 Calcutta†	1842 Gibraltar†‡
1841 Auckland¶†‡	1835 Madras†	
1842 Tasmania¶†‡	1837 Bombay†	
1847 Newcastle¶†‡	1841 Jerusalem and the East	
1847 Melbourne¶†	1845 Colombo†‡	
1847 Adelaide¶†	1849 Victoria (China)¶†‡	
1856 Christchurch¶†‡	1855 Singapore, Labuan and Sarawak†*‡	
1857 Perth†‡	1872 Mid-China	
1858 Wellington¶†‡	1877 Lahore†‡	
1858 Nelson¶†‡	1877 Rangoon†‡	
1858 Waiapu¶†	1879 Travancore and Cochin	
1859 Brisbane¶†‡	1880 North China†‡	
1861 Honolulu¶†*‡	1883 South Tokyo†*	
1861 Melanesia¶†	1889 Corea†*‡	
1863 Goulburn¶†‡	1890 Chhota Nagpur†‡	
1866 Dunedin¶†‡	1892 Lucknow†‡	
1867 Grafton & Armidale†	1894 Kiushiu	
1869 Bathurst¶†	1895 Western China	
1875 Ballarat¶†	1896 Osaka†*	
1878 North Queensland†*	1896 Hokkaido	
1884 Riverina†	1896 Tinnevelly and Madura†*‡	
1892 Rockhampton†‡	*Proposed:*—	
1897 New Guinea¶†	"Nagpur" (for Central Provinces India)†‡	
1899 Carpentaria†‡	Shantung†‡	

§ For general chronological list of the Bishoprics, *see* page 758;
For arrangement under Ecclesiastical Provinces, with lists of Bishops, see pages 763–8;
And for list of Bishoprics of the American Church, page 757.
Twenty of the American Dioceses also contain Missions which were planted or supported by the Society.

See "**NOTABILIA,**" pp. xvi–xxxii.

ERRATA.

p 505: after "(X.) . . . *Coimbatore*" read
"(XI.) *Bellary.*"
p. 619, line 18: for "pp. 817–18" read "pp. 816*b*–*d*."
p. 651, line 42: for "1894" read "1895."

AN

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

THE SOCIETY.

CHAPTER I.

ORIGIN, OBJECT, AND FIRST PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

It would be beyond the scope of this book to record the various missionary efforts made on behalf of the Church of England previous to that eventful period when the Church herself, through her chosen handmaid, the Society, began to conduct foreign mission work on an organised and permanent system. A few instances, however, may be referred to by way of illustration. No sooner was England freed from the supremacy of the Pope than Archbishop Cranmer hastened (1534–5) to provide two chaplains for Calais, at that time Britain's only foreign possession. When Martin Frobisher sailed (May 31, 1578) in search of the North-West Passage to India "Maister Wolfall" was "appointed by her Majestie's Councill to be their Minister and Preacher," his only care being to save souls. Wolfall was privileged to be the first priest of the reformed Church of England to minister on American shores. To "discouer and to plant Christian inhabitants in places conuenient" in America was the main object of the expedition of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who took possession of Newfoundland in 1583, and to whom was granted (by Queen Elizabeth in 1578) the first charter for the founding of an English colony. Similar powers were given in 1584 (by Letters Patent and Parliament) to Sir Walter Raleigh, his half-brother, and Wingandacoa was discovered in that year and named Virginia (now North Carolina). The first band of colonists sent there included Thomas Heriot or Hariot, the eminent scientist and philosopher, who may be regarded as the first English Missionary to America. The emigrants failed to effect a permanent settlement, but during their stay at Roanoke (1585–6) Heriot "many times and in euery towne" where he "came," "made declaration of the contents of the Bible" and of the "chiefe points of Religion" to the natives according as he "was able." One named Manteo, who accompanied the party on their return to England (1586) was appointed Lord of Roanoak (by Raleigh), and on August 13, 1587, was baptized in that island—this being the first recorded baptism of a native of Virginia. From this time and throughout the 17th century the extension of Christ's Kingdom continued one of the avowed objects of British colonisation.

But though the religious duty obtained some recognition everywhere performance fell so far short of promise that when in 1675 Bishop Compton instituted an inquiry into an order of King and Council "said to have been made" [in the time of Charles I., *see* p. 743] "to commit unto

the Bishop of London for the time being the care and pastoral charge of sending over Ministers into our British Foreign Plantations, and having the jurisdiction of them," he "found this title so defective that little or no good had come of it," there being "scarce four Ministers of the Church of England in all the vast tract of America, and not above one or two of them, at most, regularly sent over." His proposals to several places to furnish them with chaplains were encouraged by the settlers and by Charles II., who allowed each minister or schoolmaster £20* for passage, and ordered that henceforth "every Minister should be one of the Vestry of his respective parish." Whereupon the people "built churches generally within all their parishes in the Leeward Islands and in Jamaica." And for the better ordering of them the Bishop prevailed with the King "to devolve all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in those parts upon him and his successors, except what concern'd Inductions, Marriages, Probate of Wills, and Administrations," and procured from his Majesty, for the use of the parish churches, books to the value of about £1,200. Soon after this the people of Rhode Island built a church, and six were [ordered to be] established by the Assembly of New York.† For the regulation and increase of religion in those regions the Bishop of London appointed the Rev. JAMES BLAIR to Virginia [about 1690] and the Rev. Dr. THOMAS BRAY to Maryland [1696] as his commissaries [1].

Laudable as may have been the exertions made for planting the Church, they were so insufficient that at the close of the 17th century "in many of our Plantacons, Colonies, and Factories beyond the Seas . . . the provision for Ministers" was "very mean"; many others were "wholy destitute, and unprovided of a Mainteynance for Ministers, and the Publick Worshipp of God; and for Lack of Support and Mainteynance for such" many of our fellow-subjects seemed "to be abandoned to Atheism and Infidelity." [S.P.G. Charter p. 932.] The truth was that the action taken had been isolated and individual, and therefore devoid of the essential elements of permanence. If under such circumstances individual effort was greatly restrained or wasted, it at least served to kindle and foster a Missionary spirit, and with the growth of that spirit the need of united action on the part of the Church became more and more apparent. Out of this arose what may be called the *Religious Society* movement of the 17th century, to which the origin of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel may be traced. This movement had been preceded by a Missionary undertaking which deserves special notice. In 1646 John Eliot "the Apostle of the North American Red Men" began his labours among them in New England, which he continued till his death in 1690. Through his tracts the wants of the Indians became known in England, and so impressed was "the Long Parliament" that on July 27, 1649, an ordinance was passed establishing "A Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England," consisting of a President, Treasurer, and fourteen assistants, to be called "the President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England." A general collection throughout England and Wales (made at Cromwell's direction) produced nearly £12,000.

* This "Royal Bounty" was continued to at least the end of Queen Anne's reign.
† *See p. 57.*

of which £11,000 was invested in landed property in England. By means of the income Missionaries were maintained among the natives in New England and New York States. On the Restoration, in 1660, the Corporation necessarily became defunct, but was revived by a Charter granted by Charles II. in 1662, under the name of "the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the parts adjacent in America." The new Charter was obtained mainly by the exertions of the Hon. Robert Boyle, who became the first Governor. The operations of the Company were carried on in New England up to 1775, and after an interval of eleven years, caused by the American Revolution, removed to New Brunswick in 1786, and thence in 1822 to other parts of British America, an extension being made also to the West Indies for the period 1823–40. The funds of the Company, for the regulation of which three decrees of Chancery have been obtained (1792, 1808, 1836), now yield an annual income of £3,500 (from investments). This, the first Missionary Society established in England, is generally known as "The New England Company." As reconstituted in 1662 it was limited to forty-five members, consisting of Churchmen and Dissenters [2].

About twelve years later the existence in England of "infamous clubs of Atheists, Deists, and Socinians" "labouring to propagate their pernicious principles," excited some members of the National Church, who had a true concern for the honour of God, to form themselves also into Societies, "that so by their united zeal and endeavours they might oppose the mischief of such dangerous principles, and fortifie both themselves and others against the attempts of those sons of darkness, who make it their business to root out (if possible) the very notions of Divine things and all differences of Good and Evil." Encouraged by several of the Bishops and Clergy, who, as well as Queen Anne, inquired into and approved of their methods and orders, these Religious Societies soon spread throughout the kingdom—increasing to forty-two in London and Westminster alone—and became "very instrumental in promoting, in some churches, Daily Prayers, Preparatory Sermons to the Holy Communion, the administration of the Sacrament every Lord's Day and Holy Day, and many other excellent designs conformable to the Doctrine and Constitution of the Church of England, which have not a little contributed to promote religion." [*See* "A Letter from a Residing Member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in London to a Corresponding Member in the Country" (Downing, London, 1714); also Dr. Josiah Woodward's "Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in the City of London" (1701) [3].]

Among the promoters of this movement was the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray. Born at Marston, Shropshire, in 1656, and educated at Oswestry and at Hart Hall (or Hertford College), Oxford, he became successively Curate of Bridgnorth (Shropshire), Chaplain to Sir Thomas Price at Park Hall (Warwickshire), Incumbent of Lea Marston, Vicar of Over Whitacre, and in 1690 Rector of Sheldon, an office which he held till within a few months of his death in 1730. On his appointment as Ecclesiastical Commissary for Maryland by the Bishop of London in 1696, Dr. Bray, before proceeding to America, employed his time in sending out clergymen and supplying them with suitable libraries.

And failing to obtain assistance from Parliament, he originated the plan of a Society to be incorporated by Charter, for spreading Christian knowledge at home and in the plantations or colonies. The plan was laid before the Bishop of London in 1697; it could not then be fully carried out, but it soon gave rise to the "SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE."

The foreign branch of the designs of this excellent institution—declared at the outset to be "the fixing Parochial Libraries throughout the Plantations (especially on the Continent of North America)"—had not been extended to the employment of Missionaries, when it devolved* on a new organisation formed specially for the supply of living agency abroad, viz., THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS. The first meeting of the S.P.C.K. was held on March 8, 1699, the members present being the Lord Guildford, Sir Humphrey Mackworth, Mr. Justice Hook, Dr. Bray, and Colonel Colchester. In December 1699 Dr. BRAY, having been obliged to sell his effects and raise money on credit to pay for his voyage, left for America, where he organised as far as he then could the Church in Maryland, and returned to England in the summer of 1700 in order to secure the Royal Assent to a Bill for its orderly constitution. At home much interest was aroused in his Mission, Archbishop TENISON declaring that it would be "of the greatest consequence imaginable" to the establishment of religion in America [4]. Without doubt it was mainly the action taken by Dr. BRAY that inspired the efforts made in the next year by Convocation, the Archbishop, Bishop Compton, and the S.P.C.K., with the view to the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts. The Minutes of the Lower House of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury show that on March 13, 1701:—

"At the proposal of Dr. ISHAM, a Committee of twelve were named to enquire into Ways and Means *for promoting Christian Religion in our Foreign Plantations:* and the said Committee are directed to consult with the Lord Bishop of LONDON about the premises as often as shall be found necessary. *Et ulterius ordinârunt*—that it be an instruction to the said Committee, that they consider the promotion of the Christian religion according to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Church of England as by law established. And that it be a further instruction to the said Committee to consider how to promote the worship of God amongst seafaring men whilst at sea. And it was declared to be the opinion of this house, That any members might come and propose anything to this or any other Committee, unless it was otherwise ordered by this house, but none to have liberty of suffrage except such as are deputed to be of the Committee." [Page 243 of *The History of the Convocation of the Prelates and Clergy of the Province of Canterbury*, 1700 [1701]. London: A. and J. Churchill, 1702.]

According to Dr. ATTERBURY (Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation):—

"When business of high consequences to the Church, and such as was likely to do honour to the promoters of it, was started by the clergy, attempts of the same kind, without doors, were set forward which might supersede theirs. Thus when the Committee, I have mentioned, was appointed, March 13th, 1700 [1701], to consider what might be done towards 'propagating the Christian religion, as professed in the Church of England, in our Foreign Plantations'; and that Committee, composed of very venerable and experienced men, well suited to such an enquiry, had sat several times at St. Paul's, and made some progress in the business referred to them, a Charter was presently procured to place the consideration of that matter in other hands, where it now remains, and will, we hope, produce

* *See* p. 6.

excellent fruits. But whatsoever they are, they must be acknowledged to have sprung from the overtures to that purpose first made by the Lower House of Convocation." [Page 13 of Preface to *Some Proceedings in the Convocation of* 1705 (by Dr. Atterbury) 1708.]

The first meeting of the Committee of Convocation was held on March 15, 1701, and within the next three weeks Dr. BRAY appealed to William III. in the following terms:—

"*To the King's Most Excellent Majesty, the humble Petition of* THOMAS BRAY, D.D.,

"*Humbly sheweth,*

"That the Numbers of the Inhabitants of your Majesty's Provinces in *America* have of late Years greatly increas'd; that in many of the Colonies thereof, more especially on the Continent, they are in very much Want of Instruction in the *Christian Religion*, and in some of them utterly destitute of the same, they not being able of themselves to raise a sufficient Maintenance for an Orthodox Clergy to live amongst them, and to make such other Provision, as shall be necessary for the Propagation of the Gospel in those Parts.

"Your Petitioner further sheweth, That upon his late Arrival into England from thence, and his making known the aforesaid Matters in this City and Kingdom, he hath great Reason to believe, that many Persons would contribute, as well by Legacy, as Gift, if there were any Body Corporate, and of perpetual Succession now in Being, and establish'd in this Kingdom, proper for the Lodging of the said Legacies and Grants therein.

"Now forasmuch as Your Majesty hath already been graciously pleas'd to take the State of the Souls of Your Majesty's Subjects in those Parts, so far into Consideration, as to Found, and Endow a *Royal College* in *Virginia*, for the Religious Education of their Youth, Your Petitioner is thereby the more encouraged to hope, that Your Majesty will also favour any the like Designs and Ends, which shall be Prosecuted by proper and effectual Means.

"Your Petitioner therefore, who has lately been among Your Majesty's Subjects aforesaid, and has seen their Wants and knows their Desires, is the more embolden'd, humbly to request, that Your Majesty would be graciously pleased to issue Letters Patent, to such Persons as Your Majesty shall think fit, thereby Constituting them a BODY POLITICK and CORPORATE, and to grant to them and their Successors, such Powers, Privileges, and Immunities as Your Majesty in great Wisdom shall think meet and necessary for the Effecting the aforesaid Ends and Designs.

"*And your Petitioner shall ever Pray &c.*

"THOMAS BRAY."

The reception of the above is thus recorded:—

"WHITE-HALL, *April 7th*, 1701.

"His Majesty having been moved upon this PETITION is graciously pleas'd to refer the same to Mr. Attorney, or Mr. Solicitor-General, to consider thereof, and Report his Opinion, what His Majesty may fitly do therein; whereupon His Majesty will declare His further Pleasure.

"JA. VERNON." [5]

The matter was now formally taken up by the S.P.C.K. At the meeting of that Society on May 5, 1701, "the Draught of a Charter for the Erecting a Corporation for Propagating the Gospell in Foreign Parts was read," and on May 12 Dr. BRAY'S petition with other papers relating to the subject. The Archbishop of Canterbury was the first to promise a subscription (twenty guineas) towards the charges of passing the Charter, which document was on May 19 "again read and debated and several amendments made, and the names of the Secretary and other officers . . . agreed to." It being "very late" its further con-

sideration was "referred to Sir Richard Bulkeley, Mr. Comyns, Mr. Serjeant Hook, and the Secretary." The S.P.C.K. (May 26) undertook to advance the "moneys wanting for the Payment of the Charter," and (June 9) £20 was actually paid on this account. [*See* also p. 822.] The Charter as granted by William III. [*see* p. 932] was laid before the S.P.C.K. by Dr. BRAY on June 23, and thanks were tendered to him for "his great care and pains in procuring the grant," and to the Archbishop of Canterbury for "promoting the passing the aforesaid Letters Patents," and the latter was asked to summon a meeting of the new Society [6]. It should here be noted that in a "form of subscription for raising the money due to Dr. Bray upon account of the Plantations," adopted by the S.P.C.K. in November 1701, it is stated that there remained due to Dr. Bray £200, "part of a greater sum by him advanced upon the credit of public Benefactions towards the propagation of Christian knowledge on the Continent of North America," that the said sums had been really expended by him upon that account, in particular "divers ministers" had been "sent over," and "many Parochial Libraries" "fixed in the Plantations on the said continent." It was added that the S.P.C.K. had "thought fit to sink the subscriptions for the plantations (to which all their members were obliged to subscribe upon admittance) by Reason that that Branch of their Designs is determined" by the incorporation of the S.P.G., which included most of the members of the S.P.C.K [7]. [N.B.—The operations of the S.P.C.K. did not, however, long remain restricted to the British Isles. From 1710 to 1825 it supported Missions in India conducted by Lutherans [*see* p. 501-3], and though its employment of Missionaries then ceased it has since continued to assist materially in building up branches of the English Church in all parts of the world.]

The first meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was held on June 27, 1701, at Lambeth Palace,* and there were present: the Archbishop of Canterbury, President; the Bishops of London (Compton), Bangor (Evans), Chichester (Williams), and Gloucester (Fowler); Sir John Philips, Sir William Hustler, Sir George Wheler, Sir Richard Blackmore, Mr. Jervoyse, Serjeant Hook, the Dean of St. Paul's (Sherlock), Dr. Stanley (Archdeacon of London), Dr. Kennett (Archdeacon of Huntingdon); the Rev. Drs. Mapletoft, Hody, Stanhope, Evans, Bray, Woodward, and Butler; Mr. Shute, Drs. Slare and Harvey; and Messrs. Chamberlayne, Brewster, Nichols, Bromfield, Bulstrode, and Trymmer. After "His Majestie's Letters Patents under the Great Seal of England constituting a Corporation for Propagating the Gospell in Foreign Parts were read," officers and members were elected, and steps were taken for the preparation of a Seal and of Bye-Laws and Standing Orders, also for the printing of copies of the Charter, and the defraying of the charges of passing it [8]. The second meeting, held July 8, 1701, at the Cockpit, decided that the motto of the Seal should be "Sigillum Societatis de Promovendo Evangelio in Partibus Transmarinis," and that "the Device or Impression" of the Seal should be:—

"A ship under sail, making towards a point of Land, upon the Prow standing a Minister with an open Bible in his hand, People standing on the shore in a Posture of Expectation, and using these words: *Transiens Adjuva Nos.*" [*See* p. iv.]

* Place not stated in S.P.G. Journal, but recorded in that of S.P.C.K., June 30, 1701.

The Bye-Laws and Standing Orders adopted at this meeting provided that the business of the Society should be opened with prayer, that there should be an annual sermon [*see* p. 833], and that the following oath should be tendered to all the officers of the Society before admission to their respective offices: "I, A. B., do swear that I will faithfully and duly execute the office . . . of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, according to the best of my judgment. So help me God " * [9].

Subsequent meetings were for many years held generally at Archbishop Tenison's Library in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, the episcopate being largely represented, notwithstanding that the hour was frequently as early as eight or nine in the morning. [*See* Journals.]

On March 6, 1702, a Committee was appointed "to receive all proposals that may be offered to them for the Promoting the designs of this Society, and to prepare matters for the consideration of the Society" [10]. From June 18, 1703, this body became known as "the Standing Committee" [11]: its meetings were long held at St. Paul's Chapter House [12], and up to 1882 it continued subject to "the Society" as represented in the Board meetings. On April 6 of that year a "Supplemental Charter" was granted to the Society [*see* p. 936], one result of which was that the Standing Committee was placed on a fully representative basis, and thus became for nearly every purpose the Executive of the Society [13]. [*See Constitution, &c., of Society and Committee*, p. 939, &c.]

On August 15, 1701, the Society entered on an enquiry into the religious state of the Colonies; information was sought and obtained from trustworthy persons at home and abroad—the Bishop of London, English merchants, Colonial Governors, congregations, &c.†—and on October 17 progress was made in raising "a Fund for the Propagation of the Gospel in Forrein Parts" [14].

The Charter shows that the Society was incorporated for the threefold object of (1) providing a maintenance for an orthodox Clergy in the plantations, colonies, and factories of Great Britain beyond the seas, for the instruction of the King's loving subjects in the Christian religion; (2) making such other provision as may be necessary for the propagation of the Gospel in those parts; and (3) receiving, managing, and disposing of the charity of His Majesty's subjects for those purposes. The construction placed upon the first two heads by the founders of the Society was thus stated by the Dean of Lincoln, in the first anniversary sermon, Feb. 1702:—

"The design is, in the first place, to settle the State of Religion as well as may be among our *own People* there, which by all accounts we have, very much wants their Pious care: and then to proceed in the best Methods they can towards the *Conversion* of the *Natives*. . . . . The *breeding up* of Persons to understand the great variety of Languages of those Countries in order to be able to *Converse* with

* In conformity with the provisions of Act 5 & 6 Will. IV. cap. 62, the following "declaration" was substituted for the "oath" in 1836. "I, A. B., do declare that I will faithfully and duly execute the office of . . . the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." In 1850 the declaration was abolished [9*a*].

† In particular see Memorial of Colonel Morris "concerning the State of Religion in the Jerseys," &c. and Philadelphia; Governor Dudley's "Account of the State of Religion in the English Plantations in North America"; Rev. G. Keith's Letter "About the State of Quakerism in North America"; a Letter from the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations "concerning the conversion of the Indians"; and "A List" (furnished by the Bishop of London) "of all the Parishes in the English Plantations in America" [14*a*].

the Natives, and Preach the Gospel to them . . . . this is very great *Charity*, indeed the greatest Charity we can show; it is Charity to the *Souls* of men, to the Souls of a great many of our *own* People in those Countries who by this may be reformed, and put in a better way for Salvation by the use of the means of Grace which in many places they very much want, but especially this may be a great Charity to the souls of many of those *poor Natives* who may by this be converted from that state of *Barbarism* and *Idolatry* in which they now live, and be brought into the Sheep-fold of our blessed Saviour" [15].

At one time it seemed as if this interpretation would not be adhered to, for in 1710 it was laid down by the Society that that branch of its design which related to the "conversion of heathens and infidels" "ought to be prosecuted preferably to all others." [*See* p. 69.] Though the proposed exclusive policy was not pursued, the Society throughout its history has sought to convert the heathen as well as to make spiritual provision for the Christian Colonists, and, according to its ability, neither duty has ever been neglected by it. On this subject much ignorance has hitherto prevailed at home; and in some quarters it is still maintained that the Society did nothing for the evangelisation of the heathen to entitle it to be called "Missionary" until the third decade of the nineteenth century. The facts are that the conversion of the negroes and Indians formed a prominent branch of the Society's operations from the first. The object was greatly promoted by the distribution of a sermon by Bishop Fleetwood of St. Asaph in 1711 [16], and of three addresses* by Bishop Gibson of London in 1727 [17], and an Essay by Bishop Wilson of Sodor and Man in 1740 [*see* pp. 234, 815]; and to quote from a review of the Society's work in 1741 by Bishop Secker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury:—

"In less than forty Years, under many Discouragements, and with an income very disproportionate to the Vastness of the Undertaking, a great deal hath been done; though little notice may have been taken of it, by Persons unattentive to these things, or backward to acknowledge them. Near a Hundred Churches have been built: above ten thousand Bibles and Common-Prayers, above a hundred thousand other pious Tracts distributed: great Multitudes, upon the whole, of Negroes and *Indians* brought over to the Christian Faith: many numerous Congregations have been set up, which now support the Worship of God at their own Expence, where it was not known before; and Seventy Persons are constantly employed, at the Expence of the Society, in the farther Service of the Gospel" [18].

Further proof will be found in the following chapters, which contain a brief record of the Society's work in all parts of the world. In particular, see the accounts of the *early* Missions to the heathen in New York Province [Negroes and Indians, 1704, &c., pp. 63–74], in the West Indies [Negroes, 1712, &c., pp. 194, 199, &c.], in Central America

* (1) "An Address to Serious Christians among ourselves, to Assist the Society for Propagating the Gospel, in carrying on the Work of Instructing the Negroes in our Plantations abroad." (2) "Letter to the Masters and Mistresses of Families in the English Plantations abroad; Exhorting them to encourage and promote the Instruction of their Negroes in the Christian Faith." (3) "Letter to the Missionaries in the English Plantations; exhorting them to give their Assistance towards the Instruction of the Negroes of their Several Parishes, in the Christian Faith" [17*a*].

[Moskito Indians, 1747, &c., pp. 234-6], in West Africa [Negroes, 1752, &c., pp. 254-8], and in Canada [Indians, 1778, &c., pp. 139-40, 154, 165, &c.]; *see also* pp. 86, 192, 252, 382, &c.

CHAPTER II.

NORTH AMERICA: THE OLDER COLONIES, NOW THE UNITED STATES—(INTRODUCTION).

For the greater part of the 18th century the Colonies of Great Britain, extending along the East Coast of North America, from South Carolina to Maine, together with the negroes, and with the Indian tribes who dwelt further inland, constituted the principal Mission-field of the Society. These Colonies were first settled by private adventurers, mostly representatives of divers denominations, dissenting from the Mother Church, yet too much divided among themselves to preserve, in some parts, even the form of religion. Hence, notwithstanding the prominent recognition of religion in the original schemes of colonisation, the Society found this field occupied by 250,000 settlers, of whom whole Colonies were living "without God in the world," while others were distracted with almost every variety of strange doctrine. Church ministrations were accessible only at a few places in Virginia, Maryland, New York, and in the towns of Philadelphia and Boston, and the neighbouring Indians had been partly instructed by the Jesuits and by John Eliot and agents of the New England Company. Until 1785 the Society laboured to plant, in all its fulness, the Church of Christ in those regions.

In the Rev. George Keith the Society found one able and willing, not only to advise, but also to lead the way. Originally a Presbyterian, he had been a fellow-student of Bishop Burnet at Aberdeen, but soon after graduating he joined the Quakers, and went to New Jersey and afterwards to Pennsylvania. There he became convinced of the errors of Quakerism, and returning to England in 1694 he attached himself to the Mother Church and was admitted to Holy Orders in 1700. His zeal and energy, combined with his experience of the country,

pointed him out as well qualified for the service of the Society. Accordingly he was adopted as its first Missionary on Feb. 27, 1702 [1], and with the Rev. PATRICK GORDON (appointed March 20) [2], sailed from England on April 24, 1702. Among their fellow-passengers were Colonel Dudley, Governor of New England, and Colonel Morris, Governor of New Jersey, and the Rev. JOHN TALBOT, Chaplain of the ship, from each of whom they received encouragement, and Talbot was so impressed with Keith's undertaking that he enlisted as companion Missionary [3]. They landed at Boston on June 11, and on the next day Keith wrote to the Society:—

"Colonel Dudley was so very civil and kind to Mr. Gordon and me that he caused us both to eat at his table all the voyage, and his conversation was both pleasant and instructive, insomuch that the great cabin of the ship was like a colledge for good discourse, both in matters theological and philosophical, and very cordially he joined daily with us in divine worship, and I well understand he purposeth to give all possible encouragement to the congregation of the Church of England in this place. Also Colonel Morris was very civil and kind to us, and so was the captain of the ship, called the Centurion, and all the inferior officers, and all the mariners generally, and good order was kept in the ship; so that if any of the seamen were complained upon to the captain for profane swearing, he caused to punish them according to the usuall custom, by causing them to carry a heavy woodden collar about their neck for an hour, that was both painful and shameful; and, to my observation and knowledge, severall of the seamen, as well as the officers, joined devoutly with us in our daily prayers according to the Church of England, and so did the other gentlemen that were passengers with us" [4].

The object of Keith's Mission was to enquire into the spiritual condition of the people, and to endeavour to awaken them to a sense of the Christian religion. How that object was accomplished is fully told in his Journal published after his return to England [5], of which the following is a summary:—

"I have given an entire Journal of my two Years'* Missionary Travel and Service, on the Continent of *North America*, betwixt *Piscataway River* in *New England*, and *Coretuck* in *North Carolina*; of extent in Length about eight hundred miles; within which Bounds are Ten distinct Colonies and Governments, all under the Crown of *England*, viz., *Piscataway*, *Boston* [Colony called Massachusett's Bay], *Rhod. Island* [Colony included also Naraganset, and other adjacent parts on the Continent], *Connecticot*, *New York*, *East and West Jersey*, *Pensilvania*, *Maryland*, *Virginia*, *and North Carolina*. I travelled twice over most of those Governments and Colonies, and I preached oft in many of them, particularly in *Pensilvania*, *West* and *East Jersey*, and *New York* Provinces, where we continued longest, and found the greatest occasion for our service.

"As concerning the success of me and my Fellow-Labourer, Mr. JOHN TALBOT'S, Ministry, in the Places where we travelled, I shall not say much; yet it is necessary that something be said, to the glory of God alone, to whom it belongs, and to the encouragement of others, who may hereafter be imployed in the like Service.

"In all the places where we travelled and preached, we found the people generally well affected to the Doctrine that we preached among them, and they did generally join with us decently in the Liturgy, and Public Prayers, and Administration of the Holy Sacraments, after the Usage of the Church of *England*, as we had occasion to use them. And where Ministers were wanting (as there were wanting

* Keith was actually "two years and twenty weeks" in the Society's service, and on completing his mission he was elected a member of the Society in consideration of "his great experience in the affairs of the plantations," &c. [6].

in many places) the People earnestly desired us to present their Request to the *Honourable Society*, to send Ministers unto them, which accordingly I have done: and, in answer to their request, the Society has sent to such places as seemed most to want, a considerable number of Missionaries.

"Beside the general Success we had (praised be God for it) both in our Preaching, and much and frequent Conference with People of Diverse Perswasions, many of which had been wholly strangers to the Way of the Church of *England*; who, after they had observed it in the Publick Prayers, and reading the Lessons out of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and the manner of the Administration of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, were greatly affected with it, and some of which declared their great satisfaction and the Esteem they had of the Solemn and edifying manner of our Worship and Administration, far above whatever they could observe in other Ways of Worship known to them.

"To many, our Ministry was as the sowing the Seed and Planting, who, probably, never so much as heard one orthodox Sermon preached to them, before we came and Preached among them, who received the Word with Joy; and of whom we have good Hope, that they will be as the good ground, *that brought forth Fruit, some Thirty, some Sixty, and some an Hundred Fold.* And to many others it was a watering to what had been formerly Sown and Planted among them; some of the good Fruit whereof we did obsérve, to the glory of God, and our great Comfort. . . Almost in all these Countries where we Travelled and Laboured . . . by the Blessing of God on our Labours, there are good Maferials prepared for the Building of Churches, of living Stones, as soon as, by the good Providence of God, Ministers shall be sent among them who have the discretion and due qualifications requisite to build with them" [7].

In a letter (Feb. 24, 1703) written during his Mission, Keith said:—

"There is a mighty cry and desire, almost in all places where we have travelled, to have ministers of the Church of England sent to them in these Northern parts of America. . . If they come not timely the whole country will be overrunne with Presbyterians, Anabaptists, and Quakers" [8].

Mr. Talbot also wrote (Sept. 1, 1703):—

"It is a sad thing to consider the years that are past; how some that were born of the English never heard of the name of Christ; how many others were baptized in his name, and [have] fallen away to Heathenism, Quakerism, and Atheism, for want of Confirmation. . .

"The poor Church has nobody upon the spot to comfort or confirm her children; nobody to ordain several that are willing to serve, were they authorized, for the work of the Ministry. Therefore they fall back again into the herd of the Dissenters, rather than they will be at the Hazard and Charge to goe as far as England for orders: so that we have seen several Counties, Islands, and Provinces, which have hardly an orthodox minister am'st them, which might have been supply'd, had we been so happy as to see a Bishop or Suffragan Apud Americanos" [9].

These representations were followed by petitions from multitudes of Colonists, whom the Society strove to supply with the full ministrations of the Church, at the same time using direct means for the conversion of the heathen, whether Negroes, Indians, or Whites.

In addition to its efforts to meet the calls for pastors, evangelists, and school teachers, the Society distributed great quantities of Bibles, Prayer-Books, and other religious works [*see* p. 798]; "and for an example, to furnish the Churches with suitable ornaments," it sent services of Communion Plate, with linen, &c. [10].

The hindrances to the planting and growth of the Church in America in the 18th century may be indicated, but cannot be realised in this age As the chief hindrance is fully stated in another chapter

[*see* p. 743], it will suffice to say here that the want of a Bishop was keenly felt by the members of the Church in each of the following colonies.

CHAPTER III.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

SOUTH CAROLINA (originally united with North Carolina in one colony) was settled under a Charter granted to a Company in 1662, whose professed motives were (1) a desire to enlarge his Majesty's dominions and (2) "zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith in a country not yet cultivated or planted, and only inhabited by some barbarous people who had no knowledge of God." But the Society found in 1701 that more than one-half of the 7,000 Colonists (to say nothing of the negroes and Indians) were themselves living regardless of any religion, there being only one* Church (at Charlestown), no schools, and few dissenting teachers of any kind.

THE first Missionary of the Society to South Carolina, the Rev. S. THOMAS—who was the third sent by it to America—was less fortunate in his voyage than Keith and Gordon. In the passage down the English Channel he was "forc'd to lye upon a chest," and "after many importunate and humble perswasions" he at last obtained leave to read prayers daily, but he was "curs'd and treated very ill on board." At Plymouth he was so ill that his life was despaired of, but during his detention there he recovered so far as to be able to officiate "severall Lord's Day for a minister att Plimstock, who was both sick and lame . . . and whose family" was "great and circumstances in the world mean." Receiving "nothing from him but his blessing and thanks," Mr. Thomas went on his way in another ship with a "civil" captain, and for the rest of the voyage he "read prayers thrice every day and preached and catechised every Lord's Day." After "12 weeks and 2 dayes at sea" he arrived at Charlestown on Christmas Day, 1702. He was designed for a Mission to the native Yammonsees, and on his appointment £10 was voted by the Society "to be laid out in stuffs for the use of the wild Indians." Wild indeed they proved to be—they had revolted from the Spaniards "because they would not be Christians," and were in so much danger of an invasion that they were "not at leisure to attend to instruction"; nor was it "safe to venture among them." Surrounding him, however, were many heathen equally needing instruction, and more capable of receiving it, viz. the negro and Indian slaves who in the Cooper River district alone outnumbered the savage Yammonsees. Therefore, Mr. Thomas settled in that district. One of the places included in his charge was Goosecreek, containing "the best and most

* App. Jo. A, p. 40.

numerous congregation in all Carolina," who were "as sheep without a shepherd" [1].

Numbers of the English settlers were "in such a wilderness and so destitute of spiritual guides and all the means of grace" that they "were making near approach to that heathenism which is to be found among negroes and Indians." Mr. Thomas prevailed with "the greatest part of the people to a religious care in sanctifying the Lord's Day," which had been "generally profaned." Many also were induced to "set up the worship of God in their own families," to which they had been "perfect strangers." The Holy Communion "had not been administered" in one district before Mr. Thomas came, and after "much pains" he could "procure only five" communicants at first. Before long this number grew to forty-five, and there was "a visible abatement of immorality and profaneness in the parish, and more general prevailing sense of religion than had been before known" [2]. After taking great pains to instruct the heathen slaves also (Indians and negroes), some of whom were admitted to baptism [3], Mr. Thomas visited England on private affairs in 1705, at the same time being "empowered and desired" by "the Governor, Council and Parliament" of Carolina "to make choice of five such persons" as he should "think fit, learned, pious, and laborious ministers of the Church of England to officiate in the vacant parishes, pursuant to a late Act of Parliament for the encouragement of the publick worship of God according to the Church of England" in the Province [4]. On this occasion Mr. Thomas submitted what the Society pronounced to be "a very full and satisfactory account of the state of the Church in South Carolina" [5]. He also drew attention to an objectionable clause in the Act of the Assembly above referred to (passed Nov. 4, 1704) [6], which placed in the hands of certain lay commissioners the power of removing the clergy. Holding "that by Virtue hereof the Ministers in South Carolina will be too much subjected to the pleasure of the People," the Society referred the matter to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, and agreed to "put a stop to the sending any ministers . . . into those parts till . . . fully satisfied that the . . . clauses are or shall be rescinded, and that the matter be put into an ecclesiastical method" [7]. While the Society was vindicating the rights of the clergy, a petition was presented to the House of Lords by Joseph Boone, merchant, on behalf of himself and many other inhabitants of Carolina, showing:—

"That the Ecclesiastical Government of the said Colony is under the Jurisdiction of the Lord Bishop of London. But the Governour and his Adherents have at last, which the said adherents had often threatened, totally abolished it: For the said Assembly hath lately passed an Act whereby twenty Lay-Persons therein-named, are made a Corporation, for the exercise of several exorbitant Powers, to the great Injury and Oppression of the People in general, and for the exercise of all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, with absolute Power to deprive any Minister of the Church of England of his Benefice, not only for his Immorality, but even for his Imprudence, or for Innumerable Prejudices and animosities between such Minister and his Parish. And the only Church of England Minister, that is established in the said Colony, the Rev. Mr. Edward Marston,* hath already been cited before their Board; which the Inhabitants of that Province take to be a high Ecclesiastical Commission

[* Not a Missionary of the Society.]

Court, destructive to the very being and essence of the Church of England and to be had in the utmost Detestation and Abhorrence by every Man that is not an Enemy to our Constitution in Church and State."

The House of Lords expressed their opinion—

"That the Act of the Assembly lately past there . . . so far forth as the same relates to the establishing a Commission for the displacing the Rectors or Ministers of the Churches there, is not warranted by the Charter granted to the Proprietors of that Colony, as being not consonant to Reason, repugnant to the Laws of this Realm, and destructive to the Constitution of the Church of England."

On this Resolution being laid before the Queen the matter of complaint was effectually "taken away" [8]. A new Act was passed in 1706 in which provision was made for raising the salaries of the clergy from £50 to £100 per annum, and in communicating the same to the Society the Governor and Council explained that the Clause in the Act of 1704 was "made to get rid of the incendiaries and pest of the Church, Mr. Marston," and had the Society known the facts of the case it would not have blamed them "for taking that or any other way to get rid of him." Mr. Boone, they stated, was "a most rigid Dissenter," who, while pretending to defend the rights of the Clergy, sought to destroy the Act "because it established the Church of England . . . and settled a maintenance on the Church ministers." In proof of this it should be added that at the very time he was championing the cause of the Church, Mr. Boone was engaging "two Dissenting ministers" and a schoolmaster to take back with him to Carolina, and they were actually fellow-passengers with Mr. Thomas on his return in 1706 [9]. Shortly after this the Governor and Council addressed the following memorial to the Society:—

"We cou'd not omit this Opportunity of testifying the grateful Sense we have of your most noble and Christian charity to our poor Infant Church in this Province expressed by the generous encouragement you have been pleased to give to those who are now coming Missionaries, the account of which we have just now received, by the worthy Missionary and our deserving Friend and Minister, Mr. Thomas, who, to our great Satisfaction is now arrived. The extraordinary Hurry we are in, occasioned by the late Invasion, attempted by the *French* and *Spaniards*, from whom God hath miraculously delivered us, hath prevented our receiving a particular account from Mr. Thomas of your Bounty; and also hath not given us leisure to view your Missionaries' instructions, either in regard of what relates to them, or to ourselves: But we shall take speedy care to give them all due Encouragement and the Venerable Society the utmost Satisfaction. There is nothing so dear to us as our holy Religion, and the Interest of the Establish'd Church, in which we have (we bless God) been happily educated; we therefore devoutly adore God's Providence for bringing and heartily thank your Society for encouraging, so many Missionaries to come among us. We promise your Honourable Society, it shall be our daily Care and Study, to encourage their pious labours, to protect their Persons, to revere their Authority, to improve by their ministerial Instructions, and as soon as possible, to enlarge their annual Salarys . . . When we have placed your Missionaries in their several Parishes according to your Directions, and received from them an account of your noble Benefactions of Books for each Parish, we shall then write more particular and full: In the mean Time, we beg of your Honourable Society to accept of our hearty gratitude, and to be assured of our sincere Endeavour to concur with them in their most noble Design of Propagating Christ's holy Religion. . . . Sep. 16, 1706" [10].

By the same body the Society was informed in 1706 of the death of Mr. Thomas, of whom they reported that "his exemplary life,

diligent preaching and obliging courage" had secured him "the good-will of all men. . . . He not only brought over several of the Dissenters but also prevailed upon several that professed themselves members of the Church of England to lead religious lives and to become constant communicants, and other considerable services he did for the Church." They added, "We do most humbly request your honourable Society to send us four more ministers for the country, and upon your recommendation we shall have them fixed in the several parishes there" [11]. Mr. Thomas' widow was voted two months' salary from the Society and a gratuity of £25 "in consideration of the great worth of . . . her husband and of his diligence in his ministerial office and for the encouragement of missionarys to undertake the service of the Society" [12].

Other faithful men were found to take up and extend the work begun in South Carolina. For the Colonists, Missionaries were needed even more than for the negroes and Indians. So many of the settlers lived "worse than the heathen" that the province was (in 1710-14) "spoiled with blasphemy, Atheism and Immorality," and the great obstacle to the free Indians embracing the Christian religion was the "scandalous and immoral life of the white men" among them calling themselves "Christians" [13]. In the case of the slaves (negroes and Indians), many of the masters were extremely inhuman, "esteeming them no other than beasts," and while, it is hoped, few went to the extent of scalping an Indian woman (as one did in 1710), the owners generally were, at first, opposed to the endeavours of the Missionaries to instruct the slaves [14].

"'What!' said a lady; considerable enough in any other respect but in that of sound knowledge; 'Is it possible that any of my slaves could go to heaven, and must I see them there?'" "A young gent had said some time before that he is resolved never to come to the holy table while slaves are received there." (L. from Rev. Dr. Le Jau, of Goosecreek, Aug. 18, 1711 [15]).

All honour to those who were zealous in encouraging the instruction of their slaves, such as Mr. John Morris (of St. Bartholomew's), Lady Moore, Capt. David Davis, Mrs. Sarah Baker, and several others at Goosecreek, Landgrave Joseph Marton and his wife (of St. Paul's), the Governor and a member of the Assembly (who were ready to stand sureties for a negro), Mr. and Mrs. Skeen, Mrs. Haigue, and Mrs. Edwards [16]. The last two ladies were formally thanked by the Society for their care and good example in instructing the negroes, of whom no less than twenty-seven prepared by them—including those of another planter—were baptized by the Rev. E. TAYLOR, of St. Andrew's, within two years.

Mr. Taylor wrote in 1713:—

"As I am a Minister of Christ and of the Church of England, and a Missionary of the Most Christian Society in the whole world, I think it my indispensible and special duty to do all that in me lies to promote the conversion and salvation of the poor heathens here, and more especially of the Negro and Indian slaves in my own parish, which I hope I can truly say I have been sincerely and earnestly endeavouring ever since I was minister here where there are many Negro and Indian slaves in a most pitifull deplorable and perishing condition tho' little pitied by many of their masters and their conversion and salvation little desired and endeavoured by them. If the Masters were but good Christians themselves and would but concurre with the Ministers, we should then have good hopes of the conversion and salvation at least of some of their Negro and Indian slaves. But

too many of them rather oppose than concurr with us and are angry with us, I am sure I may say with me for endeavouring as much as I doe the conversion of their slaves. . . . I cann't but honour . . . Madam Haigue. . . . In my parish . . . a very considerable number of negroes . . . were very loose and wicked and little inclined to Christianity before her coming among them. I can't but honour her so much . . . as to acquaint the Society with the extraordinary pains this gentlewoman, and one Madm. Edwards, that came with her, have taken to instruct those negroes in the principles of Christian Religion and to reclaim and reform them: And the wonderfull successe they have met with, in about half a year's time in this great and good work. Upon these gentlewomen's desiring me to come and examine these negroes . . . I went and among other things I asked them, Who Christ was. They readily answered, He is the Son of God, and Saviour of the World, and told me that they embraced Him with all their hearts as such, and I desired them to rehearse the Apostles' Creed and the 10 Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer, which they did very distinctly and perfectly. 14 of them gave me so great satisfaction, and were so very desirous to be baptized, that I thought it my duty to baptize them and therefore I baptized these 14 last Lord's Day. And I doubt not but these gentlewomen will prepare the rest of them for Baptisme in a little Time" [17].

Other owners in the same parish refused to allow their slaves to attend Mr. Taylor for instruction, but he succeeded in inducing them or some of their families to teach the Lord's Prayer, and this was so effectual that more negroes and Indians came to church than he could find room for [18]. The desire of the slaves for instruction was so general that but for the opposition of the owners there seems no reason why the whole of them should not have been brought to Christ. So far as the Missionaries were permitted, they did all that was possible for their evangelisation, and while so many "professed Christians" among the planters were "lukewarm," it pleased God "to raise to Himself devout servants among the heathen," whose faithfulness was commended by the masters themselves [19]. In some of the congregations the negroes or blacks furnished one-half of the Communicants out of a total of 50 [20].

The free Indians were described as "a good sort of people, and would be better if not spoiled by bad example;" the Savannocks being, however, "dull and mean," but the Floridas or Cricks (Creeks) "honest, polite," and their language "understood by many nations, particularly the Yamousees." They had some customs similar to the Jewish rites, such as circumcision, and feast of first-fruits; they loved justice, not enduring "either to cheat or be cheated," and had notions of a Deity and the immortality of the soul. Many of them desired Missionaries, but the traders hindered this as likely to interfere with one branch of their trade viz. the exchanging of their "European goods" for slaves made during wars instigated by themselves [21].

War had already reduced the number of the Indians by one-half, and it was the desire of the Society to bring to them the Gospel of peace. The Rev. Dr. Le Jau forwarded in 1709 a copy of the Lord's Prayer in Savannah, the language of the Southern Indians, and in 1711 Mr. J. Norris, a planter, interviewed the Society, and was encouraged in a design which he had formed of bringing up his son to the ministry and sending him to the Yammonsees at his own expense [22].

The Rev. G. Johnston, of Charleston, brought to England in 1713 a Yammonsee prince, at the request of his father and of the Emperor of the Indians, for instruction in the Christian religion and the manners of the English nation; it was decided that under Clause 2 of the

Charter the said youth might "be maintained, put to school and instructed at the charge of the Society" [23]. This was done, and after being twice examined by the Committee of the Society, he was submitted to the Bishop of London, and by him baptized in the Royal Chapel of Somerset House on Quinquagesima Sunday, 1715, at the age of 19, Lord Carteret, one of the proprietors of South Carolina, with Abel Kettilby, Esq., and Mrs. Cæcilia Conyers, being sponsors, after which he was presented to the King "under the character given" [24]. The Society sent him back with a present for his father of a "gun or ffuzee," with a pair of scarlet stockings, and a letter of commendation to the Governor and Council, who were "exhorted to contribute all they" could "to the conversion of the Indians," and it was hoped that much would be done, as the "whole Province" saw "with admiration the improvement" of the prince [25]. On his return he wrote to the Society :—

"Charles Town in South Carolina, December 3, 1715.

"SIR,

"I humble thank the good Society for all their Favours which I never forget. I got into Charles Town the 30 September. I have hard noos that my Father as gone in Santaugustena and all my Friends. I hope he will come to Charles Town. I am with Mr. Commissary Johnston house. I learn by Commissary Johnston as Lady. I read every Day and night and Mr. Commissary Johnston he as well kind to me alwas. I hope I learn better than when I was in School. Sir, I humble thank the good Society for all their Favours.

"Your Most and Obedient Servent

"PRINCE GEORGE." [26]

The absence of the father was caused by a war in which he was taken prisoner. This made the prince extremely dejected, but he continued his education under Mr. Johnston, who took the same care of him as of his own children [27], and prevailed on the Emperor of the Cherequois to let him have his eldest son for instruction; the Rev. W. GUY was also informed in 1715, by Capt. Cockran, a Dissenter at Port Royal, that the son of the Emperor of the Yammonsees was with him, and that he would take care to instruct him, and that as soon as he could say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, he would present him for baptism [28].

The efforts of a few righteous men availed not, however, to save the province from the calamities of a war which proved as disastrous to the Mission cause as to the material interests of the country. This war was caused partly by the oppression of the traders [29], who, having sown the wind, were now to reap the whirlwind. In 1715 the Indians from the borders of Fort St. Augustino to Cape Fear conspired to extirpate the white people. On the Wednesday before Easter some traders at Port Royal, fearing a rising among the Yammonsees, made friendly overtures to them, which were so well received that they remained in the Indian camp for the night. At daybreak they were greeted with a volley of shot, which killed all but a man and a boy. These gave the alarm at Port Royal, and a ship happening to be in the river, about 300 of the inhabitants, including the Rev. W. GUY, escaped in her to Charleston, the few families who remained being tortured and murdered. The Appellachees, the Calabaws, and the Creeks soon joined the Yammonsees. One party, after laying waste St. Bartholomew's, where 100 Christians fell into their hands, was driven

off the week after Easter by Governor Craven; but the Indians on the northern side continued their ravages until June 13, when, after massacring a garrison, they were finally defeated by Captain Chicken, of the Goosecreek Company.

The Missionaries suffered grievously from the war—some barely escaping massacre, all being reduced and impoverished. Timely help from the Society relieved their miserable state, and that of two French clergymen, Rev. J. La Pierre,* of St. Dennis, and Rev. P. de Richbourg, of St. James's, Santee, who, but for this aid, must have left their congregations, consisting of French refugees, who had conformed to the Church of England [30].

During the war the Rev. R. Maule, of St. John's, remained four months shut up in a garrison ministering to the sick and wounded, being, said he, "satisfied, not only to sacrifice my health, but (if that could be of any use) my very life too, for the propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ [31]." Both were sacrificed, as it proved, and at his death in 1716 he left most of his property (or over £750 currency) to the Society [32]. So also did the Rev. R. Ludlam, of Goosecreek, in 1728—the bequest, amounting to £2,000 currency, being partly intended for the erection of "a schoole for the instruction of poor children" in the parish [33]. A legacy of £100 was also bequeathed by the Rev. L. Jones, of St. Helen's, for the support of a free school at Beaufort, and in 1761 the Rev. C. Martyn, of St. Andrew's, attended a meeting of the Society in England, and resigned his Missionary salary, "thinking the minister of St. Andrew's sufficiently provided for without the Society's allowance" [34]. The need of schools in South Carolina was thus represented to the Society by some of the inhabitants of Dorchester in 1724:—

"The want of country Schools in this Province in general and particularly in this parish is the chief source of Dissenters here and we may justly be apprehensive that if our children continue longer to be deprived of opportunity of being instructed, Christianity [will] of course decay insensibly and we shall have a generation of our own as ignorant as the Native Indians" [35].

Here, as elsewhere, the Assembly were moved to establish a free school [36]. As early as 1704 a school was opened at Goosecreek by the Rev. S. Thomas [37], and several of the ordained Missionaries of the Society acted also as schoolmasters. Mr. Morritt reported in 1725 that he had sent for, and was expecting, a son of a Creek chief for instruction in his school at Charleston [38].

In 1743, two negroes having been purchased and trained as teachers at the cost of the Society, a school was opened at Charleston by Commissary Garden, with the object of training the negroes as instructors of their countrymen. The school was continued with success for more than 20 years, many adult slaves also attending in the evening for instruction. This was done by the Church in the face of many difficulties and obstructions, and at a time when the Government had not one institution for the education of the 50,000 slaves in the Colony [39].

By the example of the Society and its Missionaries, the Colonists were led to take a real interest in spiritual things, and they showed their gratitude by building and endowing Churches and Schools, and

* Mr La Pierre was assisted again in 1720, he being then in "miserable circumstances" [30*a*].

making such provision that in 1759 the Society decided not to fill up the existing Missions in the Province as they became vacant [40]. The last of these vacancies occurred in 1766, but in 1769 a special call was made on behalf of "the Protestant Palatines in South Carolina." Having emigrated from Europe, they were "greatly distressed for want of a minister," there being none to be met with at a less distance than 50 or 70 miles; "no sick or dying person" could "be visited at a less expense than £10 sterling," and their settlement being in an infant state, without trade and without money, they were unable to support a minister, and therefore implored the aid of the British Government. The Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations referred their petition to the Society, with the result that the Rev. S. F. LUCIUS was sent out to minister to them [41]. Arriving at Coffee Town in 1770, he officiated on Easter Day to "a people very eager to hear the Word." For want of a minister among them "the children were grown up like savages." In six months he baptized 40 children and 30 adults [42]. The people built two churches, and Mr. Lucius continued among them as the Society's Missionary until the end of the American Revolution. During the war he was reduced to "the deepest distress" by being cut off from communication with the Society, and unable to receive his salary for seven years (1776-83). After the evacuation of Charleston, where he had taken refuge, he attempted to go to "his old residence at Coffee Town; but, destitute as he was of every conveniency, and travelling, *more Apostolorum*, on foot, encumbered with a wife and seven children, along an unhospitable road, he was soon unable to proceed, having . . certain information that he would not meet with a friendly reception." He returned to Charleston, and in March 1783 proceeded to Congarees (142 miles distant), "where a great number of the Palatines were settled," who were in general "very irreprehensible in their morals and behaviour," seventy being communicants [43].

(*See also Chapter XII., p. 79, and the Statistical Summary on p. 86.*)

CHAPTER IV.

NORTH CAROLINA.

NORTH CAROLINA was included in the Charter granted to the South Carolina Company in 1662. [*See* page 12.] In 1701 it contained at least 5,000 Colonists, besides negroes and Indians, all living without any minister and without any form of Divine worship publicly performed. Children had grown up and were growing up unbaptized and uneducated; and the dead were not buried in any Christian form.

According to an old resident, some good had been effected by religious books supplied by the Rev. Dr. Bray in 1699–1700; but this to a certain extent had been counteracted by the ill behaviour of the first clergyman, the Rev. Daniel Brett, who also appears to have been sent over by Dr. BRAY in the latter year. "For about ½ a year he behaved himself in a modest manner, and after that in a horrid manner" [1]. [Mr. H. Walker to Bishop of London, Oct. 21, 1703.]

IN his Journal KEITH records that on May 10, 1703, leaving Elizabeth County in Virginia—

"We [*i.e.* Talbot and himself] took our journey from thence to North Carolina. May 16, Whitsunday, I preached at the House of Captain Sanders in Corretuck in North Carolina, on Rom. i. 16. We designed to have travelled further into North Carolina, but there was no passage from that place by Land convenient to Travel, by reason of Swamps and Marishes; and we had no way to go by water, but in a Canow over a great Bay, many Miles over, which we essayed to do, but the wind continuing several days contrary, we returned to Virginia" [2].

Early in 1702, two months before Keith left England, the need of a Missionary for Roanoak was recognised, but some time elapsed ere one could be obtained [3].

The Rev. JOHN BLAIR visited the Province in 1704 as an itinerant Missionary, supported by Lord Weymouth, but returned the same year enfeebled with poverty and sickness, having found it "the most barbarous place in the Continent" [4].

The country thus designated then consisted for the most part of swamps, marshes, deserts, forests, and rivers, without roads or bridges, but here and there a path, more easy to lose than to find; and this, added to an exacting climate, made it one of the most arduous and deadly of Mission fields [5]. In 1705 Chief Justice Trot appealed for 500 copies of Mr. John Philpot's Letter against the Anabaptists, "because the said country swarm with Anabaptists"; and the copies were supplied by the Society, with additions from Bishop Stillingfleet's works on the subject [6].

A paper entitled "The Planter's Letter" showed such a want of ministers in North Carolina that it was decided that the next "proper person who offers shall be sent there" [7]. The Rev. J. ADAMS and

the Rev. W. GORDON were approved in October 1707, and arriving in 1708 [8], took charge of four of the five districts into which the province had been divided. In Chowan, though few of the people could "read, and fewer write, even of the justices of the Peace and vestrymen," yet "they seem'd very serious and well inclin'd" to receive instruction, and 100 children were soon baptized by Mr. Gordon. In Paquimans, where a church had been begun by a Major Swan, ignorance was combined with opposition from the Quakers, who were "very numerous, extreamely ignorant, unsufferably proud and ambitious and consequently ungovernable." By using the 'utmost circumspection both in publick and in private," and by the "success of some small favours" Mr. Gordon "shewed them in physick, they not only became very civill but respectfull" to him "in their way." After a year's experience he returned to England, being unable to endure "the distractions among the people and other intollerable inconveniences in that colony" [9]. A greater trial awaited Mr. Adams. In Pascotank most of the people were Church members, and the government was "in the hands of such persons as were promoters of God's service and good order;" but the Quakers "did in a most tumultuous manner stir up the ignorant and irreligious" against the Rulers and the Clergy. Of this he wrote (in October 1709):—

"The abuses and contumelies I meet with in my own person are but small troubles to me in respect of that great grief of hearing the most sacred parts of Religion impiously prophan'd and rediculed. We had a Communion lately, and the looser sort at their drunken revellings and caballs, spare not to give about their bread and drink in the words of administration, to bring in contempt that most holy Sacrament and in derision of those few good persons who then received it" [10].

From his congregations he derived not enough support "to pay for diet and lodging" [11], and it was only by an increased allowance from the Society that he was enabled to exist [12]. Writing from "Currituck" in 1710 he said:—

"Nothing but my true concern for so many poor souls, scattered abroad as sheep having no shepherd, and my duty to those good men who reposed this trust in me, cou'd have prevailed upon me to stay in so barbarous and disorderly place as this now is, where I have undergone a world of trouble and misery both in body and mind. . . . I have struggled these two years with a lawless and barbarous people, in general, and endured more, I believe, than any of the Society's Missionaries ever has done before me. I am not able as the countrey is now, to hold out much longer, but intend God willing, next summer or fall, to set out for Europe" [13].

From his flock he earned the character of "a pious and painfull pastor,' "exemplary and blameless," who had "much conduced to promote the great end of his Mission." Before his arrival the blessed Sacrament had never been administered in Carahtuck precinct, but now (1710) there were more communicants there than in most of the neighbouring parishes of Virginia, where there had long been a settled ministry [14]. [*See* Addresses from "Carahtuck" and Pascotank, and from Governor Glover.]

Sickness, however, prevented Mr. Adams leaving for England, and he died among his flock. Successive Missionaries for many years had to encounter additional hardships and dangers arising from the incursions of the Indians. The Corees and Tuskaroras, near Cape Fear, formed a plot which threatened the ruin of the Colony. In

small bands of five or six men they waited, as friends, on their victims, and, as opportunity offered, slew them. At Roanoak 137 of the inhabitants were massacred. Timely aid came from South Carolina in the form of 600 whites and 600 friendly Indians, under Colonel Barnwell, who defeated the enemy, killing 300, taking 100 prisoners, and forcing the rest, about 600, to sue for peace. Most of the other straggling bands retreated into "Fort Augustino" district, under the protection of the Spaniards. But though the Colony was saved from extinction, about 30 Indians remained, and these meeting with little opposition soon multiplied and gave much trouble. Families were daily "cut off and destroyed" [15], and in the space of five years more than 80 unbaptized infants perished in this way [16]. The Rev. G. RANSFORD of Chowan was taken prisoner by the "salvages" (in 1713) as he was going to preach, but escaped and took refuge in Virginia for two months [17]. Mr. Ransford had several conferences in 1712 with the King of the (friendly) Chowan Indians, who seemed "very inclinable to embrace Christianity" [18]. But the Rev. T. NEWNAM in 1722 reported that though the Indians were "very quiet and peacable," he almost despaired of their conversion. They then numbered only 300 fighting men, living in two towns [19]. In the course of time the Catawba and other tribes settled among the Planters, and, becoming more open to instruction, baptisms occasionally resulted. The ministrations of the Rev. A. STEWART in Hyde County, were attended by "many of the remains of the Attamuskeet, Roanoke and Hatteras Indians," who "offered themselves and their children for baptism," and on one occasion he baptized as many as 21. He also fixed a schoolmaster among them, at the expense of Dr. Bray's Associates, over whose schools in the Province he acted as superintendent [20].

Among the negroes, a much more numerous body, greater results were attained, though the Missionaries' efforts were frustrated by the slaveowners, who would "by no means permit" their negroes "to be baptized, having a false notion that a christen'd slave is by law free" [21].

"By much importunity," Mr. RANSFORD of Chowan (in 1712) "prevailed on Mr. Martin to lett" him baptize three of his negroes, two women and a boy. "All the arguments I cou'd make use of" (he said) "would scarce effect it, till Bishop ffleetwood's sermon* . . . turn'd ye scale" [22]. Yet Mr. Ransford succeeded in baptizing "upwards of forty negroes" in one year [23]. As the prejudices of the masters were overcome, a Missionary would baptize sometimes fifteen to twenty-four negroes in a month; forty to fifty in six months; and sixty-three to seventy-seven in a year. The return of the Rev. C. HALL for eight years was 355, including 112 adults, and at Edenton the blacks generally were induced to attend service at all the stations, where they behaved "with great decorum" [24].

In no department of their work did the Missionaries in North Carolina receive much help from the Colonists. The Rev. J. URMSTON in 1711 was with his family "in manifest danger of perishing for want of food; we have," he said, "liv'd many a day only on a dry crust and a draught of salt water out of the Sound, such regard have the

* *See* p. 8.

people for my labours—so worthy of the favour the Society have shewn them in providing Missionaries and sending books" [25]. The poor man was promised from local sources a house and £100 a year, but actually received only £30 in five years, and that in paper money [26].

Similar complaints were made by others, and to all "the trivial round, the common task" furnished ample room for self-denial. Many instances might be quoted to show that the bounty of the Society was really needed and duly appreciated.

Thus the "Vestry of Queen Anne's Creek," on "behalfe of the rest of the inhabitants of the precinct" of Chowan, wrote in 1714 :—

"Wee . . . in a most gratefull manner Return our hearty thanks to the Honble. Society &c. For their great Care of our Souls' health in sending over Missionaries to preach the Word of God and administring the Holy Sacrament among us. Wee and the whole English America ought to bless and praise the Almighty for having putt it into the hearts of so many and great Honble. Personages to think of their poor Country Folk whose lott it hath been to come into these Heathen Countries were we were in danger of becomeing like the Indians themselves without a God in the World" [27].

In the following year the Assembly of North Carolina divided the country into nine parishes, and settled salaries for the Ministers of each parish not exceeding £50. The preamble of this Act states that they did this to "express our gratitude to the Right Honourable the Society for Promoting the Christian Religion in Foreign Parts, and our zeal for promoting our Holy Religion" [28].

In 1717 Governor Eden wrote to the Society, remonstrating on the "deplorable state of religion in this poor province" :—

"It is now almost four months since I entered upon the Government, where I found no Clergyman upon the place except Mr. Urmston, one of your Missionaries, who is really an honest painestaking gentleman, and worthy of your care, but, poor man! with utmost endeavours, is not able to serve one-half of the county of Abbermarle, which adjoins to Virginia, when as the county of Bath is of a much larger extent, and wholly destitute of any assistance. I cannot find but the people are well enough inclined to imbrace all opportunitys of attending the Service of God, and to contribute, to the utmost of their ability, towards the support of such missionarys as you shall, in compassion to their circumstances, think fit to send amongst them; but our tedious Indian warr has reduc'd the country so low, that without your nursing care the very footsteps of religion will, in a short time, be worne out, and those who retain any remembrance of it will be wholly lead away by the Quakers; whereas a few of the Clergy, of a complaisant temper and regular lives, wou'd not only be the darlings of the people, but would be a means in time to recover those all ready seduced by Quakerism" [29].

In 1732 the Society, observing with much concern that there was not one Minister of the Church of England in North Carolina (and being unable to do more), appointed an Itinerant Missionary (Rev. J. Boyd) to travel through the whole of the country and at times officiate in every part of it. Five years later the province was divided into two itinerant Missions, to one of which was appointed the Rev. J. Garzia, whom the inhabitants of St. Thomas, Pamplico, had induced by fair promises to come from Virginia, and were starving with his wife and three children by not paying him "his poor salary of £20 per annum" [30].

The travelling Missionaries were by no means equal to the mighty task laid on them, but they served to keep religion alive, preaching publicly, and from house to house, and baptizing from 500 to 1,000

persons a year, sometimes as many as 100 in a day [31]. Notwithstanding the hardships involved, several of the Colonists themselves were ready to undertake the office of a Missionary, and in the labours of one of these will be found an example for all time.

In 1743 there came to the Society a magistrate from North Carolina bearing letters signed by the Attorney-General, the Sheriffs, and the Clergy of the province, testifying that he was of "very good repute, life, and conversation." Having officiated for several years as a lay-reader, in the absence of a clergyman, he now desired to be ordained in order that he might more effectually minister to the wants of his countrymen. Admitted to the sacred office, the Rev. CLEMENT HALL returned a Missionary of the Society, with an allowance of £30 a year [32]. Thenceforward he gave himself up to a life of almost incessant labour, and for twelve years was the only clergyman for hundreds of miles of country. Several of his congregations were so large that they had to assemble under the shady trees for service [33]. On one of his tours he baptized 376 persons in less than a month; on another, in one day, "at a very remote place," ninety-seven, several of whom "were grown up, not having opportunity before" [34]. In 1752 he thus summarised his labours:—

"I have now, through God's Gracious Assistance and Blessing, in about seven or eight years, tho' frequently visited with sickness, been enabled to perform (for ought I know) as great Ministerial Duties as any Clergyman in North America: viz., to Journey about 14,000 miles, Preach about 675 Sermons, Baptize about 5,783 White Children, 243 Black Children, 57 White Adults, and 112 Black Adults—in all 6,195 Persons; sometimes adminr. the Holy Sacrat. of ye Ld.'s Supper to 2 or 300 Communicants, in one Journey, besides Churching of Women, Visiting the sick, &c., &c. I have reason to believe that my Health and Constitution is much Impair'd and Broken, by reason of my contin. Labours in my Office, and also from the Injurious treatment I have often recd. from the adversaries of our Church and Constitution; for w'ch I do, and pray God to forgive them, and turn their hearts" [35].

After labouring three more years as a travelling Missionary he was appointed to a settled Mission, St. Paul's, and died in 1759, having received into the "congregation of Christ's flock" 10,000 persons by baptism [36].

Another Colonial candidate for Holy Orders, Mr. E. JONES, walked from Liverpool to London, and for the last four days of the journey he was reduced to living "upon a Penny a Day" [37].

These instances show that even North Carolina might have furnished a sufficient number of Clergy had ordination been obtainable on the spot. The neglect arising from the want of a Bishop must have been great when a Missionary could report:—

"I found the people of the Church of England disheartened, and dispersed like sheep, but have collected them into about forty congregations, or have as many preaching places where I meet them, consisting on a moderate calculation, of seven thousand souls men, women and children or 900 familys, inhabiting a country of one hundred and eighty miles in length and one hundred and twenty in breadth" [38]. [L., Rev. T. S. Drage, Feb. 28, 1771.]

The Society had long had reason to complain that the inhabitants of North Carolina, though frequently called upon to build churches and parsonages and to fix glebes and salaries for settled Missionaries, did little or nothing [39]. Up to 1764 only one glebe-house had been *finished, but in that year* Governor Dobbs obtained some better

provision for the maintenance of the Clergy, whose number, then only six, increased threefold in the next seven years [40].

But in 1775 the Rev. D. EARL reported that he had "not received a shilling of his salary from his parish for near three years." This was partly owing to the political troubles. During the Revolution the case of the clergy, who wished not to offend, but to be left at liberty quietly to perform their duties, was "truly pitiable." Some were "suspended, deprived of their salaries, and in the American manner proscribed by the Committees" of the Revolutionists. "No line of conduct could protect them from injury;" and the Rev. J. REED, who was one of those "advertised in the Gazette," did not long survive the treatment he received.

Throughout the most trying period, however, the Rev. C. PETTIGREW was enabled to continue his Missionary journeys and to baptize 3,000 infants within eight years, and though some Missionaries were obliged to "engage in merchandise" or "other secular employment to obtain a subsistence for their families," the North Carolina clergy on the whole suffered less than their brethren in the other Colonies. In 1783 the Society withdrew its aid from its last Missionary in the Province (the Rev. D. EARL), having reason to believe he had "a very sufficient maintenance" from other sources [41].

(*See also Chapter XII., p. 79, and the Statistical Summary on p. 86.*)

CHAPTER V.

GEORGIA.

GEORGIA was established as an English Colony in 1733 with the object of protecting the southern provinces of North America against the encroachments of the Spaniards and French, and at the same time affording an asylum to poor English families and to those Protestants in Germany who were being persecuted because of their religion. By the exertions of a philanthropist, General James Oglethorpe, a charter was granted by George II. in 1732, placing the administration of the Colony in the hands of a Corporation of Trustees—mostly Churchmen—at whose instance not only was liberty of conscience guaranteed, but the Trustees themselves were debarred from receiving any "profit whatsoever" by or from the undertaking. The first settlers sent out by the Trustees consisted of 35 families, in all about 120 "sober, industrious and moral persons." They were led by General Oglethorpe, and, embarking at Deptford, after a service in Milton Church, they arrived at Georgia in January 1733. They were accompanied by the Rev. HENRY HERBERT, D.D., who after three months' ministrations returned to England to die. The expulsion of 25,000 German Protestants from the province of Saltzburg, Bavaria, on account of their religion, evoked English sympathy to the extent of £33,000, and some 250 of these exiles were, by the aid of the S.P.C.K., sent to Georgia about 1735.

IT appears that Dr. Herbert did not intend to remain in Georgia, for before he and the first settlers had reached the country the Trustees for establishing the Colony memorialised the Society in the following terms:—

"That in pursuance of powers granted to them by His Majesty they have sent out a number of families of His Majestie's subjects to settle in Georgia, and that to provide for the establishing a regular Ministry according to the Church of England they have already directed the laying out a site for the Church, and have allotted three hundred acres of land for glebe for the Minister but in regard it will be some years before the glebe can produce a sufficient maintenance for the said Minister, they humbly hope that the Society will deem it to be within ye intent of their Charter to make the like allowance to the Rev. Mr. SAMUEL QUINCY the Minister chosen to be settled among them as they do for the Missionaries establisht in the other Colonies till such time as the glebe shall be sufficiently improved for his maintenance as likewise that they will favour the Trustees with a benefaction of such books or furniture as they have usually given upon the first foundation of Churches. That they have received some benefactions for religious purposes which they have already set apart for erecting a Church for the town of Savannah clearing the glebe land and building the Minister's house. Benj. Martin, Secretary, Trustees Office Palace Court Westminster 17th of Jan. 1732" [1733].

The prayer of the Trustees was granted [1].

The Rev. JOHN WESLEY became the successor of Mr. Quincy. The following Minute records his appointment as a Missionary of the Society, at a meeting held on January 16th, 1736, at which the Bishops of London, Lichfield and Coventry, Rochester, and Gloucester, and others, were present:—

"A memorial of the trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America was read, setting forth that the Rev. Mr. Samuel Quincy, to whom the Society had been pleased, upon their recommendation, to allow a salary of fifty pounds per annum, has by letter certified to the said trustees, that he is desirous of leaving the said Colony of Georgia, and returning home to England in the month of March next

to which they have agreed; and the said trustees recommend the Rev. Mr. John Wesley to the Society, that they would allow to him the said fifty pounds p. annum from the time Mr. Quincy shall leave the said Colony, in the same manner Mr. Quincy had it. Agreed that the Society do approve of Mr. Wesley as a proper person to be a Missionary at Georgia, and that fifty pounds per annum be allowed to Mr. Wesley from the time Mr. Quincy's salary shall cease" [2].

Wesley had sailed for Georgia on October 14, 1735—that is, before his name was submitted to the Society. "His first design," as he informed the Society in a letter written from Savannah on July 26, 1737—

"was to receive nothing of any man but food to eat and rayment to put on, and those in kind only, that he might avoid, as far as in him lay, worldly desires and worldly cares; but being afterwards convinced by his friends that he ought to consider the necessities of his flock, as well as his own, he thankfully accepted that bounty of the Society, which he needed not for his own personal subsistance" [3].

Arriving at Savannah in February, 1736, Wesley found little opportunity of carrying out his design of evangelising the heathen, owing to the bad lives of his countrymen. Over his European congregations he exercised the strictest discipline—he baptized children by immersion, accepted none but Communicants as sponsors, catechised the children on Sundays after the Second Lesson in the afternoon, refused the Holy Communion to Dissenters (unless previously admitted into the Church), or to read the Burial Service over the unbaptized. He also took a journey to Charleston (South Carolina) to make a formal complaint to the Bishop's Commissary, of a person who had been marrying some of his parishioners without banns or licence. During his visit, it being the time of their annual Visitation, "I had," said Wesley, "the pleasure of meeting with the Clergy of South Carolina; among whom, in the afternoon, there was such a conversation, for several hours, on 'Christ our Righteousness,' as I had not heard at any Visitation in England, or hardly any other occasion" [4].

The claims of the settlers at Savannah and neighbourhood left him no time for preaching to the Indians, although he made several attempts to do so. Thus his Journal records:—

"Saturday, Oct. 29, 1737.—Some of the French of Savannah were present at the prayers at Highgate. The next day I received a message from them all, that, as I read prayers to the French of Highgate, who were but few, they hoped I would do the same to those of Savannah, where there was a large number who did not understand English. Sunday, 30th.—I began to do so, and now I had full employment for that holy day. The first English prayers lasted from five to half-past six. The Italian, which I read to a few Vaudois, began at nine. The second service for the English (including the Sermon and the Holy Communion) continued from half an hour past ten to half an hour past twelve. The French Service began at one. At two I catechised the children. About three I began the English Service. After this was ended, I had the happiness of joining with as many as my largest room would hold in reading, prayer, and singing praise; and about six the service of the Moravians, so-called, began, at which I was glad to be present, not as a teacher, but a learner."

If, as his labours show, Wesley spared not himself, it must be confessed he spared not his flock. The strictest discipline of the Church might have been thought sufficient for those who were as yet babes in Christ, but weighted with rules of his own [which he called "Apostolical Institutions"] the burdens were heavier than could be borne.

While yet dissatisfied with the fruit of his labours, an event occurred which caused him to leave Georgia. A rebuke which he found occasion to administer to a member of his congregation—a lady for whom before her marriage he had entertained an affection—having been angrily received, he refused to admit her to the Holy Communion, since she had failed to comply with the rubric requiring notice of intention to communicate and open repentance of her fault. On this the husband charged him before the Recorder and Magistrates with defaming his wife and repelling her without cause. Wesley denied the first charge, also the right of a secular court to adjudicate on the second—a matter purely ecclesiastical. The whole Colony became involved in the quarrel. A true bill was found by the grand jury, twelve, however, protesting; and for months courts were held, and slanderous affidavits received, without Wesley having an opportunity of answering them. These vexatious delays and the prospect of impaired usefulness decided him to return to England. The magistrates sought to prevent his departure, but he disregarded their order, and on December 2, 1737, he records in his Journal:—

"Being now only a prisoner at large, in a place where I knew, by experience, every day would give fresh opportunity to procure evidence of words I never said, and actions I never did, I saw clearly the hour was come for leaving this place; and as soon as evening prayers were over, about eight o'clock, the tide then serving, I shook off the dust of my feet and left Georgia, after having preached the Gospel there (not as I ought, but as I was able) one year and nearly nine months" [5].

Besides the Mission at Savannah—which was renewed in 1739—others were opened by the Society. The Rev. T. Bosomworth found at Frederica in 1744 "that the people had been too long as sheep without a shepherd, and driven to and fro with every wind of doctrine" [6]. The Society joined with Dr. Bray's Associates in supporting a schoolmaster for the negroes in 1751, and an improvement in the slaves was soon admitted by their owners [7]. At Augusta the Rev. S. Frink, in 1766, who made some converts among the negroes, reported his efforts to convert the Cheeksaw [Chickasaw] Indians "all to no purpose while many of the white people" were "as destitute of a sense of religion as the Indians themselves" [8].

For although the Georgia Assembly had (Act of 1758) divided the province into eight parishes, and made provision towards the building of a church and the support of a clergyman in each parish, so little advantage was taken of the Act that the Church of England remained established in name only [9]. The condition of the settlers in 1769, when there were but two churches in the whole of the country, and these 150 miles apart, was thus described by Mr. Frink:—

"They seem in general to have but very little more knowledge of a Saviour than the aboriginal natives. Many hundreds of poor people, both parents and children, in the interior of the province, have no opportunity of being instructed in the principles of Christianity or even in the being of a God, any further than nature dictates" [10].

It was for such as these that the Church in America needed and desired a Bishop "to bring again the out-casts" and "seek the lost."

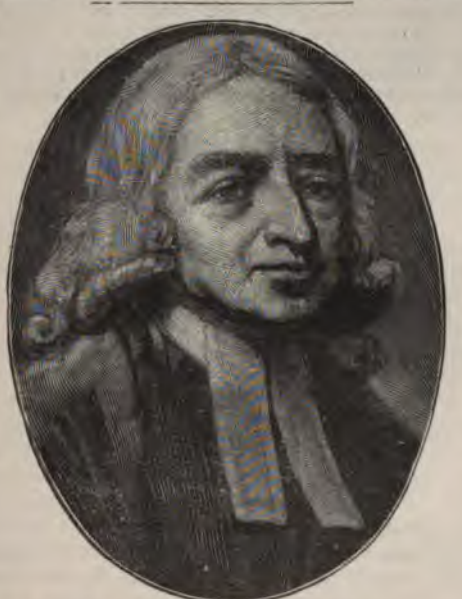
To indifference and opposition succeeded persecution. The revo-

lutionary war found the Rev. J. SEYMOUR at Augusta. For "two years after the breaking-out of the rebellion" he performed the duties of his parish, though often "threatened by the mob." In 1779 he was a prisoner in the "rebel camp" for several days, but owing to the care of the officer in command* he was "well used." He reached home to find "one of his children a corpse and the rest of his family very sick." Some months after his house was occupied by a rebel regiment and the church turned into a hospital; barracks were built on part of the glebe and the remainder was sold. The success of the British troops enabled him to regain possession of his parsonage, but the enemy renewing the attack he "fled into a deep thick swamp, where he remained, in the greatest anxiety, five days and nights without any shelter. A party was sent in search of him, who threatened his life, if they found him, but, it pleased God, he escaped undiscovered." His family, however, were "stripped of everything valuable even of their clothing and provisions," and "35 innocent loyalists" in Augusta were "murdered" "in their houses." For some time Mr. Seymour took refuge at Savannah, where he assisted the Rev. J. BROWN (another S.P.G. Missionary detained there), and represented his own parishioners in the "Commons House of Assembly." Eventually he made his escape to St. Augustine in East Florida, and there officiated until (1783–4) the Spaniards took possession of the Province † [11].

(*See also Chapter XII., p. 79, and the Statistical Summary on p. 86.*)

* General Williamson, whose "humanity" was "not unrewarded" when soon after he himself became a prisoner—to the British forces [11*a*].

† Florida was ceded to Spain in 1783, and to the United States in 1821.



THE REV. JOHN WESLEY, M.A.

S.P.G. Missionary in Georgia, 1736-7 (see pp. 26–7, 851).

[*From the portrait by G. Romney, and Dean Spence's "History of the Church of England."*]

CHAPTER VI.

VIRGINIA.

VIRGINIA had the advantage of being planted (under a London Company) by settlers who were mostly members of the Church of England. As soon as the Colony was fairly established they began to make provision for their souls as Christians, as well as for their temporal concerns as merchants. In 1612 the whole country was laid out into Parishes or Townships. Churches were built, and an Act of Assembly fixed a salary upon the Minister.

THE "maintenance" being "hurt by disuse," in 1701 nearly half of the forty to forty-six parishes, containing 40,000 people, were unsupplied with Clergy. Still the Colony was better provided than any other, and therefore the Society's assistance was limited to gratuities to two clergymen there, in 1702 and 1725, and the supply of religious books [1].

In 1702 a Mr. George Bond offered to convey to the Society his right and title to an estate of 950 acres of land in Virginia. The offer was accepted, but the title proving "dubious" the matter dropped [2].

KEITH, who with TALBOT visited the country in April 1703, records in his Journal:—

"May 23, Sunday, 1703, I preached at the Church in Princess Ann County in Virginia, on Heb. 12, 1, and I baptized eight children there. Mr. Talbot preached the same day at a Chappel belonging to the same county, and baptized ten children. The whole county is but one parish, and is about fifty miles in length; the People are well affected, but they had no Minister, and greatly desire to have one; and as they informed us, the Minister's salary being paid in Tobacco (as it is generally all over Virginia and Maryland *) the Tobacco of that county was so low that it could not maintain him" [3].

(*For Statistical Summary see p. 86.*)

* [*See* p. 851.]

CHAPTER VII.

MARYLAND.

MARYLAND—so named in honour of Henrietta Maria, consort of Charles I.—was first settled in 1634 under a Charter granted to Lord Baltimore, a Roman Catholic. Toleration having been granted to all who professed the Christian religion, the Colony, at first mainly Romanist, lost its exclusive character, and local provision was made for establishing the Church of England by Act of Assembly in 1692 &c.

IN 1701 Maryland had a population of 25,000, settled in thirty parishes, and although only about half supplied with Clergy, its claims could not compare with those of other Colonies, and therefore it received from the Society (and that only for a short time) occasional help in the settlement of clergymen and libraries [1].

The province was visited by KEITH and TALBOT in July 1703. On "July 4, Sunday" (wrote Keith), "I preached at Annapolis on 1 Thess. i. 5, and had a large auditory well affected; my Sermon, at the request of a worthy person who heard it, was printed at Annapolis, mostly at his charge; and copies of it sent by him to many parts of the country." Being requested "to have some friendly conference" with the Quakers at Herring Neck, Keith endeavoured to do so, but

"had spoke but a very few sentences when" (as he says) "they interrupted me very rudely . . . abused me with reviling speeches in meer Generals as the manner generally of the Quakers is, to all who endeavour to reform them from their Errors, and especially to any who with a good conscience upon Divine Conviction, have forsaken their Erroneous ways, to whom they are most outragious, as the *Jews* were to *St. Paul*, after his conversion to Christianity."

At Shrewsbury he preached also, "where was a large auditory out of diverse Parishes: But that parish of *Shrewsbury* had no Minister, nor have had for some considerable time." Here he had some discourse with a Quaker trader who was "extream ignorant," denying he had "a created soul" [2]. The Society appointed a Missionary to this place in 1707, who, however, failed to reach his destination, being carried away into captivity. His case deserves notice as illustrating some of the dangers which Missionaries had to encounter in those days. The Rev. WILLIAM CORDINER, an Irish Clergyman, received his appointment to Shrewsbury in January 1707, with an allowance at the rate of £50 per annum, on condition that he transported himself and family there "by the first opportunity." Three months passed before he could find a ship, and when on April 13 he embarked on the *Dover*, man-of-war, at Spithead, it was only for a day—for the *Dover* being ordered on a cruise he landed, and the ship returned disabled. On May 24 he re-embarked on the *Chester*, man-of-war. After being "sixteen times out at sea"—sometimes fifty and sixty leagues—and driven back by contrary winds or the French, the *Chester* at length left Plymouth in company with five men-of-war and 200 merchantmen in the evening of October 10. At noon on the next day they were engaged by fourteen

French men-of-war, and in two hours' time were all taken except the *Royal Oak* (escaped) and the *Devonshire* (blown up). The *Chester* was on fire several times, and the thirty-seven men on the quarter-deck were all killed and wounded except the captain and two others. The prisoners were searched "to the very skin" and deprived of all they had. The French sailors, taking compassion on the women and children, gave some things back, which the chief officers then appropriated, even the shoes and stockings of the little children. On October 19 the prisoners were landed at Brest, having suffered from exposure and want of food and clothing. There Mr. Cordiner was offered provision for his mother, wife, and two children if he would betake himself to a convent. On the way to Dinan, which was reached on December 5, they were subjected to ill treatment from the Provost. A great many sick men were "carryed in a very pitiful condition, some . . . being blind with the small-pox and whenever they complained" they were beaten.

At Fugiers and at Dinan Mr. Cordiner ministered to his fellow-prisoners, and encouraged them. An Irish priest (Father Hagan) having stopped his doing so in Dinan Castle, some of the merchant-men procured a room in the town, where service was held every Sunday and on holy days. Several "who never understood it before" were instructed in the Liturgy and conformed. During their detention at Dinan one of Mr. Cordiner's children and his servant died, and a child was born to him. He was "several times . . . imprisoned for two or three hours, and daily threatened with close restraint and confinement." The number of English prisoners, at first 1,000, was increased to 1,700, but some 200 died. The prisoners "were mightily cheated in their allowance and too much crowded together, and the hospital at Dinan was a place to despatch them out of this world."

When "the design of the Pretender" was in hand the French abused and beat their prisoners and applauded the Scotch; but when they found "that he was obliged to return to France . . . they cursed the Scotch bitterly," saying, "Scot will be Scot still, always false." Upon which disappointment the prisoners were sent to England, landing at Weymouth on December 11 [3].

The truth of Mr. Cordiner's statements was confirmed by a certificate signed by sixty-two of the masters and officers, his fellow-prisoners, who also testified that "by his sound and wholesom Doctrine, pious Admonition, exemplary life and conversation" he

"established and confirmed several in that most pure & holy Religion from wch they would otherwise have been seduced & drawn away, by the sly insinuations and false Delusions of our sedulous and crafty Adversaries, and hath in all other respects discharged his Ministerial office and Function with that diligence carefulness and sobriety and hath behaved himself with that Prudence, Piety, and Zeal as doth become his character and Profession" [4].

When in 1729 the Maryland Clergy were in danger of having their salaries "considerably diminished" by the action of the Local Assembly, the Society supported them in successfully opposing the confirmation of the Act, and

"Resolved that the Lord Baltimore be acquainted that in case the Clergy of Maryland be obliged thro' the hardships they suffer by this Act to leave Maryland

the Society will employ them in their Mission in other Governments, and will not make any allowance to them or any other Clergymen as their Missionaries in Maryland, there having been a sufficient maintenance settled upon them by a former Act of Assembly, part of which is by this Act taken away and thereby the Clergy rendered incapable of subsisting themselves in that Government" [5.]

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 86.)

CHAPTER VIII.

PENNSYLVANIA.

PENNSYLVANIA was originally settled by Swedes and Dutch; the Swedes formally surrendered to the Dutch in 1655, and the Dutch to the English in 1664. In 1680 the country was granted by Charter to William Penn, from whom it took its name, the first English settlers consisting of 2,000 Quakers taken over by him. The Dutch were Calvinists; the Swedes, Lutherans. The Quakers were followed from the mother country by other denominations, including some members of the Church of England. Religious divisions set in among the Quakers; the other inhabitants followed each what was good in his own eyes; so that in 1701 "the youth" of the country were "like those in the neighbouring provinces, very debauch't and ignorant"; [1] and the population of 20,000 were for the most part living in general neglect of public worship of God, and without the instituted means of grace and salvation. The Swedes from their first settlement in 1636, and the Dutch, were partly provided with Ministers; but the English Church was not set up till 1695, when Christ Church, Philadelphia, was built under the direction of the Rev. T. CLAYTON, then appointed there.

IN 1700 the Rev. EVAN EVANS was sent to Philadelphia by Bishop Compton of London. His labours were so successful that congregations consisting chiefly of persons brought over from the Quakers and other sectaries soon joined the Church of England in Philadelphia and other places; these he endeavoured to ground in the faith "till they were formed into proper districts and had Ministers sent over to them by the Venerable Society" [1*a*].

On the application of the Church congregation at Philadelphia William III. settled an allowance for a minister and a schoolmaster there, and the Society in January and February 1702 bore the cost—between £30 and £40—of the Letters Patent for giving effect to the same [2]. On Nov. 5 of the same year Keith and Talbot [*see* p. 10] arrived at Philadelphia, "and were kindly received by the two Ministers there, and the Church People, and especially by the late converts from Quakerism, who were become zealous Members of the Church." On the next day, Sunday, the two Missionaries preached, "and had a very great auditory, so that the church could not contain them, but many stayed without and heard" [3]. Their preaching here and elsewhere

prepared the way for resident Missionaries, whom the Society were not slow to send, the first being the Rev. H. NICHOLS, in 1703 [4]. He was stationed at Chester, or Uplands, where the people had begun building a church, but as the Vestry informed the Society "We never had so much reason to hope that ever the Gospell would be propagated, in these of all other Forreign Parts, till now we find ourselves to be the subject of your great care" [5]. The Philadelphia "Minister and Vestry" also wrote in 1704:—

"We can never be sufficiently thankfull to Divine Providence, who hath raised you up to maintain the Honor of religion, and to engage in the great work of promoting the Salvation of Men. Gratitude, and an humble acknowledgemt of your noble and charitable Resolutions of propagating the Sacred Gospell in these remote and dark corners of the world, is not only a duty, but a just debt to you from all true Professors of Christianity. We cannot but with the profoundest deference make mention of those noble instances of piety and Beneficience you exhibited to the Church of God in generall in these uncultivated parts since you were first incorporated, particularly we crave leave to return you our most thankfull acknowledgements for your pious care in sending over the Rev. Mr. Keith whose unparalleled zeal and assiduity, whose eminent piety, whose indefatigable diligence (beyond what could be expected from a person of his declining years), whose frequent preaching and learned conferences, whose strenuous and elaborate writing made him highly and signally instrumenall of promoting the Church and advancing the number of Christians not only here but in the neighbouring provinces" [6].

Thus encouraged the Society continued to send Missionaries to Pennsylvania to minister to the settlers, Welsh as well as English, and to evangelise the heathen. The Colonists showed their desire for the Church's ministrations by building and endowing churches, and otherwise contributing to the support of their pastors; and it was to the Church rather than to Dissenting teachers that the Quakers turned for baptism when they became Christians [7].

The Rev. T. CRAWFORD, after two years' work at Dover, reported in 1706:—

"At my first comeing I found the people all stuffed with various opinions, but not one in the place that was so much of a churchman as to stand Godfather for a child: so that I was two months in the place before I baptised any, on that account . . . but now (I thank God) I have baptised a great number, they bring their children with sureties very orderly to the church; and also people at age a great many the greater part whereof were Quakers and Quaker children for by God's blessing upon my labours I have not only gained the heart of my hearers but some that were my greatest enemies at first, and Quakers that were fully resolved against me are come over and have joyned themselves to our Communion. I have baptised families of them together, so I have dayly additions to the congregation" [8].

In Sussex County the Rev. W. BECKET (1721–4) effected such a reformation in the lives of the people as to draw forth the "thanks of the Magistrates and gentlemen of the Church of England" in the county [9]. Within three years three churches were built in his Mission, "yet none of them," he wrote in 1724, "will contain the hearers that constantly attend the Church service" [10]. Grateful too were the Welsh at Oxford and Radnor, to be ministered to in their own tongue, while only "poor settlers" "in the wilderness." The people at Radnor "built a church in hopes of being supplyed with the right worship of God" [11], hopes which were first gratified in 1714 by the appointment of the Rev. J. CLUBB. In referring to his death,

which occurred in December 1715, the Churchwardens and Vestry wrote in 1720:—

"Mr. Clubb our late Minister was the first that undertook the care of Radnor and Oxon and he paid dear for it, for the great fategue of rideing between the two Churches, in such dismall wayes and weather as we generally have for four months in winter, soon put a period to his Life" [12].

The death of a Missionary was frequently followed by the loss of a congregation to the Church. "For want of Ministers episcopally ordained" "many large congregations of Churchmen" were "obliged to join with the Dissenters in worship," as appeared from the answer of a Presbyterian teacher, who being asked how his congregation stood affected in those unsettled times, answered he was "happy in having his congregation chiefly consisting of Church of England people who gave themselves up to none of those wild notions and enthusiastick ravings which some people practiced so much and were so fond of" [13]. The disadvantageous position of the Church of America for want of a Bishop was forcibly represented by the Rev. H. NEILL of Oxford. Himself formerly a Presbyterian minister he had, since conforming, educated for the ministry of the Church a nephew, Mr. HUGH WILSON, who on returning from ordination in England was, with the Rev. Mr. GILES, shipwrecked and drowned within sight of land in 1766. On hearing of this Mr. Neill wrote (May 19):—

"Such, alas! are the misfortunes, and I may say, persecutions, that attend the poor distress'd Church of England in America, that whilst the Dissenters can send out an innumerable tribe of teachers of all sorts without any expences, we must send three thousand miles cross the Atlantic Ocean, at the expence of all we are worth, sometimes, and as much more as we have credit for, as well as the risque of our lives, before we can have an ordination—this is a difficulty that has, and always will, prevent the growth of the Church in America. Few Englishmen that can live at home will undertake the Mission—the great expences and dangers of the Seas that the Americans must encounter with, before they can obtain an ordination, damps their spirits, and forces many of them (who have strong inclinations to the Church) to join the Dissenters, and become teachers among them—thus, when a vacancy happens among them, it can be filled in an instant, when a vacancy among us [it] is some considerable time before they [we] can have a minister. All this time the Dissenters are making such havock among the Church people, that when a Missionary comes to one of these destitute places, he has all the work to begin again and many years before he can collect his scattered sheep.

"The Dissenters very well know that the sending a Bishop to America, would contribute more to the Encrease of the Church here than all the money that has been raised by the Venerable Society. . . . Alas! we see and *feel* the power of our enemies and weakness of our friends, and can only mourn in secret and pray for better times" [14].

One of the earlier Missionaries, the Rev. G. Ross of Chester, on the return voyage from England in 1711 fell into the hands of the French, by whom he was "carryed prisoner into France," where, he wrote:—

"I as well as others was strip't of all my cloaths from the crown of my head to the sole of my ffoot; in a word, I was left as naked as I was born, and that by means of the greedy priest that was Chaplain of the Ship: he perceived that my cloaths were better than his own, and therefore he never ceased to importune his Captain till he got leave to change, forsooth, with me; so that I am now cloathed in raggs, in testimony of my bondage" [Letter from Dinant, March 16, 1711.] [15]

In his Mission of Chester (to which when released he returned) Quakerism had "taken deep root," and was "cultivated by art and

policy and recommended by fashion and interest," so that "the doctrine of Christ" met "with much reproach and opposition" [16]. Some fifty years later, one of his successors, the Rev. G. CRAIG, estimated the Church members in Pennsylvania to be less than one-fiftieth of the whole population [17]. Nevertheless, in spite of numerical weakness and other disadvantages, the Church gained in strength wherever a faithful Missionary was maintained.

Thus at Perquihoma the congregation increased greatly "by the daily coming over of Roman Catholicks, Anabaptists and Quakers" [18], and at Conostogoe and Newcastle by Irish immigrants, of whom from 8,000 to 10,000 arrived in Pennsylvania (in 1729–30), many being shepherded by the Missionaries, the Bishop of Raphoe also remembering them by a present of Bibles, Prayer Books, &c. [19]. In Sussex County the several "orderly, well disposed congregations" were joined by Dissenters; there were baptisms every Sunday, and "scarce a Communion" but what some "were added to it." The "country-born people" were generally members of the Church, and Quakerism strangely decayed "even in that Province designed to be the Nursery of it" [20]. Strangers who "accidentally attended" service at Apoquiniminck expressed "an agreeable surprise at the decency and regularity of it," and both here and in many other places, previous to the Revolutionary movement, Dissenters flocked to the churches, which in the summer season were so crowded that, for want of room and fresh air, the Missionaries had "to preach under the green trees" [21].

The Rev. C. INGLIS (who became the first Colonial Bishop) wrote in 1768 that his Mission in Kent County was in "a flourishing state, if building and repairing churches, if crowds attending the publick worship of God and other religious ordinances, if some of other denominations joining . . . and a revival of a spirit of piety in many can denominate it such"; though there were "still left Lukewarmness, Ignorance and vice enough to humble him sufficiently and exercise, if he had it, "an apostolic zeal" [22].

The inhabitants of York County in 1756 "acknowledged the infinite service done by the Society's Missionaries in that dark and distant part of the world," and particularly by the Rev. T. BARTON, who, they wrote,

"has distinguished himself at this time of public danger with so much zeal and warmth in behalf of Liberty and Protestantism that he has endeared himself not only to his own people, but to all Protestant Dissenters there. He has constantly persevered by word and by example to inspirit and encourage the people to defend themselves and has often at the head of a number of his congregations gone to oppose the savage and murderous enemy, which has so good an effect that they are verily persuaded that he has been instrumental under God, in preventing many families from deserting their plantations and having the fruits of many years' labours gathered by the hands of rapacious and cruel murtherers" [23].

The "public danger" was caused by the incursions of the French and Indians, who reduced Cumberland County to a condition "truly deplorable." Mr. Barton reported in 1756 that though his churches were "churches militant indeed, subject to dangers and trials of the most alarming kind," yet he had the pleasure every Sunday to see the people crowding to them "with their muskets on their shoulders," declaring that they would "dye Protestants and Freemen, sooner than live Idolaters and Slaves" [24].

The services rendered by Mr. Barton in organising his people for defensive purposes were thus noticed in a letter from Philadelphia to Mr. Penn, who communicated it to the Society:—

"Mr. Barton deserves the commendations of all lovers of their country; for he has put himself at the head of his congregations, and marched c:her by night or day on every alarm. Had others imitated his example, *Cumberland* would not have wanted men enough to defend it; nor has he done anything in the military way but what hath increased his character for piety, and that of a sincerely religious man and zealous minister: In short Sir, he is a most worthy, active and serviceable pastor and Missionary, and as such please to mention him to the Society" [25].

In 1763–4 Mr. Barton reported:—

"The Churches in this Mission now make as decent an appearance as any Churches in the province, those of Philadelphia excepted. But much more is the pleasure I feel in observing them crowded every Sunday during the summer season with people of almost every denomination, who come, many of them, thirty and forty miles. . . . Amidst all the mad zeal and distractions of the *Religionists* that surround me, I have never been deserted by any of those whom I had received in charge. . . . This Mission then takes in the whole of Lancaster County (eighty miles in length, and twenty-six in breadth), part of Chester County, and part of Berks; so that the circumference of my stated Mission only is 200 miles. The county of Lancaster contains upwards of 40,000 souls: of this number, not more than 500 can be reckon'd as belonging to the Church of England; the rest are German Lutherans, Calvinists, Mennonists, Moravians, New Born, Dunkers, Presbyterians, Seceders, New Lights, Covenanters, Mountain-Men, Brownists, Independents, Papists, Quakers, Jews, &c. Amidst such a swarm of Sectaries, all indulg'd and favour'd by the Government, it is no wonder that the National Church should be borne down. At the last election for the county to chuse assembly-men, sheriffs, coroner, commissioners, assessors, &c., 5,000 freeholders voted, and yet not a single member of the Church was elected into any of these offices. Notwithstanding . . . my people have continued to give proofs of that submission and obedience to civil authority, which it is the glory of the Church of England to inculcate: and, whilst faction and Party strife have been rending the province to pieces, they behav'd themselves as became peaceable and dutiful subjects, never intermeddling in the least . . . In the murder of the Indians in this place, and the different insurrections occasioned by this inhuman act, not one of them was ever concern'd. . . . Their conduct upon this occasion has gain'd them much Credit and Honour. Upon the whole, the Church of England visibly gains ground throughout the province. The mildness and excellency of her constitution, her moderation and charity even to her enemies, and . . . the indefatigable labours of her Missionaries, must at length recommend her to all, except those who have an hereditary prejudice and aversion to her. The German Lutherans have frequently in their Cœtus's propos'd a union with the Church of England, and several of their clergy, with whom I have convers'd, are desirous of addressing . . . my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and . . . Bishop of London upon this subject. A large and respectable congregation of Dutch Calvinists in Philadelphia have already drawn up constitutions, by which they oblige themselves to conform to the Canons and Constitutions of the National Church, and to use her Liturgy and forms, and none else provided they be approv'd of and receiv'd at Home and that my Lord Bishop will grant ordination to such gentlemen as they shall present to him. The Church of England then must certainly prevail at last. She has hitherto stood her ground amidst all the rage and wildness of Fanaticism: and whilst Methodists and New Lights have roam'd over the country, 'leading captive silly women,' and drawing in thousands to adopt their strange and novel doctrines, the members of the Church (a few in Philadelphia excepted) have 'held fast the profession of their faith without wavering.' And, if depriv'd as she is of any legal establishment in her favour, and remote from the immediate influence and direction of her lawful Governor the Bishops, she has stood unmov'd and gain'd a respectable footing—what might be expected if these were once to take place. . . . Many of the principal Quakers wish for it [the

establishment of Episcopacy] in hopes it might be a check to the growth of Presbyterianism, which they dread; and the Presbyterians . . . would not chuse to murmur at a time when they are oblig'd to keep fair with the Church whose assistance they want against the Combinations of the Quakers, who would willingly crush them" [26].

Mr. Barton had made a favourable impression on the Indians, had held conference with them, and induced some to attend Church; but he says:—

"Just when I was big with the hopes of being able to do service among these tawny people, we received the melancholy news, that our forces, under the command of General Braddock, were defeated on the 9th of July, as they were marching to take Duquesne, a French fort upon the Ohio. This was soon succeeded by an alienation of the Indians in our interest; and from that day to this, poor Pennsylvania has felt incessantly the sad effects of Popish tyranny and savage cruelty! A great part of five of her counties has been depopulated and laid waste, and some hundreds of her steadiest sons either murder'd or carried into barbarous captivity" [Nov. 8, 1756.] [27].

With a view to the conversion of the Indians the Society in 1756 agreed to allow £100 per annum for the training of native teachers in the College at Philadelphia under the Rev. Dr. SMITH [28].

"Nothing can promise fairer to produce these happy effects than the scheme proposed by the honourable Society," wrote Mr. Barton. "In the conversion of Indians many difficulties and impediments will occur, which Europian Missionaries will never be able to remove. Their customs and manner of living are so opposite to the genius and constitution of our people, that they could never become familiar to them. Few of the Indians have any settled place of habitation, but wander about where they can meet with most success in hunting: and whatever beasts or reptiles they chance to take are food to them. Bears, Foxes, Wolves, Raccons, Polecats, and even Snakes, they can eat with as much chearfulness as Englishmen do their best beef and mutton" [29].

Wars and rumours of wars, however, kept the Indians too unsettled to listen to Christian teaching. In 1763 Mr. Barton wrote:—

"The Barbarians have renew'd their hostilities and the country bleeds again under the *savage knife*. The dreadful news of murdering, burning, and scalping, is daily convey'd to us and confirmed with shocking additions. Our traders, with goods to the amount of near £200,000, are taken; our garrisons have been invested, and some of them obliged to surrender. Above fifty miles of the finest country in America are already deserted, and the poor people, having left their crops in the ground, almost ready for the sickle, are reduced to the most consummate distress" [30].

The obstacles to the conversion of the negroes were not so great in Pennsylvania as in some parts of America. As early as 1712 the Missionaries began to baptize the slaves; and a Mr. Yeates of Chester was commended by the Rev. G. Ross for his "endeavours to train up his negroes in the knowledge of religion" [31].

Other owners were moved by the Bishop of London's appeal [*see* p. 8] to consent to the instruction of their slaves; and the result was the baptism of a considerable number [32]. At Philadelphia the Rev. G. Ross baptized on one occasion twelve adult negroes, "who were publickly examined before the congregation and answered to the admiration of all that heard them . . . the like sight had never before been seen in that Church" [33]. The sight soon became a common one, and in 1747 the Rev. Dr. Jenney represented that there was a great and daily increasing number of negroes in the city who would with joy attend upon a Catechist for instruction; that he had baptized

several, but was unable to add to his other duties; and the Society, "ever ready to lend a helping hand to such pious undertakings," appointed the Rev. W. STURGEON to be their Catechist to the negroes in Philadelphia [34]. Generally the Missionaries showed great diligence in this branch of their work, Mr. Neill of Dover baptizing 162 (145 being adult slaves) within about 18 months [35]. The Revolutionary War, which put a stop to this and many other good works, entailed much suffering on the Missionaries. Mr. Barton reported in 1776:—

"I have been obliged to shut up my churches, to avoid the fury of the populace, who would not suffer the liturgy to be us'd, unless the collects and prayers for the King and royal family were omitted, which neither my conscience nor the declaration I made and subscrib'd when ordained, would allow me to comply with:—and although I used every prudent step to give no offence, even to those who usurp'd Authority and Rule, and exercised the severest tyranny over us, yet my life and property have been threaten'd upon meer *suspicion* of being unfriendly, to, what is call'd the American Cause. Indeed every Clergyman of the *Church of England* who dar'd to act upon proper principles, was mark'd out for Infamy and Insult. In consequence of which the Missionaries, in particular, have suffer'd greatly. Some of them have been drag'd from their Horses, assaulted with Stones and Dirt, ducked in water, obliged to flee for their lives, driven from their Habitations and Families, laid under arrests and imprison'd—I believe they were all (or, at least, most of them) reduced to the same necessity, with me, of shutting up their churches" [36].

The following account of the closing of Apoquimininck Church on Sunday, July 28, 1776, is related by the Rev. P. READING:—

"After the Nicene Creed I declared, in form that, as I had no design to resist the authority of the new Government, on one hand, and as I was determined, on the other, not to incur the heavy guilt of perjury by a breach of the most solemn promises, I should decline attending on the public worship for a short time from that day; but that for the benefit of those who were in full and close communion with me, for comforting them in the present distress, for strengthening them in the faith, for encouraging them to persevere in their profession unto the end, I would administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper on (Sept. 8th) that day six weeks. I had purposed to say more on the subject, but the scene became too affecting for me to bear a further part in it. Many of the people present were overwhelmed with deep distress, and the cheeks of some began to be bathed in tears. My own tongue faltered, and my firmness forsook me; beckoning, therefore, to the clerk to sing the psalm, I went up into the pulpit, and having exhorted the Members of the Church to 'hold fast the profession of their faith without wavering,' and to depend upon the promises of a faithful God for their present comfort and future relief, I finished this irksome business, and Apoquimininck Church from that day has continued shut up" [37].

After being confined to his house for two years by the rebels, Mr. Barton was left "no choice but to abjure his King, or to leave the country." At his departure for New York in 1778 the people of Pequea and Carnarvon* testified their esteem and regard for him by paying the arrears of his salary, presenting him with £50, taking a house for his eight children, and "giving the kindest assurances that they should be supported, till it might please God to unite them again."

* These people were accustomed to provoke one another to good works. In 1768 Mr. Barton introduced to the "notice of the Society Mr. Nathan Evans, an old man belonging to the Caernarvon congregation, whose generosity to the Church" was "perhaps unequalled" in that part of the world. "Though he acquired his estate by hard labour and Industry," he gave "£100 towards finishing their Church," "purchased a glebe of 40 acres for the use of the Minister," and contributed further to the endowment of the Church [38a].

During his confinement, being "no longer allowed to go out of the country . . . under penalty of imprisonment," "he secretly met his people on the confines of the counties, chiefly the women (who were not subject to the Penalties of the laws), with their little ones to be catechised, and infants to be christen'd." Under this restriction he "sometimes baptized 30 in a day." The Missionaries were "most grievous sufferers in these days of trial." Most of them "lost their all," many were reduced to a state of "melancholy pilgrimage and poverty," and some sank under their calamities, Mr. Barton among the number, "his long confinement to his house by the Rebels having brought on a dropsy," from which he died* [38]. The Report for 1779 stated there had been "a total cessation of the public worship" in Pennsylvania, and almost every Missionary had been driven out of the province [39]. One of those who remained and persevered in the faithful discharge of his duty, "in spite of threats and ill treatment," was the Rev. S. TINGLEY of Lewes, who was unable to communicate with the Society for six years (1776–82). During this period he went about Sussex County, and sometimes into Maryland, "strengthening and confirming the brethren," travelling "at least 8,000 miles a year," and baptizing "several thousands . . . and among them, many blacks, from 60 years to 2 months old." He 'seldom performed publick service without having at the same time 30, 40, or 50 baptisms." His "difficulties and sufferings" were "many and great"; often he "scarcely had bread to eat, or raiment to put on," and the Revolutionists were so cruel as to deprive his family of some refreshments which had been sent him, "though his weak and dying wife begged a small part only of the things as a medicine" [40].

(*See also Chapter XII., p. 79, and the Statistical Summary on p. 86.*)

* A Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen in the Provinces of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania was established in 1769, the Society contributing £20 annually to each of the three branches [38*b*].

CHAPTER IX.

NEW ENGLAND.

NEW ENGLAND was formerly divided into four great districts or governments, including the Colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Maine, Vermont, and Naragansett or King's Province. The first settlement—that of New Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay—was formed by a small party of Puritans or Independents in 1620, which was much strengthened by a fresh emigration from England in 1629. Other sects poured into the country, which soon swarmed with Brownists, Presbyterians, Quakers, Familists, Antinomians, Conformitants or Formalists, Arrians, Arminians, Gortonists, &c. The Gortonists were so lost to common humanity and decency that they were suppressed by the Civil Power under Governor Dudley in 1643. The Independents soon established their ecclesiastical system, and sought to exact from others a rigid conformity to it. Fleeing from persecution in England, they now themselves became persecutors; and notwithstanding their former professions of moderation and liberty of conscience, and the toleration conferred by the New England Charter, they drove out of Massachusetts the Quakers* and other sectaries. The Church settlers were so restrained from having their own form of worship that in 1679 many of the inhabitants of Boston petitioned Charles II. that they might be allowed to build a church there for the exercise of religion according to the Church of England. Permission was accorded, and the congregation of the "King's Chapel," Boston, so increased that William III. settled an annual allowance† of £100 for the support of an assistant minister for them.

IN 1701 there were still only two clergymen of the Church of England in New England, the population (Massachusetts, 70,000; Connecticut, 30,000; Rhode Island and Providence, 5,000; Naragansett, 3,000; New Hampshire, 3,000; and Maine, 2,000) being mostly Dissenters [1].

In February 1702 the Society, after reading letters "deliver'd in by Dr. Bray," and consulting the Rev. G. Keith, recorded its opinion "that a Missionary should be forthwith sent to the Naragansets country," and the Bishop of London was asked to recommend one [2]. It was not possible, however, to carry out the proposal till many years later. In the meantime, KEITH, TALBOT and GORDON [pp. 9, 10] reached Boston on June 11, 1702, and the former reported:—

"At my arrival the Reverend Mr. Samuel Miles, the Reverend Mr. Christopher Bridge, both Ministers of the Church of England at Boston, did kindly receive me and the two Ministers in company with me, and we lodg'd and were kindly entertain'd in their houses during our abode at Boston. June 14, 1702. Being Sunday, at the request of the above-named Ministers of the Church of England, I preached in the Queen's Chapel at Boston, on Eph. 2, 20, 21, 22, where was a large auditory, not only of Church People, but of many others. Soon after, at the request of the Ministers and Vestry, and others of the auditory, my Sermon was printed at Boston. It contained in it towards the conclusion, six plain brief rules, which I told my auditory, did well agree to the Holy Scriptures, and they being well observed and put into practice, would bring all to the Church of England, who dissented from her. This did greatly alarm the Independent Preachers at Boston. Whereupon Mr. Increase Mather, one of the chief of them was set on work to print against my sermon, as accordingly he did, wherein he

* After the Church of England had been set up in Rhode Island the Quakers were led to "express their regard" for it "from the experience . . . they had of the mildness and lenity of its administration" [3].

† [4].

laboured to prove them all false and contrary to Scripture, but did not say anything against the body of my sermon. And not long after, I printed a Treatise in Vindication of these Six Rules, in answer to his, wherein I shewed the invalidity of his objections against them. This I had printed at New York, the printer at Boston not daring to print it, lest he should give offence to the Independent Preachers there. After it was printed, the printed copies of it were sent to Boston, and dispersed both over New England and the other parts of North America" [5].

The MS. of Keith's Journal contains this passage:—

"In divers parts of New England we found not only many people well affected to the Church, who have no Church of England Ministers, and in some places none of any sort; but also we found several New England Ministers very well affected to the Church, some of whom both hospitably entertain'd us in their houses and requested us to preach in their congregations, wch. accordingly we did, and receiv'd great thanks, both from the Ministers and people: and in Cambridge Colledge in N. England we were civilly treated by some of the ffellows there, who have a very great favour to the Church of England, and were it not for the poysonous doctrines that have been infused into the scholars and youths there, and deep prejudices agt. the Church of England by Mr. Increase Mather, formerly President of the Colledge there, and Mr. Samuel Willard, now President there, the Scholars and Students there would soon be brought over to the Church" [6].

The truth of the above description was remarkably confirmed in later years, when the persecution of the Church was followed by the conformity of large numbers of Dissenters and their teachers. Already some of the inhabitants had begun to show their preference by building churches and petitioning the Society for ministers, and the first to receive encouragement were the people of Newport, Rhode Island, for whose church the Society allowed in January 1703 £15 for "a Chalice Patten, Cloath and other necessaries." At the same time £20 was granted (at Governor Dudley's request) "towards the support of Mr. Eburn, a Minister in the Isle of Shoales, for one year" [7]. The Rev. SAMUEL EBURN ministered in this Mission three and a half years; in which time it cost him £150 more than he "ever received from the inhabitants." "This extraordinary expense" he "was at merely to introduce the service of the Church of England in those Islands," and did it to some good effect. "He stay'd there so long till every family of the place removed their goods to the mainland for fear of the enemy" [8]. In 1704 the Rev. J. HONYMAN was appointed to Newport. He not only built up the Church in Rhode Island, but gathered congregations at several towns on the continent, and ministered to them until they were provided with resident clergymen. In spite of the "frowns and discouragements" of the Government—there being only "one baptized Christian in the whole legislature" of the island—Mr. Honyman was able to report in 1732:—

"Betwixt New York and Boston, the distance of 300 miles, and wherein are many Missions, there is not a congregation in the way of the Church of England that can pretend to compare with mine, or equall it in any respect; nor does my Church consist of members that were of it when I came here, for I have buried them all; nor is there any one person now alive that did then belong to it, so that our present appearing is entirely owing to the blessing of God upon my endeavours to serve him" [9].

Mr. Honyman's labours at Newport extended over nearly half a century.

In Connecticut the foundations of several Missions were laid by the Rev. G. MUIRSON. Although attached to the parish of Rye in New York, he could not resist the desire of the people of Stratford to have the Church settled among them. Colonel Heathcote accompanied him on his visit in 1706, and thus described their reception in Connecticut:—

"We found that Collony much as we expected, very ignorant of the Constitution of our Church, and therefore enemys to it. All their Townes are furnished with Ministers . . . chiefly Independents, denying Baptisme to the Children of all who are not in full Communion; there are many thousands in that Govmt. unbaptised, the Ministers were very uneasy at our coming amongst them, and abundance of pains was taken to terrify the People from hearing Mr. Muirson. But it availed nothing, for notwithstanding all their endeavours, he had a very great Congregation and indeed infinitly beyond my expectation. The people were wonderfully surprised at the Order of our Church, expecting to have heard and seen some wonderfull strange things, by the Account and Representation of it that their Teachers had given them. . . . Mr. Muirson baptized about 24—most grown people" [10].

The visit was renewed (again by invitation) in 1707, the steadfastness of the people being unshaken by the Independents, whose ministers and magistrates went from house to house threatening "with prison and punishment" those who would go to hear Mr. Muirson preach.

"One of their Magistrates" (wrote Mr. Muirson) "with some other officers, came to my Lodgings, . . . and in the hearing of Colonel Heathcote and a great many people read a long Paper. The meaning of it was to let me know that theirs was a Charter Government, that I had done an illegal thing in coming among 'em to establish a new Way of Worship, and to forewarn me from preaching any more. This he did by virtue of one of their Laws . . . the Words he made use of are these as the said Law expresses them: Be it enacted by the . . . General Assembly, That there shall be no Ministry or Church Administration entertained or attended by the Inhabitants of any Town or Plantacon in this Colony, distinct and separate from, and in opposition to that which is openly and publickly observed and dispenced by the approved Ministers of the Place.' Now whatever Interpretation of the Words of the said law may admit of, yet we are to regard the sense and force they put upon them; which is plainly thus, to exclude the Church their Government, as appears by their Proceedings with me. So that hereby they deny a Liberty of Conscience to the Church of Engiand people, as well as all others that are not of their opinion; which being repugnant to the Laws of England is contrary to the Grant of their Charter" [11].

The movement in favour of the Church was stimulated by this opposition; other towns invited Mr. Muirson to visit them, and he became a kind of travelling Missionary in the Colony. The tactics of the Independents were repeated.

"They . . . left no means untryed both foul and fair, to prevent the settling of the Church among them" (wrote Mr. Muirson); ". . . the people were likewise threatened with Imprisonment, and a forfeiture of £5 for coming to hearing me. It wou'd require more time than you would willingly bestow on these Lines, to express how rigidly and severely they treat our People, by taking their Estate by distress when they do not willingly pay to support their Ministers. . . . They spare not openly to speak reproachfully and with great contempt of our Church, they say the sign of the Cross is the Mark of the Beast and the sign of the Devil and that those who receive it are given to the Devil" [12].

Mr. Muirson died in 1709; and two years later Governor Hunter of New York wrote to the Society:—

"When I was at Connecticut, those of the Communion of the Church at

Stradford, came to me in a Body, and then, as they have since by a Letter, begg'd my Intercession with our most Venerable Society and . . . the Bishop of London for a Missionary; they appeared very much in earnest, and are the best sett of men I met with in that country" [13].

Disappointment from friends was perhaps a severer test of earnestness than persecution* from enemies; but neither could shake the faithfulness of the Church adherents at Stratford, and after waiting another eleven years their wishes were gratified by the Society sending them a Missionary, the Rev. G. PIGOT, in 1722. To some extent many other congregations were subjected to similar trials, and oppression and persecution seemed to be the common lot of the Church in New England. Sometimes Churchmen's complaints reached the ear of the Governor, and grievances were redressed, but in general the Independents had the upper hand, and their bigotry was extreme. At Newbury, Governor Dudley had eased the Church members from paying taxes to the Dissenting Ministers, but the Rev. H. LUCAS found on his arrival in 1716 that the Dissenters had taken possession of the church and robbed it of its ornaments, vestments, and books. Next day, however, the ornaments &c. were restored; he reconciled the people, and two of the Dissenting teachers who had been relied on to "dissolve" the Church congregation were admitted to Holy Communion, and one of them shortly after "put on ye courage to read the Holy Bible† in the meeting and say the L^d's^ Prayers, a thing not done before" there, and "he resolved" to continue it "tho' very much opposed." Mr. Lucas' "knowledge in Phisick" was very serviceable in winning people, and effected "that which by preaching" he "could not have done" [14].

Of the 84 Missionaries on the Society's list in New England, more than one-fourth were brought up Dissenters. Among these were SAMUEL SEABURY (father of the first American Bishop); TIMOTHY CUTLER, President of Yale (Presbyterian) College; and EDWARD BASS, the future Bishop of Massachusetts. "The great inclination of some young students in New England to enter into Episcopal Orders" had been brought under the Society's notice at an early period, and in 1706 a letter was sent to the Governor and the Clergy encouraging the sending of candidates to England for ordination [15]. The sacrifices involved by conformity were such as to exclude all but persons actuated by the highest motives. Hence those who conformed were a real gain to the Church, which exerted a power and influence out of all proportion to her numerical strength. Of this the Dissenters were aware, and their dread and intolerance of the Church showed that they had little confidence in their own systems of religion. What some of those systems were, and how the Church was affected by them, may be gathered from the writings of the Missionaries.

The Rev. Dr. JOHNSON of Stratford wrote in 1727 that he had

* This continued after Mr. Muirson's death. *See* "An Account of the Sufferings of the Members of the Church of England" and an Appeal to the Queen for relief from their grievances, about 1711–12 [16].

† A similar effect was produced in the Rev. S. Palmer's Mission, where a congregation of Dissenters, from observing the regular method of reading the Scripture in church, "voted that a new folio Bible be bought for them and that their teacher shall read lessons out of it every Sunday morning and evening."

visited (at Fairfield) "a considerable number of my people in prison for their rates to the Dissenting Minister, to comfort and encourage them under their sufferings . . . both I and my people grow weary of our lives under our poverty and oppression" [17, 18].

In 1743 he opened a new church at Ripton. "On the Sunday following a Dissenting teacher, one Mills . . . a great admirer of Mr. Whitfield, reviled and declaimed" against the Dr.'s Sermon, "which was on the subject of relative holiness," and soon after some of Mills' followers "put his doctrine into practice, by defiling the Church with ordure in several places" [19].

In the Mission of the Rev. J. BEACH of Newtown &c. some people began to build a church. But, said he in 1743:—

"The Independents to suppress this design in its infancy . . . have lately prosecuted and fined them for their meeting to worship God according to the Common Prayer; and the same punishment they are likely to suffer for every offence in this kind. . . The case of these people is very hard. If on the Lord's Day they continue at home, they must be punished; if they meet to worship God according to the Church of England, in the best manner they can, the mulct is still greater; and if they go to the Independent meeting in the town where they live, they must endure the mortification of hearing the doctrines and worship of the Church vilified and the important truths of Christianity obscured and enervated by enthusiastic and antinomian dreams. . . . My people [at Newtown &c.] are not all shaken, but rather confirmed in their principles, by the spirit of enthusiasm that rages among the Independents. . . . A considerable number [of the Dissenters] in this Colony have lately conformed, and several churches are now building where they have no minister" [20].

Dr. JOHNSON reported in 1741:—

"We have had a variety of travelling enthusiastical & antinomian teachers come among us. . . . Not only the minds of many people are at once struck with amazing Distresses upon their hearing the dismal outcrys of our strolling preachers, but even their Bodies are in a moment affected with . . . surprizing Convulsions, and involuntary agitations and cramps" [21].

The Rev. H. CANER wrote from Fairfield in 1743:—

"At Norwalk, Stanford, and Ridgefield . . . there have been large accessions made to the Church of late . . . chiefly persons who appear to have a serious sense of religion . . . Where the late spirit of Enthusiasm has most abounded the Church has received the largest accessions. Many of these deluded people . . . as their Passions subsided, sought for rest in the Bosom and Communion of the Church" [22].

A joint letter from its Missionaries in New England acquainted the Society in 1747 that it was "a matter of great comfort to them to see in all places the earnest zeal of the people in pressing forward into the Church from the confusions which Methodism had spread among them; insomuch that they think nothing too much to do to qualify themselves for the obtaining of Missionaries from the Society" [23].

The Rev. Mr. FAYERWEATHER, at Naragansett, had his dwelling "in the midst" "of enemies, Quakers, Anabaptists, Antipœdobaptists, Presbyterians, Independants, Dippers, Levellers, Sabbatarians, Muggletonians, and Brownists," who united "in nothing but pulling down the Church of England," which they in their language called "emphatically Babel, a synagogue of Satan," &c. Thus situated he found it best "to be mild and gentle, peaceable and forbearing," which the Society earnestly recommended to him and all their Missionaries. In consequence of this behaviour several conformed to the Church from the Anabaptists and other persuasions. In that part of

America Mr. FAYERWEATHER found "immersion preferred among persons in adult years to sprinkling," and whenever it was required he administered in that way, as the Church directs [24]. *See* also letters from Rev. Dr. CUTLER, Boston, June 30, 1743, and Dec. 26, 1744 [25]; Rev. J. Beach, Newtown, April 6, 1761 [26]; Rev. E. Winslow, Stratford, July 1, 1763 [27]; and Rev. R. Mansfield, Derby, Sept. 25, 1768 [28]. This testimony (and much more that might be quoted) shows that the influence of the Society's work was beneficial to the whole country. The progress made must have been considerable when Missionaries could report from 100 to 345 communicants in their congregations [29]. In the Newton and Reading district Mr. Beach "preached in many places where the Common Prayer had never been heard nor the Scriptures read," in others where there had been no public worship at all, and he had the privilege of raising up "flourishing congregations," and seeing the Church members increase more than twenty-fold and outnumber the Dissenters [30].

The Rev. J. BAILEY, Itinerant in Massachusetts, stated in 1762 that "Industry, Morality, and Religion" were "flourishing among a people till of late abandoned to disorder, vice, and Profaneness," which alteration was "chiefly owing to the performance of Divine service and those pious tracts which the Society's generous care has dispersed" [31].

Another missionary, the Rev. E. PUNDERSON—who during thirty years failed to officiate only one Sunday—"almost alone raised up eleven churches in Connecticut under the greatest trials and difficulties imaginable" [32]. In New Hampshire the difficulty of raising up churches was lessened at this time by the action of Governor Wentworth, who made over to the Society 120 town lots of land, of about 300 acres each, and also set apart church glebes in each town, and "granted an equal portion or right to the first settled minister of the Church of England and his heirs with the rest of the proprietors of every town for ever" [33].

The efforts of the Missionaries for the conversion of the negroes and Indians in New England met with more opposition than encouragement from the Colonists. From Bristol the Rev. J. USHER reported in 1730 that "sundry negroes" had made "application for baptism that were able to render a very good account of the hope that was in them," but he was "not permitted to comply with their requests . . . being forbid by their masters." In the same year, however, he succeeded in baptizing three adult Indians, and later on the Bristol congregation included "about 30 Negroes and Indians," most of whom joined "in the Publick Service very decently" [34].

At Newtown the opposition was more serious, and the story of the Rev. J. BEACH should be taken to heart by all who profess the name of Christ. This is what he wrote in 1733:—

"When first I arrived here, I intended to visit the Indians who live three miles from Newtown, and I had hopes that some good might have been wrought upon them; but many of the English here that are bitter enemies to the Church, antidoted them against the Church, or any instructions they might have received from me, By insinuating them with a jealousy, if they recieved me as their Minister, I would in time get their land from them; and they must be oblidged to pay me a salary. This put them into a great Rage, for these Indians are a very

jealous people, and particularly suspicious of being cheated out of their land by the English (the English having got most of it from them already). These English Dissenters likewise rail'd against all the Churchmen in Generall, telling them (the Indians) they were rogues, &c., and advised them that: if I came among them to instruct them, to whip me. In a word they raised such a ferment among these Rude Barbarians, that their Sachem, or Chief, said that if I came among them, he would shoot a bullet thro my heart; these things severall of the Indians have told me since. However I, not knowing the danger, went to visit them, but they looked very surlily upon me, and showed a great uneasiness when I mentioned the name of God, so that I plainly saw, that they were resolved not to hear me, and I feared that if I had persisted in my discourse of Religion, that they would have done me a mischief" [35].

Mr. Beach does not appear to have baptized many Indians, and his parishioners had but few negro slaves; but all they had he, after proper instruction, baptized, and some of them became communicants [36]. The teaching which the Indians received from the Romish Church, as well as from Dissenters, tended to make them imperfect Christians. The frontiers of Massachusetts Bay were frequented by "a great number of Indians," the "remains of the ancient Norridgewalk Tribe"; they universally spoke French, and professed "the Romish religion," visiting Canada "once or twice a year for Absolution." They had "a great aversion to the English owing to the influence of Roman Catholic Missionaries," who taught them "that nothing is necessary to eternal salvation, but to believe in the name of Christ, to acknowledge the Pope his holy Vicar, and to extirpate the English because they cruelly murdered the Saviour of mankind." It is not surprising therefore that the Rev. J. BAILEY found them "very savage in their dress and manner" [37].

Aiming at something more than nominal conversions, the Missionaries of the Society sought to accomplish their object by "a more excellent way," and their teaching proved acceptable to not a few heathen. At Stratford Dr. JOHNSON "always had a catechetical lecture during the summer months, attended by many negroes, and some Indians, as well as the whites, about 70 or 80 in all, and" (said he in 1751) "as far as I can find, where the Dissenters have baptized one we have baptized 2, if not 3 or 4 negros or Indians, and I have four or five communicants" [38].

At Naragansett, Dr. MACSPARRAN had a class of 70 Indians and negroes, whom he frequently catechised and instructed before Divine service, and the Rev. J. HONYMAN of Newport, Rhode Island, besides baptizing some Indians, numbered among his congregation "above 100 negroes who constantly attended the Publick Worship" [39]. Among the Naragansett tribe in Rhode Island Catechist Bennet, of the Mohawk Mission, New York Province, laboured for a short time at the invitation of their King, Thomas Ninigrate. These people were specially commended by the Rev. M. GRAVES for their donation of 40 acres of land* towards a church and their progress in religion

* The land referred to by Mr. Graves was probably that given in 1746 by "George Ninegrett, Chief Sachem and Prince of the Narragansett Indians," who "for and in consideration of the love and affection" which he had for "the people of the Church of England in Charlestown and Westerly . . . and for securing and settling the Service and Worship of God amongst them according to the usuage of that most excellent Church . . . conveyed . . to the use of the Society" (S.P.G.) forty acres of land in Charlestown, Rhode Island, with all buildings thereon, to be appropriated for the benefit of the Episcopal Ministers of that Church [44].

and attachment to the Church and Crown of England; and on Mr. Bennet's departure Mr. Graves, at the Society's request, undertook to appoint a successor and himself to superintend the Mission. Mr. Graves had several of them at his house, and found them "very worthy of notice and encouragement," and that they had "made great proficiency in spiritual knowledge" and spared "no pains for ye Improvement of their Souls." Mr. Graves ministered to four other adjacent tribes, who had "great confidence in him" [40]. A similar regard was shown for the Rev. J. CHECKLEY of Providence, who possessed "great skill in the neighbouring Indian language" and a "long acquaintance with the Indians themselves." He not only visited the natives but was himself sought out by "some of his old Indian acquaintances . . . from far distant countries" [41].

In "Old Plymouth Colony" the Rev. E. THOMPSON used "his utmost endeavours to be serviceable" to the natives, and it was reported in 1753–4 that "the Indians in the neighbourhood of Scituate and Marshfield come more frequently to Church and behave with decency and devotion and bring their children to baptism and submit to Mr. Thompson's instructions, to which the Society's bounty of Bibles and Common Prayer Books [in 1753] has not a little contributed," and that his labours among them were "attended with greater success than ever" [42]. At Stoughton and Dedham the Rev. W. CLARK reclaimed several Indians whose frequent attendance and devout behaviour at church became a subject of remark [43]. These instances suffice to show that the heathen were not neglected by the Society and that the work among them was not in vain.

During the American Revolution numerous and pitiable accounts were received by the Society of the sufferings of their Missionaries. The Rev. S. PETERS of Hebron "left his Mission to avoid the fury of an outrageous multitude, who after the most inhuman treatment of him, still threatened his life" [45]. Several others were driven from their posts. The Rev. J. Wiswall of Falmouth, after being taken prisoner, "greatly insulted and abused, and in danger of being shot to death"—being actually fired at by "the mob"—made his escape to Boston, having lost all his property and his real estate. His wife and family were permitted to follow him, "with only two days' provision," "her wearing apparel, and bedding"; but a few days after reaching Boston she and his only daughter died [46]. The Rev. R. COSSIT of Haverhill and Claremont received frequent insults, and was "confined as a prisoner in the town of Claremont" nearly four years. Yet he "constantly kept up Publick Service, without omitting even the Prayers for the King and the Royal Family," and "his congregation and communicants" increased, though "cruelly persecuted by fines for refusing to fight against their King." In many other places where he used to officiate the Church people "totally dwindled away," some escaping to the King's army for protection, "some being banished," and many dying [47].

The Rev. J. W. WEEKS of Marblehead, his wife, and eight helpless children, were "obliged to seek shelter in a wilderness, the horrors of which they had never seen or felt before;" and which were added to "by the snapping of a loaded gun at Mr. Bailey and him while walking in the garden." No innocency of intentions and no peaceableness of

conduct could bring him security from the wild undistinguishing rage of party, and being "exposed to most dreadful consequences" by refusing to take the oath of abjuration, he made his escape to England, leaving his family dependent on the pity of friends for support [48].

The Rev. R. MANSFIELD of Derby &c. was forced to fly from his Mission (leaving his wife and nine children behind), "in order to escape outrage and violence, imprisonment and death." Out of 130 families attending his two churches, 110 remained loyal, as did, almost to a man, the congregations of Messrs. James Scovil and Beach [49].

The Rev. W. CLARKE of Dedham, whose natural bodily infirmities should have secured him from molestation, seems to have been "singled out as an object for oppression and cruel usage." "The Dissenting Minister of the Parish, who had always received the most civil and obliging treatment from him, with some others, stirred up the violence of the mob so suddenly" that "about midnight Mr. Clarke "was assaulted by a large number of them, his house ransacked, and himself used with indignity and insult." Soon after, he was arrested, "carried to a publick House and shut up in a separate room for ¾ of an hour, to view the Picture of Oliver Cromwell," then hurried to Boston, where, after a trial conducted "in a manner nearly resembling the Romish Inquisition," and in which "he was denied counsel and not permitted to know what was alledged against him," he was "condemned to Banishment and confiscation of Estate." This sentence was so far relaxed that he was allowed to remain a prisoner in his parish. As such "he drank deep of the cup of affliction and endured complicated misery" for nearly a year, when he took refuge at Newport, Rhode Island [50].

At Fairfield the Rev. JOHN SAYRE and his congregations were "greatly oppressed merely on account of their attachment to their Church and King." . . . Many of them were "imprisoned on the most frivolous pretences and their imprisonment aggravated with many circumstances of cruelty." The enlargement of North Fairfield Church was stopped "by the many abuses" which it "shared in common with the other churches in the Mission. Shooting bullets through them, breaking the windows, stripping off the hangings, carrying off the leads . . . and the most beastly defilements, make but a part of the insults which were offered to them." His house was "beset by more than 200 armed horsemen," and for some days he was not allowed to leave his premises. Next he was

"advertized as an enemy to his country for refusing to sign an Association which obliged it's subscribers to oppose the King with life and fortune and to withdraw all offices even of justice, humanity, and charity, from every recusant. In consequence of this advertizement all persons were forbidden to hold any kind of correspondence, or to have any manner of dealing with him, on pain of bringing themselves into the same predicament. This order was posted up in every store, mill, mechanical shop, and public house in the county, and was repeatedly published in the newspapers; but, through the goodness of God they wanted for nothing, the people under cover of the night, and, as it were by stealth, supplying them with plenty of the comforts and necessaries of life."

He was then banished for a time. When General Tryon drove off the enemy and set fire to the town, although a guard was sent to protect the parsonage it was destroyed, and Mr. Sayre with his wife and eight children were left "destitute of house and raiment" [51].

By the operation of the British troops the church and a great part of Norwalk parish were also "laid in ashes," and the Rev. J. LEAMING lost everything except the clothes he was wearing [52]. General Tryon informed the Society in August 1779 that he had rescued these "two very worthy clergymen, who were galled with the Tyranny of the Rebels" [53]. In Mr. Leaming's case the mob "took his picture, defaced and nailed it to a sign-post with the head downwards." By the treatment he received during imprisonment—when he was denied a bed—he contracted a disease which made him a cripple for life. Great as were his sufferings, Mr. Leaming stated (in 1780) that "the Rulers of Connecticut . . . treated the Clergy of the Church of England with more lenity than any other Government on the Continent" [54].

For "assisting some loyalists to escape from confinement" the Rev. R. VIETS of Simsbury (Conn.) was taken in 1776 and confined "a close prisoner in Hartford gaol"—for a time "in irons" [55]. Eventually he was released. During his long imprisonment "almost all his fellow prisoners" (some hundreds in numbers), being "of the Church," he prayed with them "twice a day, and preached twice on each Sunday. To those three of them who were put to death for their loyalty he was suffered to administer the Sacrament . . . which they received with great devotion." [L., Oct. 29, 1784 [56].]

The Rev. J. BAILEY of Pownalborough for three years underwent "the most severe and cruel treatment." Twice he was "assaulted by a furious mob," who on one occasion "stripped him naked"; four times he was "hauled before an unfeeling committee," and "sentenced to heavy bonds"; thrice he was "driven from his family and obliged to preserve a precarious freedom by roving about the country" (in the provinces of Maine, Hampshire, and Massachusetts), "through unfrequented paths, concealing himself under the cover of darkness and in disguised appearance." Two attempts were made to "shoot him." In his absence his family "suffered beyond measure for the necessaries of life." But as long as they had anything to bestow, his people assisted him—often "at the risque of their freedom and property," it being accounted "highly criminal to prevent a friend to Great Britain from starving." When at last he and his family escaped they arrived at Halifax in 1779 in a state of utter destitution. [*See* p. 115.] During his wanderings "he travelled through a multitude of places, where he preached in private houses and baptized a great number of children" [57].

The Rev. M. GRAVES of New London, having undergone "a continued scene of persecutions, afflictions, and trials, almost even unto death, for his religious principles and unshaken loyalty," took shelter in New York; but only to die. The like fate befell the Rev. E. WINSLOW of Braintree; and the Rev. J. LEAMING of Norwalk narrowly escaped with his life to New York [58].

Mr. Winslow reported in 1776 that "all the Churches in Connecticut and Rhode Island were shut up, except Trinity Church, where the prayers for the King are omitted" [59]. But in 1781 the Society was able to announce that the Church rather increased than diminished in New England, and that the condition of the Clergy was not so distressing as it had been; especially in Massachusetts and New Hampshire there

had been a great increase of the Church people, even where they had no ministry [60]. And from Simsbury in Connecticut the Rev. R. VIETS reported in 1784 that the losses of his congregation "by deaths emigrations &c." were "pretty nearly balanced by the accession of new Conformists." Although some ignorant people were being "seduced from the Church by enthusiasm," yet more joined themselves to her, "from a full conviction that the doctrines regulations, and worship of the Church are more consistent with reason, Scripture and the true spirit of devotion, than those of any other Church upon earth" [61].

(*See also Chapter XII., p.* 79, *and the Statistical Summary on p.* 86.)

CHAPTER X.

NEW JERSEY.

NEW JERSEY was first settled in 1624 by Danes. They were soon followed by Swedes and Dutch; but in 1664 the country was acquired by the English and granted to the Duke of York [see page 57], who transferred it to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. By them it was divided into two districts, "East and West Jersies"; and in 1702 surrendered to Queen Anne, when the name of New Jersey (after Lord Carteret, ex-Governor of the Isle of Jersey) was resumed for the whole country.*

The earliest English settlers were Quakers and Anabaptists; and it was by two members of those persuasions that an attempt "to setle a maintenance . . . for ministers" in 1697 was defeated [1].

IN 1701 Colonel Morris represented to the Society that "the youth of the whole Province" of East Jersey were "very debauch'd and very ignorant, and the Sabbath Day seems there to be set apart for Ryotting and Drunkenness. In a word a General Ignorance and immorality runs through the whole Province." The inhabitants of Middletowne he described as "perhaps the most ignorant and wicked people in the world; their meetings on Sundays is at the publick house where they get their fill of rum and go to fighting, and running of races which are practices much in use that day all the Province over."† At Perth Amboy "a shift" had been "made . . . to patch up an old ruinous house, and make a Church of it, and when all the Churchmen in the Province" of East Jersey were "gott together" they made up "about twelve Communicants." In West Jersey the people were "generally speaking . . . a hotch potch of all religions," but the Quakers appeared to be the only body possessing places of worship. The youth of this province also were "very debaucht . . . and very ignorant" [2]. The population of the two provinces numbered about 11,000, and, according to Keith, "except in two or three towns," there was "no place of any public worship of any sort," but people lived "very mean like Indians" [3].

In February 1702 the Society came to a resolution that three Missionaries should be sent to the Jerseys "with all convenient speed," and that the Governor should be asked "to divide the Governments into parishes and to lay out glebe lands in each parish" [4]. On October 2 in the same year KEITH and TALBOT (in their tour through America) reached New Jersey. The next day, Sunday, Keith preached at Amboy:—

"The auditory was small. My text [said he] was Tit. 2, 11–12. But such as were there were well affected; some of them, of my former acquaintance, and others who had been formerly Quakers but were come over to the Church, particularly Miles Foster, and John Barclay (Brother to Robert Barclay, who published the Apology for the Quakers); the place has very few inhabitants" [5].

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* It was also sometimes called Nova Cæsaria [6].

† In 1702 Col. Morris added that the majority of the inhabitants of East Jersey, "generally speaking," could "not with truth be call'd Christians" [7].

Both KEITH and TALBOT preached often at Burlington, then the capital of West Jersey, and containing 200 families. The result was the people agreed to conform to the Church of England, and wrote in 1704 to the Society :—

"We desire to adore the goodness of God for moving the hearts of the Lords Spirituall, Nobles and Gentry, to enter into a Society for Propagating the Gospell in Foreign Parts, the Benefit of wch. we have already experienced and hope further to enjoy. . . . These encouragements caused us some time since to joyn in a subscription to build a church here which tho' not as yett near finish'd have heard many good Sermons in it from the Reverend Mr. Keith and the Rev. Mr. Jno. Talbot whom next to Mr. Keith wee have a very great esteem for and do all in humility beseech your Lordships he may receive orders from you to settle with us. . . . Our circumstances at present are so that wee cannot without the assistance of your Ldps. maintain a Minr. . . ." [8].

After itinerating in America a year longer than Keith, Talbot settled at Burlington, and soon had a large congregation, where before had been "little else but Quakerism or Heathenism" [9]. Here too assembled the Clergy (in 1705) to agree on a memorial to the Society for a Bishop [10]; and here was made ready in 1713 a house for the expected Bishop. [*See* p. 744.] Visiting England in 1706, the bearer of the memorial on the Episcopate, Talbot had an opportunity of supporting in person the cause which he so ably advocated in his writings. Renewing his engagement with the Society, he returned to Burlington early in 1708. [*See also* p. 745.] The Church there became well established, the members thereof being incorporated by Governor Lord Cornbury and receiving gifts of Communion plate from Queen Anne* and Mrs. Catherine Bovey* [*see* p. 56], and a parsonage and glebe provided from bequests of Bishop Frampton† of Gloucester (£100) and Mr. Thomas Leicester (250 acres of land),‡ and from a gift of Mrs. Bovey, who appears to have been both the chief promoter and the principal donor of the endowment fund [11]. Extending his labours in every direction, Talbot stirred up in other congregations a desire for the ministrations of the Church—a desire so earnest that places of worship were erected before there was even a prospect of having a resident pastor; and the steadfastness with which the Church was sought after and adhered to in New Jersey was remarkable. Thus at Hopewell a Church begun by voluntary contributions about 1704 remained vacant for ten years, saving when a Missionary happened to pass that way; yet the people fell not away, but continuing in one mind, gladly joined in the services whenever opportunity offered [12].

Similar earnestness again is shown in the following appeal :—

"The humble Address of the Inhabitants of Salem in West Indies, New Jersey, and parts adjacent, members of ye Church of England; To the Honourable Society . . . &c.:—

"Very Venble. Gentlemen, A poor unhappy people settled by God's Providence, to procure by laborious Industry a Subsistance for our Familys, make bold to apply ourselves to God, thro' that very pious and charitable Society, his happy Instruments to dispense His Blessings in these remote Parts; that as His Goodness hath vouchsafed us a moderate Support for our Bodys, his holy Spirit may Influence you to provide us with Spiritual Food for our Souls: In this Case our

* In 1708 in both instances, Queen Anne also giving Church furniture. † *See* p. 56.

‡ The proprietors of land in the Colonies had had an example set them by Mr. Serjeant Hook, a prominent member of the Society, who, having purchased 3,750 acres of land in West Jersey, gave one-tenth as a glebe to the Church in those parts.

Indigence is excessive, and our Destitution deplorable, having never been so bless'd, as to have a Person settled among us, to dispence the August ordinances of Religion; insomuch that even the Name of it is almost lost among us; the Virtue and ernegy of it over Men's Lives, almost expireing, we won't say forgotten, for that implies previous Knowledge of it. But how should People know, having learned so little of God, and his Worship? And how can they learn without a Teacher? Our condicon is truly lamentable, and deserving Christian Compassion. And to whom can we apply ourselves, but to that Venerable Corporation, whose Zeal for the Propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, hath preserved so many in these Colonys, from Irreligion Profaneness, and Infidelity? We beseech you therefore, in the Name of our Common Lord and Master, and gratious Redeemer, and for the sake of the Gospel (just ready to die among us) to make us Partakers of that Bounty to these Parts; and according to the motto engraven on your Seal, *Transeuntes adjuvate nos* (*penè Infideles*)—Be pleased to send us some Reverend Clergyman, according to your Wisdom, who may inform our Judgments, by preaching to us the Truths of the Gospel; and recover us all, Aged and Young, out of the miserable corruptions, consequent to a gross Ignorance of it; to whom we promise all Encouragement according to our Abilities, and all due Respect and Obedience to his Office, Instructions and Person. The Lord in Mercy look upon us, and excite you, according to your Wonted Piety, to have a compassionate Regard of our Case, and we pray the Great God to prosper all your pious Undertakings, to promote His Glory and the Good of his Church, especialy in this destitute Place of the Pilgrimage of your most dutiful and obedt. Servants, &c." (Signed by 27 persons.) [13].

This and many similar prayers from other places were granted, and, by the Missionaries and the books sent over by the Society, many who were in error were shown the light of the Truth and returned into the way of righteousness.

Placed at Elizabeth Town in 1705, in the midst of "a vast number of Deists, Sabbatarians, and Eutychians, as also of Independents, Anabaptists and Quakers," the Rev. J. BROOK, from these "absurdities" "brought a considerable number of them to embrace our most pure and holy religion" [14]; and the congregation wrote in 1717 that they had "a firm and through perswasion of mind"; that "the Church of Christ" had been "in its purity planted and settled" amongst them by means of the Society [15]. The influence of Elizabeth Town and its Missionaries spread, and so welcome were the ministrations of the Church that the Rev. E. VAUGHAN baptized 620 persons within two years, 64 being adults [16]. Dying in 1747, after nearly forty years' service, Mr. Vaughan bequeathed his glebe of nine acres and his house to the "pious and venerable Society for the use of the Church of England Minister at Elizabethtown and his successors for ever" [17].

His successor was the Rev. Dr. CHANDLER, who, educated in Dissent, conformed to the Church and became distinguished for the services he rendered as Evangelist and author, and as a champion of Episcopacy. That he should be able to recover from Dissent many families who had fallen away because of neglect, is not a matter of surprise seeing that Dissenters themselves were glad to seek in the Church refuge from the distraction of sects. Thus "at Amwell above 200 Presbyterians and some families of Anabaptists constantly attended Divine Service at the Church" opened in 1753, "and a great number of them, seeing the peace and charity" which reigned among the Church congregations "and the troubles and dissensions among that of the Dissenters" "contributed towards the finishing the Church" building under the

Society's Missionary, the Rev. M. Houdin, himself formerly a Roman Catholic priest [18]. Sixteen years later the Dissenters assisted in repairing the church, and on the death of their Minister in 1769 (viz. Mr. Kirkpatrick, a Presbyterian, "of good sense, benevolent disposition, and catholic spirit," whose people were "not any way tinctured with that rigid severity in religious matters so peculiar to some Dissenters") they constantly attended church, as did many persons of various denominations at Elizabeth Town, New Brunswick, and in Sussex County, and other parts. At Maidenhead, while there was no Church building, the Dissenters' Meeting House was placed at the disposal of the Rev. A. TREADWELL (in 1763) for Church Service [19].

The Mission of New Brunswick included "a great number of negroes," but this does not appear to have been the case generally in New Jersey. The Missionary spirit was not, however, wanting, as the baptism of black children and adults from time to time testified [20].

One of the Evangelists, the Rev. T. THOMPSON, became (in 1752) the first Missionary of the Church of England to Africa. [*See* p. 255.] In 1774 Dr. Chandler of Elizabeth Town reported :—

"The Church in this province makes a more respectable appearance, than it ever did, till very lately: Thanks to the venerable Society, without whose charitable interposition, there would not have been one episcopal congregation among us. They have now no less than *Eleven* Missionaries in this District; none of whom are blameable in their conduct, and some of them are eminently useful. Instead of the small buildings, out of repair, in which our congregations used to assemble 20 years ago, we have now several that make a handsome appearance, both for size and decent ornament, particularly at Burlington, Shrewsbury, New Brunswick, and Newark, and all the rest are in good repair: and the congregations in general appear to be as much improved, as the Churches they assemble in" [21].

Ere two years had elapsed all the Churches in New Jersey were shut up, some being desecrated, and pastor and flock were persecuted and scattered. The existence of discontent had long been observed, and though unswerving in loyalty to the mother country, Dr. Chandler did not fail to remonstrate against the folly of her rulers in dealing with the Colonies. In 1766 he wrote :—

"If the Interest of the Church of England in America had been made a National concern from the Beginning, by this time a general submission in the Colonies, to the Mother Country, in everything not sinful, might have been expected. . . . and who can be certain that the present rebellious Disposition of the Colonies is not intended by Providence as a punishment for that neglect? . . . the Nation whether sensible of it or not, is under great obligations to that very worthy Society."

That the Government might become "more sensible" of the Society's services, "and at Length co-operate with them . . . as the most probable means of restoring the mutual happiness of Great Britain and her colonies," was his "dayly prayer" [22].

It pleased God that this prayer should not be granted, and long it was before His Church in America was enabled "joyfully to serve" Him "in all godly quietness." At Newark the Church building was used as a "hospital for the Rebells," who removed the Seats and erected "a large stack of chimneys in the centre of it." The Rev. I. BROWNE underwent "a long course of injuries and vexations," and in 1777 was "obliged to fly to New York," leaving his family "in the hands of the

rebels," who sold his "little property" and sent his "infirm wife to him destitute of everything but some wearing apparell" [23].

Nevertheless, though "driven from their homes, their property seiz'd, plunder'd, and sold and themselves consequently reduced to the most extreme poverty," the members of the Church "in daily suffering for the sake of truth" and preserving "a good conscience toward God" rendered to Him "true and laudable service" [24].

(*See also Chapter XII., p.* 79, *and the Statistical Summary on p.* 86.)

NOTE TO PAGE 53.—Bishop Frampton was the deprived non-juring Bishop of Gloucester, who had retired to Standish, Gloucestershire. Mrs. Catherine Bovey, who resided at Flaxley Abbey, in that county, and was an intimate friend of the Bishop, described his bequest as "a generous one," considering his circumstances. The name of this distinguished lady deserves to be held in lasting remembrance for her good deeds, in particular for the great interest which she took in the Society, and in Sunday Schools (of which she was one of the pioneers in England, long before Robert Raikes). Though buried at Flaxley, a monument to her memory was erected in Westminster Abbey. [*See* No. [25] in the references to this chapter.]

CHAPTER XI.

NEW YORK.

NEW YORK was first settled in 1610 by the Dutch. The original Colony of "Nova Belgia," or "New Netherlands" as it was called, included East and West Jersey; and owing to the guarantee of religious toleration, it became a refuge for the persecuted Protestants of France, Belgium, Germany, Bohemia, and Piedmont. The war with Holland in 1664 changed it to a British Possession, which being granted to the Duke of York took its present name.

The religious state of the Colonists towards the close of the 17th century may be gathered from a letter addressed to the Society by Colonel Heathcote in 1704, regarding the County of West Chester. When he first came there, about 12 years before, "I found it," said he, "the most rude and Heathenish Country I ever saw in my whole Life, which called themselves Christians, there being not so much as the least marks or Footsteps of Religion of any Sort. *Sundays* being the only Time sett apart by them for all manner of vain Sports and lewd Diversions, and they were grown to such a Degree of Rudeness that it was intollerable, and having then the comand of the Militia, I sent an order to all the Captains, requiring them to call their Men under Arms, and to acquaint them, that in Case they would not in every Town agree amongst themselves to appoint Readers and pass the Sabbath in the best Manner they could, till such Times as they could be better provided, that they should every Sunday call their Companies under arms, and spend the Day in Exercise; whereupon it was unanimously agreed on thro' the county, to make Choice of Readers; which they accordingly did, and continued in those Methods for some Time" [1]. No attempt towards a settlement of the Church appears to have been made until 1693, when because "Profaneness and Licentiousness had overspread the Province from want of a settled Ministry throughout the same, it was ordained by Act of Assembly that Six Protestant Ministers should be appointed therein" [2]. But this Act began not to operate till 1697, when a church was built in the city of New York and the Vestry appointed thereto a Mr. VESEY (then with them) conditionally on his obtaining ordination in England. This he did, and for 50 years continued Rector of Trinity Church, during much of which time he was also the Bishop of London's Commissary for the Province.

In 1701 the population of the Province numbered 25,000. They were distributed "in Twenty Five towns; about Ten of them Dutch, the rest English" [3]. Long Island was "a great place" with "many Inhabitants." The Dutch were Calvinists and had some "Calvinistical Congregations," "The English some of them Independents but many of them no Religion, but like wild Indians." There appeared to be "no Church of England in all Long Island, nor in all that great Continent of New York Province, except at New York town" [4].

IN February 1702 the Society, after considering a representation made by Mr. Vesey, decided "that six Missionaries should be sent to New York," and on March 20 the Rev. PATRICK GORDON was appointed to Jamaica, Long Island [5]. Leaving England with Keith, in April 1702 [*see* p. 10], he reached his parish, but "took sick the day before he designed to preach, and so continued til his death . . . about eight days after" [6]. The island did not long lack for preaching, for the two travelling Missionaries came there in September 1702. At Hampsted (or Hempsted) where KEITH officiated on Sunday, September 27, there was "such a Multitude of People that the church could not hold them, so that many stood without at the doors and windows to hear, who were generally well affected and greatly desired that a Church of England Minister should be settled among them." Among those baptized by Keith were a Justice of Peace and his three children and another family, at Oyster Bay. Here had "scarce been any profession

of the Christian Religion"; but there were many of "Case's crew who set up a new sort of Quakerism . . . among other vile principles they condemned marriage, and said it was of the Devil," and that "they were the Children of the Resurrection." In New York Keith first preached on September 30, 1702, at "the weekly Fast which was appointed by the Government by reason of the great mortality. . . . Above five hundred died in the space of a few weeks, and that very week about seventy" [7].

The second Missionary of the Society to New York Province was the Rev. J. BARTOW, who was stationed in the West Chester district in 1702, where at that time there were not ten Churchmen. Two years later he reported: "I have . . . been instrumental of making many Proselyts to our holy Religion who are very constant and devout in, and at their attendance on Divine Service; those who were enemies at my first coming are now zealous professors of the ordinances of our Church" [8].

At East Chester the people were generally Presbyterians, and had (in 1700) organised a parish of their own; but when Mr. Bartow came among them "they were so well satisfied with the Liturgy and doctrine of the Church, that they forsook their Minister," and conformed [9]. The Dutch also thronged to hear him at Yonkers, where service was held in a private house or in a barn [10].

Success also attended the labours of the Rev. J. THOMAS at Hempsted and Oyster Bay, in Long Island, 1704–24. In this district the people had been "wholly unacquainted with the Blessed Sacrament for five and fifty years together." As they had "lived so long in the disuse of it" Mr. Thomas "struggled with great difficulties to make them sensible of the want and necessity of it"; but in 1709 he had "five and thirty of them in full communion with the Church who [once] were intirely ignorant that Communion was a duty" and "the most numerous of any country congregacion within this or the neighbouring colonies" [11]. To remove the miserable ignorance of the people and children both here and in Staten Island, where the Rev. E. MACKENZIE was placed in 1704, the Society established schools and distributed books, with excellent results. [*See* pp. 769, 798.] Most of the inhabitants of Staten Island were Dutch and French, and the English consisted chiefly of Quakers and Anabaptists. Mr. Mackenzie, however, met with encouragement from all: the French, who had a minister and church of their own, allowed him the use of their building until an English church was built, and the Dutch, though at first prejudiced against our Liturgy, soon learned to esteem it on receiving Prayer Books from the Society in their own language. Some of them allowed their children to be instructed in the Church Catechism, as did the French, and all but a few of the English Dissenters [12].

In 1713 the Church members in Richmond County returned their thanks to the Society for sending Mr. Mackenzie to them, stating that

"the most implacable adversaries of our Church profess a personal respect for him and joyne with us in giveing him the best of characters, his unblameable life affoording no occasion of disparagemt. to his function, nor discredit to his doctrine. . . Upon his first induction to this place, there were not above four or five

in the whole county, that ever knew anything of our Excellent Liturgy and form of Worship, and many knew little more of Religion, than the com'on notion of a Deity, and as their ignorance was great and gross, so was their practice irregular and barbarous. But now, by the blessing of God attending his labours, our Church increases, a considerable Reformation is wrought and something of the face of Christianity is to be seen amongst us" [13]. [*See also* thanks for School, p. 769 of this book.]

Hitherto Mr. Mackenzie had officiated in the French Church "upon sufferance," but now his people, with assistance from neighbouring counties, provided "a pretty handsom church"* and a parsonage and glebe [14].

The inhabitants of Rye were still more forward in promoting the settling of the Church of England. Until the advent of the Rev. G. MUIRSON in 1705 there were few Church members, but he soon gathered "a very great congregation" from "a people made up almost of all Perswasions" [15]. In 1706 he reported thus to the Society:—

"I have baptized about 200 young and old, but most adult persons, and am in hopes of initiating many more into the Church of Christ, after I have examined, taught, and find them qualifyed. This is a large parish, the towns are far distant. The people were some Quakers, some Anabap.[tists], but chiefly Presbyterians and Independents. They were violently set against our Church, but now (blessed be God!) they comply heartily; for I have now above forty communicants, and only six when I first administred that holy sacrament . . . . I find that catechising on the week days in the remote towns, and frequent visiting, is of great service; and I am sure that I have made twice more proselytes by proceeding after that method than by public preaching. Every fourth Sunday I preach at Bedford. . . . In that town there are about 120 persons unbaptized; and notwithstanding all the means I have used, I cou'd not perswade them of the necessity of that holy ordinance till of late . . . some of them begin to conform" [16].

In his short but useful Ministry (1704–8), and while still in charge of Rye, Mr. Muirson did much towards founding the Church in Connecticut. [*See* pp. 48–4.]

At New Rochelle the Society in 1709 met the wishes of a settlement of French Protestants for conformity with the Church of England by adopting their Minister, the Rev. D. BONDET [*see* p. 855], and instructing him to use the English Liturgy; whereupon the people generally conformed and provided a new church, a house and glebe. Mr. Bondet (1709–21) had a large congregation, which increased under his successor, the Rev. P. STOUPE (1723–60) [17].

Like results attended the ministrations to the Dutch in their own language at Albany. This place formed an important centre, being the chief trading station with the Indians, and supplied with a strong fort and a garrison of from 200 to 300 soldiers for the security of the province from the ravages of the French and Indians. The inhabitants (nearly 4,000) were mainly Dutch, who had their own Minister; but on his returning to Europe the Society, in 1709, appointed the Rev T. BARCLAY (the English Chaplain at the fort) to be its Missionary there [18].

For seven years he had the use of the Lutheran Chapel, and so effective were his ministrations that a considerable number of the

* Opened in the summer of 1712.

Dutch conformed, and when a new building became necessary all parties seemed glad to unite in contributing to its erection. The town of Albany raised £200, every inhabitant of Schenectady (a village 20 miles distant) gave something—"one very poor man excepted"; from the garrison at Albany came noble benefactions—the "poor soldiers" of "two Independent companies" subscribing £100, besides their officers' gifts; three Dutch ministers in Long Island and New York added their contributions, and the Church was opened on Nov. 25, 1716. Mr. Barclay described it as "by far the finest structure in America," the "best built tho' not the largest" [19]. A different spirit was shown by the Independents (from New England), who formed the majority of the inhabitants of Jamaica in Long Island. The successor of Mr. GORDON, the Rev. W. URQUHART, died (about 1709) after about four years' ministry, and when the Rev. T. POYER was sent to occupy the Mission in 1710, he found the Independents in possession of the Parsonage and glebe, which they refused to surrender* [20]. Six months before his death in 1731 Mr.

* During the consideration of this case the Earl of Clarendon (formerly Lord Cornbury) with the King's permission, communicated to the Society the Royal instructions given him in 1703 as Governor of New York and New Jersey [20*a*]. The following extract will be of interest, especially as Clauses 60 and 63 continued (almost word for word) to be included in the Instructions sent out to Colonial Governors until far on into the present century, "the Bishop of the Diocese" being substituted for "the Bishop of London":—

"60. You shall take especial care that God Almighty be devoutly and duly serv'd throughout your Government. The Book of Common Prayer as by Law establish'd read each Sunday and Holy Day and the blessed Sacrament administer'd according to the rites of the Church of England. You shall be careful that the Churches already built there be well and orderly kept and that more be built as the Colony shall, by God's blessing be improved, and that besides a competent maintenance to be assign'd the Minister of each Orthodox Church, a convenient House be built, at the Common Charge for each minister, and a competent proportion of lands be assign'd him for a glebe and exercise of his industry and you are to take care that the parishes be so limited and settled as you shall find most convenient for the accomplishing this good work.

"61. You are not to prefer any Minister to any Ecclesiastical Benefice in that our Province without a certificate from the Right Reverend Father in God, the Bishop of London, of his being conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and of a good life and conversation. And if any person preferred already to a Benefice shall appear to you to give Scandal, either by his doctrine or in manners, you are to use the best means for the removal of him, and to supply the vacancy in such manner as we have directed.

"62. You are to give order forthwith (if the same be not already done) that every orthodox Minister within your government be one of the Vestry in his respective Parish, and that no Vestry be held without him, except in case of sickness, or that, after notice of a Vestry summoned, he omit to come.

"63. You are to enquire whether there be any Minister within your Government, who preaches and administers the Sacrament in any orthodox Church or Chapel without being in due orders, and to give an account thereof to the said Bishop of London.

"64. And to the end the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishop of London may take place in that Province so farr as conveniently may be, wee do think fit that you give all countenance and encouragement to the exercise of the same, excepting only the collating to benefices, granting Lycences for marriages, and probate of Wills, which wee have reserved to you our Governor and to the Commander in Cheif of our said Province for the time being.

"65. Wee do further direct that no Schoolmaster be henceforth permitted to come from England, and to keep Schoole, within our Province of New York, without the Lycence of the said Bishop of London, and that no other person now there, or that shall come from other parts, be admitted to keep schoole without your Lycence first obtained."

(NOTE.—Sections 74 and 75 provide for appeals from the New York Courts to the Governor and Council, and from the latter to the Privy Council.) [20*b*.]

Poyer represented to the Society that during his residence in Jamaica he

"has had great and almost continual contentions with the Independents in his Parish, has had several law suits with them for the salary settled by the country for the Minister of the Church of England, and also for some glebe lands, that by a late Tryal at Law he has lost them and the Church itself, which his congregation has had the possession of for 25 years" [21].

"Yet notwithstanding the emperious behaviour of these our enemies who stick not to call themselves the Established Church and us Dissenters we can" (wrote the Church Members to the Society in 1717) "with joy say that the Church here has increased very considerably both in its number of hearers and communicants by the singular care, pains and Industry of our present Laborious Minister Mr. Poyer who notwithstanding the many difficulties he has struggled with has never been in the least wanting in the due execution of his Ministerial function but rather on the contrary has strained himself in travelling through the parish beyond his strength and not seldom to the prejudice of his health which is notorious to all the inhabitants" [22].

The arrival of a body of "poor Palatines" in England from Germany in 1709 enlisted English sympathy, and the Government having afforded them a refuge in New York Province, the Society appointed the Rev. J. F. HAEGER, a German, to minister to them. While in London they took up their quarters in Aldgate and St. Catherine's parishes, "a mixt body of Lutherans and Calvinists," in number about 500. In the summer of 1710 they reached New York, one ship having been "stav'd but the men preserv'd." Some of the Lutherans, finding their own form of worship in New York, naturally preferred it, but the conformity of a large number was established under Mr. Haeger, who reported in Oct. 1710 that he had 600 communicants, of whom 13 had been Papists until instructed by him [23]. The Rev. Joshua Kocherthal, who accompanied some of the Palatines, was voted £20 by the Society in 1714, in consideration of his great pains and poor circumstances—he also having disposed many of his people to conform to the Church of England—and for his encouragement for the future, it not being consistent with the Society's rules to make him a Missionary* [24]. Another Lutheran pastor, Mr. J. J. Ehlig, was assisted in this way in 1726 [26].

The Society also supported for three years (1710–13), as Missionary to the Dutch congregation at Harlem, the Rev. H. BEYSE, a Dutch minister whom Colonel Morris had persuaded to accept episcopal ordination. The continuance of his salary was made dependent on the conformity of his congregation, and Colonel Morris (who had "perswaded the Dutch into a good opinion of the Church of England") reported in 1711 that Mr. Beyse "had gained the most considerable of the inhabitants" at Harlem. The Mission, however, failed of its object and was withdrawn in 1713 [27].

Many of the early Colonial Governors and other laymen were ever ready to promote the establishment of the Church in America, and the aid rendered to the Society by such men as Colonel Morris, Colonel Heathcote, Colonel Dudley, General Nicholson, Governor Hunter, Sir William Johnson, and Mr. St. George Talbot deserves grateful acknowledgment. Besides rendering valuable service in their official capacity, some of these gave freely of their own substance. General Nicholson's gifts extended to all the North American Colonies [28].

* That is to say, he had not received Anglican Ordination, as in the cases of Messrs. Haeger and Beyse.

Sir W. Johnson's included one to the Society of 20,000 acres of land, subject to "His Majesty's grant" of the same, which does not appear to have been obtained. The land was situated about 80 miles from Schenectady, and was intended for the endowment of an episcopate [29]. Mr. Talbot contributed handsomely to the foundation of Churches in New York and Connecticut, and bequeathed "the greatest part of his Estate" to the Society, whose portion however was, by the opposition of the heirs at law, reduced to £1,300 cy. [30].

The character of the Society's Missionaries in New York was thus described by Lord Cornbury in 1705:—

"For those places where Ministers are setled, as New York, Jamaica,* Hempstead,* W. [West] Chester,* and Rye,* I must do the gentlemen who are setled there, the justice to say, that they have behaved themselves with great zeal, exemplary piety, and unwearied diligence, in discharge of their duty in their several pishes. [parishes], in which I hope the Church will by their Diligence, be encreased more and more every day" [31].

Colonel Heathcote's testimony is no less valuable:—

"I must do all the gentlemen that justice, which you have sent to this province as to declare, that a better clergy were never in any place, there being not one amongst them that has the least stain or blemish as to his life or conversation." [L., Nov. 9, 1705 [32].]

Governor Hunter wrote from New York in 1711:—

"Wee are happy in these provinces in a good sett of Missionarys, who generally labour hard in their functions and are men of good lives and ability" [34].

Planted by worthy men and carried on by worthy successors, the Missions so flourished and multiplied that in 1745 the Rev. Commissary VESEY was able to report to the Society that within his jurisdiction in New York and New Jersey there were twenty-two churches, "most of them . . . commonly filled with hearers." He then observed that when he came to New York as Rector of Trinity Church in 1697, at that time,

"besides this Church and the Chappel in the fort, one Church in Philadelphia and one other in Boston, I don't remember to have heard of one Building erected for the publick worship of God according to the Liturgy of the Church of England on this Northern Continent of America from Maryland (where the Church was establish't by a Law of that Province) to the Eastermost bounds of Nova Scotia, which I believe in length is 800 miles, and now most of these Provinces or Collonies have many Churches, which against all opposition increase and flourish under the miraculous influence of Heaven. I make no doubt it will give a vast pleasure to the Honble. Society to observe the wonderfull Blessing of God on their pious Cares and Endeavours to promote the Christian Religion in these remote and dark Corners of the World, and the great Success that by the concomitant power of the Holy Ghost, has attended the faithfull Labours of their Missionarys, in the Conversion of so many from vile Errors and wicked Practices to the Faith of Christ, and the Obedience to his Gospell" [35].

* [A Large Bible, Prayer Book, Book of Homilies, with Cloths, for the Pulpit and Communion Table, and a silver Chalice and Paten, were given by Queen Anne to each of the Churches at these places and to Staten Island Church in 1706 [33].]

From the fanatical preachers, so common in America, the Church in New York (as in other Colonies) gained rather than lost. The character of these "enthusiasts," as they were called, may be gathered from the fact that in Long Island "several of the Teachers . . . as well as hearers" were "found guilty of the foulest and immoral practices," and others of them wrought themselves "into the highest degree of madness." "These accidents, together with the good books sent over by the Society," "taught the people what true Christianity is and what it is not" [36]. Thus reported the Rev. T. COLGAN in 1741. Eighteen years later the island, which in the previous generation had been "the grand seat of Quakerism," had become "the seat of infidelity." "A transition how natural," wrote the future Bishop SEABURY:—

"Bred up in intire neglect of all religious principles, in Hatred to the Clergy, and in Contempt of the Sacraments, how hard is their Conversion! Especially as they disavow even the necessity of any redemption. . . . It is evident to the most superficial Observer, that, where there have been the greatest number of Quakers among the first settlers in this country, there Infidelity and a Disregard to all Religion have taken the deepest Root; and if they have not intirely corrupted the religious Principles of the other Inhabitants, they have at least very much weakened them, and made them look upon Religion with Indifference. This seems to me the Reason why it is so hard to bring the People of that parish [Hempsted] or this [Jamaica] to comply with the Sacraments of the Christian Church, or to think themselves under any Obligations of duty to attend the public Worship of God." [L., Rev. S. Seabury, Oct. 10, 1759, and June 28, 1765 [37].]

Among the European settlers, both here and generally in America, were many who, before the Society had established its Missions, were as far removed from God as the Negroes and Indians, and indeed whose lives proved a greater hindrance to the spread of the Gospel than those of their coloured brethren. That any race should be disqualified from having the message of salvation, because of the colour of their skin or any other reason, was ever repudiated by the Society. To the care of the Negroes and Indians, as well as the Colonists, in the Province of New York it devoted much labour.

The instruction of the Negro and Indian slaves, and so to prepare them for conversion, baptism, and communion, was a primary charge (oft repeated) to "every Missionary . . . and to all Schoolmasters" of the Society in America. [*See* Instructions, pp. 839, 845 [38].] In addition to the efforts of the Missionaries generally, special provision was made in the Province of New York by the employment of sixteen clergymen and thirteen lay-teachers mainly for the evangelisation of the slaves and the free Indians. For the former a "Catechising School" was opened in New York city in 1704, under the charge of Mr. ELIAS NEAU. Mr. Neau was a native of France, whose confession of the Protestant Faith had there brought him several years' confinement in prison, followed by seven years in "the gallies." When released he settled at New York as a trader. He showed much sympathy for the slaves, and in 1703 drew the Society's attention to the great number in New York "who were without God in the world, and of whose souls there was no manner of care taken," and proposed the appointment of a Catechist among them. This office the Society prevailed upon him to undertake, and having

received a licence from the Governor of New York "to catechise the Negroes and Indians and the children of the town" he left his position of an Elder in the French Church and entirely conformed to the Church of England, "not upon any worldly account, but through a principle of conscience and hearty approbation of the English Liturgy," part of which he had formerly learnt by heart in his dungeons. In the discharge of his office Mr. Neau at first went from house to house, but afterwards got leave for some of the slaves to attend him. At his request, to further the work, the Society procured for him a licence from the Bishop of London, and prepared the draft of "a Bill to be offered to Parliament for the more effectual conversion of the Negro and other Servants in the Plantations," obliging all owners of slaves "to cause their children to be baptized within 3 months after their birth and to permit them when come to years of discretion to be instructed in the Christian Religion on the Lord's Day by the Missionaries under whose ministry they live," but the owners' rights of property not to be affected * [39]. Mr. Neau's labours were much blessed. The Rev. W. VESEY commended him to the Society in 1706 as "a constant communicant of our Church, and a most zealous and prudent servant of Christ, in proselytising the miserable Negroes and Indians among them to the Christian Religion whereby he does great service to God and His Church" [41].

The outbreak of some negroes in New York in 1712 created a prejudice against the school, which was said to have been the main cause of the trouble, and for some days Mr. Neau could scarcely venture to show himself, so bitter was the feeling of the slaveowners. But on the trial of the conspirators it was found that only one of them belonged to the school, and he was unbaptized—and that the most criminal belonged to masters who were openly opposed to their Christian instruction.

Nevertheless Mr. Neau found it necessary to represent to the Clergy of New York "the struggle and oppositions" he met in exercising his office from "the generality" of the "Inhabitants," who were "strangely prejudiced with a horrid notion thinking that the Christian knowledge" would be "a mean to make their Slaves more cunning and apter to wickedness" than they were [42].

To remove these suspicions Governor Hunter visited the school, ordered all his slaves to attend it, and in a proclamation recommended the Clergy to urge on their congregations the duty of promoting the instruction of the negroes [43].

This caused a favourable reaction. Mr. Neau reported in 1714 "that if all the slaves and domesticks in New York are not instructed it is not his fault" [44] and by the Governor, the Council, Mayor, and Recorder of New York and the two Chief Justices the Society was informed that Mr. Neau had performed his work "to the great advancement of Religion in general and the particular benefit of the free Indians, Negro Slaves, and other Heathens in those parts, with indefatigable Zeal and Application" [45]. After Mr. Neau's death

* In 1710, and again in 1712, the Society endeavoured to secure the insertion in the African Company's Bill of clauses for instructing the Plantation Negroes in the Christian religion [40]

in 1722 his work was carried on for a time by Mr. HUDDLESTONE and the Rev. J. WETMORE.

On the removal of the latter the Rev. T. COLGAN was appointed in 1726 on the representation of the Rector, Churchwardens and Vestry of Trinity Church, setting forth the great need of a Catechist in that city, "there being about 1400 Negroe and Indian Slaves, a considerable number of which have been already instructed in the principles of Christianity by Mr. Neau . . . and have received baptism and are communicants in that Church" [46]. The Mission was continued under an ordained Missionary during the remainder of the Society's connection with the Colony. From 1732 to 1740 the Rev. R. CHARLTON baptized 219 (24 adults), and frequently afterwards the yearly baptisms numbered from 40 to 60 [47].

Great care was taken in preparing the slaves for baptism, and the spiritual knowledge of some of them was such as might have put to shame many persons who had had greater advantages [48]. The Rev. S. AUCHMUTY reported that "not one single Black" that had been "admitted by him to the Holy Communion" had "turned out bad or been, in any shape, a disgrace to our holy Profession" [49]. During his time (1747–64) the masters of the negroes became "more desirous than they used to be of having them instructed" and consequently his catechumens increased daily [50].

At New Windsor, before holding the appointment at New York, and at Staten Island after, Mr. Charlton did good service among the negroes [51]. Caste seemed to have been unknown in his congregation at Staten Island, for he found it not only practical but "most convenient to throw into one the classes of his white and black catechumens" [52].

The same plan seems to have been adopted by the Rev. J. SAYRE of Newburgh, who catechised children, white and black, in each of his four churches [53].

The Rev. T. BARCLAY who used his "utmost endeavours" to instruct the slaves of Albany, discovered in 1714 "a great forwardness" in them to embrace Christianity "and a readiness to receive instruction." Three times a week he received them at his own house, but some of the masters were so "perverse and ignorant that their consent to the instruction of slaves" could "not be gained by any intreaties." Among the strongest opponents at first were Major M. Schuyler and "his brother in law Petrus Vandroffen [Van Driessen], Minister to the Dutch congregation at Albany," but "some of the better sort" of the Dutch and others encouraged the work, and "by the blessing of God" Mr. Barclay "conquered the greatest difficulties" [54].

Thus was the way prepared for others, and in the congregation at Schenectady some 60 years later were still to be found several negro slaves, of whom 11 were "sober, serious communicants" [55].

The free Indians, as well as the Indian and negro slaves, were an object of the Society's attention from the first. The difficulties of their conversion were great, but neither their savage nature nor their wandering habits proved such a stumbling block as the bad lives of the Europeans. Already the seeds of death had been sown among the natives.

"As to the Indians, the natives of the country, they are a decaying people," wrote the Rev. G. MURRSON of Rye in 1708. "We have not now in all this parish 20 Families, whereas not many years agoe there were several Hundreds. I have frequently conversed with some of them, and bin at their great meetings of *pawawing* as they call it. I have taken some pains to teach some of them but to no purpose, for they seem regardless of Instruction—and when I have told them of the evil consequences of their hard drinking &c. they replyed that Englishmen do the same: and that it is not so great a sin in an Indian as in an Englishman, because the Englishman's Religion forbids it, but an Indian's dos not, they further say they will not be Christians nor do they see the necessity for so being, because we do not live according to the prccepts of our religion, in such ways do most of the Indians that I have conversed with either here or elsewhere expreas themselves: I am heartily sorry that we shou'd give them such a bad example and fill their mouths with such Objections against our blessed Religion" [56].

Happily there were many Indians in the province of New York who had received such impressions of the Christian religion as to be "urgent in all their propositions and other conferences with the Governours, to have ministers among them to instruct them in the Christian faith." The French Jesuits had been endeavouring to make proselytes of them and had drawn over a considerable number to Canada, and there planted two castles near Mount Royal [Montreal], where priests were provided to instruct them, and soldiers to protect them in time of war [57]. Speaking in the name of the rest of the Sachems of the "Praying Indians of Canada," one of their chiefs thus addressed the Government Commissioners at Albany, N.Y., in 1700:—

"We are now come to Trade, and not to speak of Religion; Only thus much I must say, all the while I was here before I went to Canada, I never heard anything talk'd of Religion, or the least mention made of converting us to the Christian Faith; and we shall be glad to hear if at last you are so piously inclined to take some pains to instruct your Indians in the Christian Religion; I will not say but it may induce some to return to their Native Country. I wish it had been done sooner that you had had Ministers to instruct your Indians in the Christian Faith; I doubt whether any of us ever had deserted our native Country, but I must say I am solely beholden to the French of Canada for the light I have received to know there was a Saviour born for mankind; and now we are taught God is everywhere, and we can be instructed at Canada, Dowaganhae, or the uttermost Parts of the Earth as well as here" [58].

Moved by this and other representations received from the Earl of Bellamont (Governor of New York), the "Commissioners of Trade and Plantations" in England addressed Archbishop Tenison [59] and the Queen on the subject, with the result that an Order in Council was passed, viz.:—

"Att the Court att St. James's the third day of April 1703. Present the Queen's Most Excellent Maty. in Council. Upon reading this day at the Board a Representation from the Lords Comrs. of Trade & Plantations, dated the 2d of this month, relating to her Mats. Province of New York in America, setting forth, among other things, that as to the 5 Nations of Indians bordering upon New York, least the Intrigues of the French of Canada, and the influence their Priests, who frequently converse and sometimes inhabite with those Indians, should debauch them from her Mats. Allegiance, their Lordships are humbly of opinion that besides the usuall method of engaging the sd. Indians by Presents, another means to prevent the Influence of the French Missionaries upon them, and

thereby more effectually to secure their fidelity, would be, that two Protestant Ministers be appointed with a competent allowance to dwell amongst them in order to instruct them in the true religion & confirm them in their duty to Her Majesty; It is ordered by Her Maty. in Council, That it be as it is hereby referred to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, to take such care therein as may most effectually answer this service" [60].

The Order in Council was laid before the Society by the Archbishop, and confirmatory evidence was received from other sources, particularly from Mr. Robert Levingston [Livingston], Secretary for Indian Affairs in New York, who memorialised and interviewed the Society on the subject [61], and from the Rev. J. TALBOT, who reported in Nov. 1702 that "even the Indians themselves have promised obedience to the faith," five of their Sachems or Kings having told Governor Lord Cornbury (at a Conference at Albany) that "they were glad to hear that the Sun shined in England again since King William's death"; they admired that we should have "a squaw sachem" or "woman king," but hoped she would "be a good mother and send them some to teach them Religion and establish traffic amongst them, that they might be able to purchase a coat and not to go to Church in bear skins"; and so they sent the Queen a present, to wit "ten bever skins to make her fine and one far [fur] muff to keep her warm"; and in signing the treaty they said "thunder and lightning should not break it on their part" [62]. It appearing that the Dutch ministers stationed at Albany from time to time had taken great pains in instructing the Mohawks, and had translated some forms and services &c., the Society sent "an honourable gratuity" to Mr. Lydius, "in consideration of his promoting the Christian Religion among the Indians," and expressed a desire that he should continue his endeavours [63]. Mr. Dellius, another Dutch minister, from Albany, being in Europe was invited to undertake a mission among the Five Nation Indians, but he "insisted upon such demands as were not within the Powers of the Society to grant" [64]. Eventually the Rev. THOROUGHGOOD MOOR, "with a firm courage and Resolution to answer the excellent designs of the Society" undertook the Mission, and arriving at New York in 1704 received all possible countenance and favour from the Governor, Lord Cornbury. But the Clergy of the province represented to the Society that

"it is most true the converting Heathens is a work laudable, Honourable and Glorious, and we doubt not but God will prosper it in the hands of our Good Brother Mr. Thorogood Moore, . . . but after all with submission we humbly supplicate that the children first be satisfied, and the lost sheep recovered who have gone astray among hereticks and Quakers who have denyed the Faith and are worse than Infidels and Indians that never knew it" [65].

Soon after Mr. Moor's arrival at Albany, 50 miles from the Mohawk settlement, two Indians came and one thus addressed him:—

"Father we are come to express our joy at your safe arrival and that you have escapt the dangers of a dreadful sea, which you have crost, I hear, to instruct us in Religion. It only grieves us that you are come in time of war, when it is uncertain whether you will live or die with us."

Four other Indians, including one of their Sachems, visited and en-

couraged him, but although courteously received at the settlement also, it soon became evident that his Mission would not be accepted. After waiting at Albany nearly a year and using "all the means he could think of, in order to get the good will of the Indians, till their unreasonable delays and frivolous excuses, with some other circumstances, were a sufficient Indication of their Resolution never to accept him, and therefore expecting either no answer at all or at last a positive denial . . . he thought it better to leave them" [66]. Mr. Moor had by this time made the discovery that "to begin with the Indians is preposterous; for it is from the behaviour of the Christians here, that they have had, and still have, their notions of Christianity, which God knows, hath been generally such that it hath made the Indians to hate our religion," and that "the Christians selling the Indians so much rum, is a sufficient bar, if there were no other, against their embracing Christianity" [67].

Mr. Moor withdrew to Burlington, New Jersey, for a time, and Lord Cornbury (1705) promised the Society that he would endeavour to secure him a favourable reception by the Indians, adding "he is certainly a very good man" [68]. Mr. Moor had a rather different opinion of Lord Cornbury, who carried his scandalous practices so far as to exhibit himself in women's clothes on the ramparts of New York. For this Mr. Moor declared that he "deserved to be excommunicated" and hesitated not to refuse to administer the Holy Communion to the Lieut.-Governor (a supporter of Lord Cornbury) "upon the account of some debauch and abominable swearing" [69].

Retaliation followed. Summoned by Lord Cornbury to New York, on some charge of irregularity, Mr. Moor refused to obey what seemed to be an illegal warrant, and was arrested and imprisoned in Fort Anne by the Governor. The supposed irregularity was the celebrating of the Blessed Sacrament as often as "once a fortnight," "which frequency he was pleased to forbid" [70]; but Mr. Neau reported to the Society that the Governor's action was occasioned by the denunciation of his profligate habits* [71]. Mr. Moor escaped after a short imprisonment and embarked for England in 1707, but the ship and all in her were never heard of again.

In 1709 the Rev. THOMAS BARCLAY was appointed Missionary at Albany with a direction to instruct the neighbouring Indians; they accepted his ministry, and he soon had fifty adherents [72].

Soon after Mr. Barclay's appointment four of the Iroquois Sachems came to England and presented an address to Queen Anne, in which they said:—

"Great Queen, Wee have undertaken a long and dangerous voyage which none of our Predecessors cou'd be prevailed upon to do: The motive that brought us was that we might have the honour to see and relate to our great Queen, what we thought absolutely necessary for the good of her and us her allies, which are on the other side the great water."

* Colonel Morris characterised Lord Cornbury at this time (1707) as "the greatest obstacle that either has or is likely to prevent the growth of the Church" in New York and New Jersey, "a man certainly the Reverse of all that is good"; "the scandal of his life" being such "that were he in a civilized heathen countrey, he wou'd by the publick Justice be made an example to deter others from his practices" [71*a*]. [About a year later he was, in fact, deposed.]

Then followed expressions of loyalty, and the presentation of "Belts of Wampum" "as a sure token of the sincerity of the Six Nations," and then, still speaking "in the Names of all," they added:—

"Since we were in Covenant with our great Queen's Children, we have had some Knowledge of the Saviour of the World, and have often been importuned by the French by Priests and Presents, but ever esteemed them as men of Falsehood, but if our great Queen wou'd send some to Instruct us, they shou'd find a most hearty welcome."

The address was referred to the Society on April 20, 1710, "to consider what may be the more proper ways of cultivating that good disposition these Indians seem to be in for receiving the Christian ffaith, and for sending thither fit persons for that purpose, and to report their opinion without loss of Time, that the same may be laid before Her Majesty." [Letter of the Earl of Sunderland [72*a*].]

Eight days later the following resolutions were agreed to by the Society:—

"1. That the design of propagating the Gospel in foreign parts does chiefly and principally relate to the conversion of heathens and infidels: and therefore that branch of it ought to be prosecuted preferably to all others.

"2. That in consequence thereof, immediate care be taken to send itinerant Missionaries to preach the Gospel amongst the Six Nations of the Indians, according to the primary intentions of the late King William of glorious memory.

"3. That a stop be put to the sending any more Missionaries among Christians, except to such places whose Ministers are or shall be dead, or removed; and unless it may consist with the funds of the Society to prosecute both designs." [*See* p. 8.]

Other resolutions were adopted with a view to sending two Missionaries to the Indians, providing translations in Mohawk, and stopping the sale of intoxicating liquors to the Indians—"this being the earnest request of the Sachems themselves"—and a Representation to the Queen was drawn up embodying the substance of the resolutions and urging the appointment of a Bishop for America.

The Indian Sachems then had an interview with the Society, and the Bishop of Norwich informed them by their interpreter

"that this was the Society to which the Queen had referred the care of sending over Ministers to instruct their people in the Christian Religion and the Resolutions taken by the Sy. in relation to them were read and explained to them by the Interpreter, at which the Sachems profest great satisfaction and promised to take care of the Ministers sent to them and that they would not admit any Jesuites or other French Priests among them." It was thereupon "Ordered that 4 copies of the Bible in quarto with the Prayer Book bound handsomely in red Turkey Leather be presented in the Name of [the] Society to the Sachems" [73].

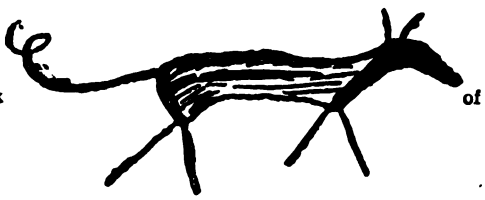
The Sachems returned their "humble thanks" for the Bibles, and on May 2, 1710, added the following letter:—

"To the Venble. Society for Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts.

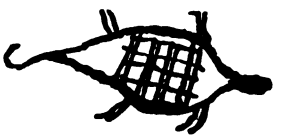
"'Tis with great satisfaction that the Indian Sachems reflect upon the usage and answers they received from the chief Ministers of Christ's religion in our great Queen's dominions, when they ask't their assistance for the thorough conversion of their nations: 'Tis thence expected that such of them will ere long come over

and help to turn those of our subjects from Satan unto God as may by their great knowledge and pious practices convince the enemies to saving ffaith that the only true God is not amongst them. And may that Great God of Heaven succeed accordingly all the endeavours of our great Fathers for his honour and glory.

"This we desire to signify as our minds by Anadagarjouse and our Bror. Queder who have been always ready to assist us in all our concerns.

"The mark  of HENRIQUE & JOHN.

"The mark of BRANT.

"The mark of  ETCWA CAUME. [74]

The Sachems wrote again before and after their return to America, to remind the Society of its promise to send two Missionaries [75]. For the "safety and conveniency of the Mission," the Queen (who warmly supported the Society's proposals) ordered the erection of a fort, a house, and a chapel. Towards the furnishing of the latter and of another among the Onontages, Her Majesty gave, among other things, Communion Plate, and the Archbishop twelve large octavo Bibles with tables containing the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Ten Commandments; to these the Society added "a Table of their Seal finely painted in proper colours, to be fixed likewise in the Chappel of the Mohawks" [76]. The Rev. W. ANDREWS, who possessed colonial experience and a knowledge of the Indian language, was selected by the Archbishop for the Mission, and set out in 1712 [77]. Meanwhile the fort and chapel among the Mohawks had been completed, and the Rev. T. BARCLAY opened the latter on October 5, 1712, preaching from St. Matthew xxi. 13, "it being the desire of the Sachems" that he should "preach against the profanation of their Chappel, some being so impious as to make a slaughter-house of it" [78]. In November 1712 Mr. Andrews was formally received "with all imaginable satisfaction" by the Indians, who promised him "all civill and kind usuage," and expressed their thankfulness that one had been sent "to lead them in the way to Heaven, they being in the dark, full of dismal fears and perplexities, not knowing what shall become of them after this life" [79]. The Indians built a school-house, but were unwilling for their children to be taught any other than their

own language, "for it had been observed that those who understood English or Dutch were generally the worst people," because it gave them an opportunity of learning the vices of the traders [80]. With the assistance of a Dutch minister, school-books and portions of the Prayer Book and of the Bible were provided in the Mohawk language [*see* p. 800], and for a time a good impression was made, Mr. Andrews baptizing fifty-one Indians in six months and having eighteen communicants [81]. He also had some success among the Onidans, who were settled 100 miles distant from the Mohawks; in visiting them he "lay several nights in the woods, and on a bear's skin"; the people "heard him gladly," and permitted him to baptize their children [82].

But the traders hindered the Mission, because Mr. Andrews exposed "their ill practices in bringing too much rum among these poor people," and "in cheating them abominably in the way of traffick" [83]. The Drink Act having expired, the Dutch sold spirits wholesale, and the result was a corresponding drunkenness, at which times the Indians became ungovernable; but when sober they were civil and orderly, and if then reproved their common answer was, "Why do you Christians sell us so much rum?" [84]. The Society adopted a Representation to the King for the suppression of the sale of rum to the Indians, it being what most of them desired, but the new restrictions were soon evaded [85]. The Indians now began to weary of instruction and went hunting, taking the boys with them; and some Jesuit emissaries from the French at Quebec and some unfriendly Tuscaroras from North Carolina came and stirred up jealousies against the English. From this time the Indians would only mock at Mr. Andrews' efforts, and at last absolutely forbad his visiting them, and left off attending chapel and school [86].

By Governor Hunter the Society was assured in 1718 that Mr. Andrews' want of success was not owing "to his want of care or attendance," but that from the first he was of opinion that the "method would not answer the ends and pious intentions" of the Society. The Mission was therefore suspended in 1719 [87].

From Mr. Andrews' accounts, the Indians were extremely poor; in winter they were unable for four or five months to "stir out for cold," and in summer they were "tormented with flies and muscatoes," and could not travel on foot "for fear of rattlesnakes" [88].

Their notions of a future state were that "those who live well, when they die go to Heaven," which they called "the other country, where is good eating and drinking &c. but those that live ill, when they die go to a poor barren country where they suffer hunger and the want of everything that is good." When they died they were buried with their bows and arrows, dishes and spoons "and all other things that they have necessary for their journey into the other country" [89].

When by continuance of the peace and by mutual intercourse with the English the Iroquois appeared to become more civilised, the Society appointed the Rev. J. Miln to Albany in 1727. The Indians at Fort Hunter, who formed part of his charge, received him "with much respect and civility," and he found them "very well disposed to receive the Gospel," some having been "pretty well instructed in the grounds of Christianity by Mr. Andrews" [90]. The result of his labours was

thus described by the Commanding Officer of Fort Hunter Garrison in 1735:—

"I have found the Mohawk Indians very much civilized which I take to be owing to the Industry and pains taken by the Rev. Mr. John Miln in teaching and instructing them in the Christian religion. . . . The number of Communicants increases daily. . . . The said Indians express the greatest satisfaction with Mr. Miln. . . . They are become as perempter in observing their rules as any Society of Christians commonly are. . . . They are very observing of the Sabbath, conveneing by themselves and singing Psalms on that day and frequently applying to me that Mr. Miln may be oftener among them." [Certificate of Walter Butler, October 26, 1735 [91].]

In April 1735 Mr. HENRY BARCLAY, son of the second Missionary to the Indians, was appointed Catechist at Fort Hunter. Born and educated in America, he soon acquired a knowledge of the Indian language, which helped to make him an efficient and acceptable Missionary, and on his return from ordination in England in 1738 many of the Indians "shed tears for joy" [92]. Soon after, he reported "That there grew a daily reformation of manners among the Mohocks [Mohawks] and an increase of virtue proportionable to their knowledge; inasmuch that they compose a regular, sober congregation of 500 Christian Indians of whom 50 are very serious Communicants" [93]. At Albany in 1740 he preached to "a considerable number of the Six Indian Nations," in the presence of the Governor and several of the Council of the Province, and the Mohawks made their responses "in so decent and devout a manner as agreeably surprised all that were present" [94]. The Missionary's influence over the Mohawks was seen in "a great reformation," "especially in respect of drunkenness, a vice they were so intirely drowned in' that at first "he almost despaired of seeing an effectual reformation." By 1742 only two or three of the tribe remained unbaptized, and in their two towns were schools taught "with surprising success" by two natives, one of whom—Cornelius, a Sachem—also read prayers during Mr. Barclay's absence* [95].

The French nearly succeeded again in closing the Mission. In 1745 their emissaries alarmed the Indians in dead of the night with an account that "the white people were coming to cut them all in peices"; this "drove the poor creatures in a fright into the woods," whither Mr. Barclay sought them and endeavoured to persuade those he could find of the falsehood of the report; but "the five or six Indians who had been bribed to spread the report" stood to it, and said that Mr. Barclay, notwithstanding his seeming affection for them, was "the chief contriver of the Plot, and was in league with the Devil, who was the author of all the Books" which Mr. Barclay had given them. Few at the lower Indian town believed them, but those of the upper one were "all in a flame threatening to murder all the white inhabitants about them," and they sent expresses to all the Six Indian Tribes for assistance. Whereupon Mr. Barclay summoned the Commissioners for Indian affairs at Albany, who with great difficulty "laid the

* Mr. Barclay ministered also to a white congregation at Fort Hunter—in Dutch and English. In 1739-40 he records that his charge had much increased by new settlers, chiefly from Ireland, who proved "a very honest sober, industrious, and religious people" [96].

storm" [97]. In November 1745 the French Indians came to an open rupture with the English, and with a party of French "fell upon a Frontier settlement which they laid in ashes," taking about 100 prisoners. For some time after they kept the county of Albany in "a continual alarm by skulking parties," who frequently murdered or carried off the inhabitants, "treating them in the most Inhumane and Barbarous manner." During this trouble the Mohawks declined active co-operation with the English and kept up a correspondence with the enemy, but their loyalty soon revived, never again to be shaken [98].

Mr. Barclay was transferred to New York in 1746, but the Indian Mission was continued by a succession of able Missionaries—Revs. J. OGILVIE (1749-62), J. J. OEL (1750-77), T. BROWN (1760-66), H. MUNRO (1768-75), J. STUART (1770-78), besides lay teachers, English and Native. Among the latter was Abraham, a Sachem, "who being past war and hunting read prayers at the several Mohock Castles by turns" [99]. The advantage of the Mission to the English became apparent to all during the wars in which the country was involved, the Mohawks joining the British troops, and being "the only Indian nation" "who continued steadily in our interest."

During General Braddock's unfortunate expedition, a famous "half Indian King" distinguished himself greatly, and twelve of the Mohawk leaders—six of them regular communicants—fell in the action at Lake George [100]. In 1759-60 the Rev. J. OGILVIE attended the British expedition to Niagara, in which all the Mohawks and "almost all the Six Nations," co-operated—the Indian fighting men numbering 940. He "officiated constantly to the Mohawks and Oneidas who regularly attended Divine service." Twice in passing the Oneida town Mr. OGILVIE baptized several of that tribe, including three principal men and their wives, who had lived many years together, according to the Indian custom, and whose marriage immediately followed their baptism. General Amherst, who visited the Oneida town, "expressed a vast pleasure at the decency with which the service of our Church was performed by a grave Indian Sachem." During the expedition the General always gave public orders for service among the Indians [101].

On the other hand, intercourse with the Europeans brought the Indians great temptation, which, when not engaged in war, they were often unable to resist. The effects of strong liquor drove them mad at times, so that they burnt their huts, and threatened the lives of their families, and at one period there were 55 deaths within six months, chiefly from drink [102].

On the arrival of the Rev. J. STUART he was enabled, with the assistance of the Sachems, to stop the vice "in a great degree," and to effect a great improvement in their morals [103]. There were other encouragements. When at home the Mohawks regularly attended service daily, and when out hunting some would come 60 miles to communicate on Christmas Day [104].

The Schools too were appreciated; one of the natives taught 40 children daily, and Catechist BENNET had "a fine company of lively pretty children" under his care, who were "very ingenious and orderly," and whom he taught in Mohawk and English; and the parents were so

gratified that they sent their children for instruction from a distance of 30 miles. Mr. BENNET had some medical knowledge also, which he turned to good account [105].

Although the Missionaries' work had been mainly among the Mohawks, some Converts were made of the Oneidans and Tuscaroras, and the Society had frequent correspondence with Sir William Johnson (Government Superintendent of Indian Affairs in America) and several of the Clergy with a view to the conversion of all the native races, for which purpose a comprehensive scheme was submitted to the Government by the Rev. C. INGLIS. In 1770, while Dr. Cooper and Mr. Inglis were on a visit to Sir W. Johnson, they were surprised with a deputation of nine Indians from the lower Mohawk Castle, who "expressed their regard and admiration of Christianity as far as they could be supposed to be acquainted with it and a grateful sense of past favours from the Society and most earnestly intreated fresh Missionaries to be sent among them." Towards meeting their wishes the Society placed Missionaries and teachers at Schenectady, Fort Hunter, and Johnstown [106].

Efforts for a further extension were to a great extent fruitless in consequence of the political troubles. The Mohawks and others of the Six Nations, "rather than swerve from their allegiance" to Great Britain, elected to abandon their dwellings and property, and join the loyalist army [107]. Eventually they were obliged to take shelter in Canada, where for fifty years the Society ministered to them [pp. 139–40, 165–8].

While they remained at Fort Hunter the Rev. J. STUART "continued to officiate as usual, performing the public service intire, even after the declaration of Independence," notwithstanding that by so doing he "incurred the Penalty of High-Treason by the new Laws." But as soon as his protectors were fled he was made "a prisoner and ordered to depart the province" with his family, within four days, on peril of being "put into close confinement," and this merely on suspicion of being a "loyal subject of the King of Great Britain." He was, however, admitted to parole and confined for three years within the limits of the town of Schenectady, during which time his house was "frequently broken open by mobs," his "property plundered," and "every kind of indignity" offered to his person "by the lowest of the Populace." His church was also "plundered by the rebels," a "Barrel of Rum" was "placed in the reading desk," and the building was employed successively as a "tavern," a "stable," and "a Fort to protect a Set of as great Villains as ever disgraced humanity." At length his farm and the produce of it were taken from him "as forfeited to the State." As a last resource he proposed to open a Latin School for the support of his family, "but this Privilege was denied." With much difficulty he then obtained leave to remove to Canada, on condition of giving bail of £400, and either sending "a Rebel Colonel" in exchange or returning to Albany and surrendering himself a prisoner, whenever required [108].

The losses to which the loyalists were subjected during the war were manifold. The "King's troops" often plundered those whom they were sent to protect, while among the opposite party were some lost to all sense of humanity, who scrupled not to deprive "children and infants" "of their clothes"—even women in childbed had "the

sheets torn from their beds" [109]. The Clergy were specially marked out for persecution by the Revolutionists, and the death of several was hastened thereby. The Rev. L. BABCOCK of Philipsburg was detained in custody nearly six months, and then dismissed sick in February 1777, and ordered to remove within ten days. "He got home with difficulty, in a raging fever," and died a week after.

According to Dr. INGLIS and others, the Rev. E. AVERY of Rye was "murdered by the rebels" in "a most barbarous manner," on Nov. 3, 1776, "for not praying for the Congress," "his body having been shot thro', his throat cut, and his corpse thrown into the public highway," but Dr. SEABURY seemed to impute his death to insanity occasioned by the losses he had sustained [110].

Dr. SEABURY himself "experienced more uneasiness" than he could describe. On a charge of issuing pamphlets "in favour of Government," he was carried a prisoner into Connecticut by the self-styled "Sons of Liberty" in 1775, and on returning to his Mission he was for a month subjected to daily insults from "the rebel army" on their way to New York. After the declaration of independency, an Edict was published at New York "making it death" to support the King, or any of his adherents. Upon this he shut up his church, "fifty armed men" being sent into his neighbourhood. Most of his people declared they would not go to church till he was at liberty to pray for the king. On the arrival of the British troops at Staten Island, and of two ships of war in the Sound, the friends of Government were seized and the coast was guarded, and his situation became very critical. After the defeat of the rebels on Long Island a body of them fixed themselves within two miles of his house, but by "lodging abroad," with the help of his people, he avoided arrest. On September 1, 1776, it happened that the guard was withdrawn from a post on the coast, and the guard that was to replace it mistaking their route gave him an opportunity of effecting his escape to Long Island. "The very next day" his house "was surrounded and searched, and a guard placed at it for several nights, till Mrs. Seabury, wearied with their impertinence," told them that he was fled to the [British] army, where she did not doubt but he would be "very well pleased to give them a meeting." They then vented their rage on his church and his property, converting the former into an hospital, tearing off the covering and burning the pews, and doing great damage to the latter. It is just to add that none of the revolutionists residing in his own Mission ever offered him any insult or attempted to do him any injury; indeed he says "the New England rebels used frequently to observe, as an argument against me, that the nearer they came to West Chester, the fewer Friends they found to American Liberty: that is to Rebellion" [111].

In the trials to which the Church and country were subjected it was a satisfaction to the Society to be assured that "all their Missionaries" in the province, as well as the Clergy on the New York side of the Delaware and many on the other, "conducted themselves with great propriety and on many trying occasions with a Firmness and Steadiness that have done them Honour" [112]. Such was the testimony of Dr. Seabury (December 29, 1776)—afterwards the first American Bishop—to which it will be fitting and sufficient to add

the following particulars from a report of the Rev. C. INGLIS, dated New York, October 31, 1776:—

". . . *All* the Society's Missionaries . . . in New Jersey, New York, Connecticut, and so far as I can learn in the other New England Colonies, have proved themselves faithful, loyal subjects in these trying times, and have to the utmost of their power opposed the spirit of disaffection and rebellion which has involved this continent in the greatest calamities. . . All the other Clergy of our Church in the above Colonies, though not in the Society's service, have observed the same line of conduct; and although their joint endeavours could not wholly prevent the rebellion, yet they checked it considerably for some time." But since May 1775 "violences" had "gradually increased," and this, with the delay of reinforcements and the abandonment of the province by the King's troops, reduced the loyalists "to a most disagreeable and dangerous situation, particularly the Clergy, who were viewed with peculiar envy and malignity by the disaffected," "an abolition of the Church of England" being "one of the principal springs of the dissenting leaders' conduct. . . . The Clergy, amidst this scene of tumult and disorder, went on steadily with their duty; in their sermons, confining themselves to the doctrine of the Gospel, without touching on politics; using their influence to allay . . . heats and cherish a spirit of loyalty among their people. This conduct . . . gave great offence" to the "flaming patriots, who laid it down as a maxim 'that those who were not for them were against them.'" The Clergy were "everywhere threatened, often reviled . . . sometimes treated with brutal violence." Some were "carried prisoners by armed mobs into distant provinces . . . and much insulted, without any crime being alleged against them . . . some . . . flung into jail . . . for frivolous suspicions of plots, of which even their accusers afterwards acquitted them." Some were "pulled out of the reading-desk because they prayed for the King, and that before independency was declared." Others were fined for not appearing "at militia musters with their arms." Others "had their houses plundered." "Were every instance of this kind faithfully collected, it is probable that the sufferings of the American Clergy, would appear in many respects, not inferior to those of the English Clergy in the great rebellion of last [*i.e.* the 17th] century; and such a work would be no bad supplement to Walker's 'Sufferings of the Clergy.'"

The "declaration of independency" by the Congress in July 1776 "increased the embarrassments of the Clergy. To officiate publicly, and not pray for the King and royal family according to the liturgy, was against their duty and oath, as well as . . . their conscience; and yet to use the prayers . . . would have drawn inevitable destruction on them. The only course . . . to avoid both evils was to . . . shut up their Churches." This was done in most instances in the provinces mentioned. Mr. BEACH of Connecticut was said to have declared "that he would do his duty, preach and pray for the King, till the rebels cut out his tongue." The "Provincial Convention of Virginia" published "an edict" for the omission from the liturgy of "some of the collects for the King," and the substitution of the word "Commonwealth" for "King" in others. New York Province, "although the

most loyal and peaceable of any on the continent, by a strange fatality" became the scene of war and suffered most, especially the capital, in which Mr. Inglis was left in charge of the churches.

Soon after the arrival of the revolutionary forces in the city (April 1776), a message was brought to Mr. Inglis that "General Washington would be at church, and would be glad if the violent prayers for the King and royal family were omitted." The message was disregarded, and the sender—one of the "rebel generals"—was informed that it was in his power to shut up the churches but not to make "the clergy depart from their duty." This drew from him "an awkward apology for his conduct," which appeared to have been "not authorized by Washington." May 17 was "appointed by the congress as a day of public fasting, prayer and humiliation," and at the request of the Church members in New York Mr. Inglis preached, making "peace and repentance" his subject, and disclaiming "having anything to do with politics." Later on "violent threats were thrown out" against the Clergy "in case the King were any longer prayed for." One Sunday during service a company of "armed rebels" "marched into the church with drums beating and fifes playing, their guns loaded and bayonets fixed as if going to battle." The congregation were terrified, fearing a massacre, but Mr. Inglis took no notice and went on with the service, and after standing in the aisle for about fifteen minutes the soldiers complied with an invitation to be seated. On the closing of the churches the other Clergy left the city, but Mr. Inglis remained ministering to the sick, baptizing children, and burying the dead, and refusing to yield up possession of the keys of the buildings. During this period he was "in the utmost danger." In August he removed to Long Island, and after the defeat of the "rebels" there he returned to New York to find the city pillaged. The bells had been carried off, "partly to convert them into cannon, partly to prevent notice being given" of a meditated fire. On Wednesday, September 18, one of the churches was re-opened, "and joy was lighted up in every countenance on the restoration of our public worship." But while the congregation were congratulating themselves, several "rebels" were secreted in the houses, and on the following Saturday they set fire to the city, one-fourth of which was destroyed. The loss of Church property, estimated at £25,000, included Trinity Church, Rectory, and School, and about 200 houses. But "upon the whole the Church of England" in America had "lost none of its members by the rebellion as yet"—none, that is, whose departure could be "deemed a loss." On the contrary, its own members were "more firmly attached to it than ever." And "even the sober and more rational among dissenters" looked "with reverence and esteem on the part which Church people" acted.

Mr. Inglis concluded by urging that, on the suppression of the rebellion, measures should be taken for placing the American Church "on at least an equal footing with other denominations by granting it an episcopate, and thereby allowing it a full toleration" [113].

On the death of Dr. AUCHMUTY in 1777 Mr. INGLIS succeeded to the rectory of Trinity Church—"the best ecclesiastical preferment in North America"—a position which he was soon forced to abandon.

"Political principles and the side which people have taken" became "the only tests of merit or demerit in America," consequently "in the estimation of the New Rulers" he laboured "under an heavy load of guilt." The "specific crimes, besides loyalty, laid to his charge" were (1) the foregoing letter which he wrote to the Society; (2) "a sermon preached to some of the new corps, that same year, and published at the desire of General Tryon and the Field Officers who were present"; (3) "a visit he paid to a rebel prisoner," at the direction of the British Commander-in-Chief. The prisoner was confined on suspicion of a design to set fire to the city. After examining him Dr. Inglis believed him to be innocent and so reported, which saved the man's life, yet this was afterwards "alledged against the Doctor as a most heinous offence." "Ludicrous as these things may seem to men not intimately and practically acquainted with American politics," he felt they were "serious evils." "For these and these only" he was "attainted proscribed and banished and his estate . . . confiscated and actually sold: to say nothing of the violent threats thrown out against his life." Notwithstanding that "popular phrenzy" had "risen to such an height" as to confound "all the distinctions of right and wrong," he hesitated to remove because of "the injuries his congregations would sustain," but eventually his position became untenable, and in 1783 he applied to be admitted on the Society's list in Nova Scotia. The request was acceded to; but when he settled in that colony it was not simply as a Missionary but as the first Colonial Bishop [114].

(*See also the next chapter and the Statistical Summary on p.* 86.)

CHAPTER XII.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS OF THE SOCIETY'S WORK IN THE UNITED STATES.

At the commencement of the American War the Society was helping to support 77 Missionaries in the United States. But as the rebellion progressed nearly all of them were forced to retire from their Missions, many of them penniless, and for the relief of the distressed among them and the other Clergy a fund was raised in England [1]. Eventually a few took the oath of allegiance to the Republic. Of the remainder some were provided with army chaplaincies, others with Missions in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada. Some returned to England, a few of whom, entirely disabled, received a compassionate allowance from the Society. The severance of the American Colonies from the mother country, while it almost destroyed the Church in the "United States," set her free to obtain that gift of the episcopate so long denied. As soon as the peace was made (1783), Dr. Samuel Seabury, elected Bishop by the Clergy of Connecticut, went to England for consecration, which he at length obtained from the Bishops of the Scottish Church at Aberdeen, on November 14, 1784. [*See* pp. 749–50.] On February 4, 1787, Drs. White and Provoost were consecrated Bishops of Pennsylvania and New York respectively, in Lambeth Palace Chapel, and on September 19, 1790 (in the same place), Dr. Madison, Bishop of Virginia. The episcopate thus established has so grown that in the United States there are now 75 Bishoprics, with a total of 4,811 Clergy; and Missions have been sent out by the American Church to Greece, West Africa, China, Japan, Haiti, Mexico, Brazil, Cuba, and Porto Rico (*see* p. 87).

In withdrawing from the Mission field in the United States in 1785 the Society arranged for the continuance of the salaries of the Missionaries then officiating there, up to Michaelmas in that year, and undertook to provide to the utmost of its power for such as elected "to repair into any of the King's dominions in America." In making this announcement it was stated that

> "The Society . . . regret the unhappy events which confine their labours to the Colonies remaining under His Majesty's Sovereignty. It is so far from their thoughts to alienate their affections from their brethren of the Church of England, now under another Government, that they look back with comfort at the good they have done, for many years past, in propagating our holy religion, as it is professed by the Established Church of England; and it is their earnest wish and prayer that their zeal may continue to bring forth the fruit they aimed at, of pure religion and virtue; and that the true members of our Church, under whatever civil Government they live, may not cease to be kindly affectioned towards us" [2].

The subsequent proceedings of the American Church show how nobly it has striven to fulfil this wish and prayer, and in the growth of that Church and its undying expressions of gratitude the Society find ample reward for its labours and encouragement to fresh

THE RIGHT REV. SAMUEL SEABURY, D.D.

(The first Bishop of the American Church.)

Consecrated Bishop of Connecticut, at Aberdeen, on November 14, 1784.

conquests. At the first "General Convention" of the American Church (which was held in Christ Church, Philadelphia, Sept. 27—Oct. 5, 1785), an address to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England was adopted, asking them to consecrate Bishops for America, and conveying the following acknowledgment:—

"All the Bishops of England, with other distinguished characters, as well ecclesiastical as civil, have concurred in forming and carrying on the benevolent views of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts; a Society to whom, under God, the prosperity of our Church is, in an eminent degree, to be ascribed. It is our earnest wish to be permitted to make, through your lordships, this just acknowledgment to that venerable Society; a tribute of gratitude which we rather take this opportunity of paying, as while they thought it necessary to withdraw pecuniary assistance from our Ministers, they have endeared their past favours by a benevolent declaration, that it is far from their thought to alienate their affections from their brethren now under another government; with the pious wish that their former exertions may still continue to bring forth the fruits they aimed at of pure religion and virtue. Our hearts are penetrated with the most lively gratitude by these generous sentiments; the long succession of former benefits passes in review before us; we pray that our Church may be a lasting monument of the usefulness of so worthy a body; and that her sons may never cease to be kindly affectioned to the members of that Church, the Fathers of which have so tenderly watched over her infancy" [3].

In the Preface to the American Prayer Book the "nursing care and protection" of the Society is also recognised, and from generation to generation gratitude flows, warmth of expression seeming to increase rather than diminish as time goes on.

On the occasion of the Society's third jubilee, the President, Archbishop Sumner [L., March 28, 1851] submitted to the American Bishops

"whether, in a time of controversy and division, the close communion which binds the Churches of America and England in one would not be strikingly manifested to the world, if every one of their dioceses were to take part in commemorating the foundation of the oldest Missionary Society of the Reformed Church, a Society which, from its first small beginnings in New England, has extended its operations into all parts of the world, from the Ganges to Lake Huron and from New Zealand to Labrador. Such a joint Commemoration, besides manifesting the rapid growth and wide extension of our Church, would serve to keep alive and diffuse a Missionary spirit and so be the means, under the Divine blessing, of enlarging the borders of the Redeemer's Kingdom."

No gift was desired, but only "Christian sympathy and the communion of prayer" [4]. The American Bishops cordially responded to the invitation, and their answers (and others), so full of gratitude to the Society and of brotherly feeling to the Church at large, occupy 23 pages of the Annual Report for 1851 [5].

At the jubilee celebration in New York City (June 16, 1851), Trinity Church was "crowded to its utmost capacity, and more than 2,000 persons went away from the doors unable to find an entrance." The offerings amounted to $3,232 for Diocesan Missions, and at the same time the vestry made a noble gift towards the endowment of the Missionary Bishopric at Cape Palmas, West Africa [6].

At the request of the Society, made "with a view to a fuller and more complete intercommunion between the distant portions of the Church," two of the American Bishops were delegated to take part in the concluding services of the jubilee year [7]. The Bishop of Western New York preached at St. James's Piccadilly, on June 15,

1852, and the Bishop of Michigan in St. Paul's Cathedral on the following day, this being the first occasion on which the anniversary sermon was delivered by an American Bishop. In return the Society by invitation sent delegates to the meeting of the Board of Missions held in New York during the session of the General Convention in October 1852. The delegates (Bishop SPENCER (formerly of Madras), Archdeacon J. SINCLAIR of Middlesex, the Rev. E. HAWKINS, Secretary of the Society, and the Rev. H. CASWALL, Vicar of Figheldean) were instructed that the principal objects of the Society in sending them on this "honourable mission" were (1) "to show its appreciation of the readiness with which the American Bishops sent the deputation to England"; (2) "to strengthen and improve . . . the intimate relations which already happily exist between the mother and daughter Churches, and which are the proper fruit of their essential unity"; (3) "to receive and communicate information and suggestions on the best mode of conducting missionary operations" [8].

The delegates were blessed beyond their hopes in their undertaking. They were "invariably welcomed by our American brethren." The General Convention declared that they would "aim in all proper ways to strengthen the intimate relations" between the two Churches, and that they "devoutly recognise the hand of God in planting and nurturing through the Society" the Church in their country and "thankfully acknowledge the debt of gratitude" [9]. The action taken by the Society on the report of the delegation was—

(1) To arrange for an exchange of publications.

*(2) To express its hope that in all cases of the establishment of the Missions and the appointment of Bishops in territories independent of the British Crown, a full and friendly communication may be kept up between the English Church Missionary Societies and the American Board of Missions.

(3) To obtain the drawing up by the President of suitable forms of prayer "for an increase of labourers in the Lord's vineyard," and "for a blessing on Missionaries and their labours." (These prayers were extensively circulated by the two principal Missionary Societies of the Church, and by the representatives of other Communions also.)

(4) To undertake the preparation of a manual for the instruction and guidance of its Missionaries in heathen lands.

*(5) To refer to the Archbishop of Canterbury the question of the ancient Churches of the East.

(6) To express its gratification at the success attending "the weekly collections in Church for Missionary and other charitable purposes in America," but to leave to the English Church the adoption of such measures as they may deem most expedient and effectual for raising funds on the Society's behalf.

(7) To prepare a plan for securing the introduction† of Church emigrants to Clergy in their new homes [10].

It has been the privilege of the Society to be the chief instrument not only of planting branches of the mother Church in foreign parts, but also of drawing them together in closer communion. And although the hope expressed by the Bishop of Vermont was not

* 2 and 5 were thus modified after conference of the Society with the C.M.S.

† The need of this will be seen by a perusal of pp. 818–9.

realised for some years, it should not escape notice that it was the celebration of the Society's Jubilee which occasioned the first suggestion of a Lambeth Conference [*see* pp. 761–2]. After the first Conference (in 1867), in which the American Church was largely represented, a wish was expressed by many members of the Society to enrol the Bishops of that Church among the vice-presidents of the Society. This was found to be impracticable, and consequently the Society instituted in 1868 an order of Associates in which persons who are not British subjects could be included. The Associates are not members of the Corporation, but hold an honorary position, with liberty to attend the Board meetings but without the right of voting, and annually from 1869 to the present time the Bishops of the Church in the United States "in communion with the Church of England" have been elected to the office—the appointment (as the House of Bishops declared at the General Convention of 1871) being gratefully accepted "with unfeigned satisfaction" [11].

On three occasions since its withdrawal from the United States field the Society has shown its sympathy with the American Church by pecuniary gifts. At the reception of the two Episcopal delegates by the Society in 1852 a sum of £500 was voted out of the Jubilee Fund in aid of a plan set on foot by the Corporation of St. George the Martyr, New York, "for the erection and endowment of a free hospital, with a chapel, for the temporal and spiritual benefit" of the Church emigrants from England arriving at New York. Owing to delay in carrying out the plan the grant was not paid until 1862, and the terms were then so modified that the money was "equally divided between the Anglo-American Church of St. George the Martyr and St. Luke's Hospital, New York" [12].

In 1870 the Society opened a special fund in aid of Bishop Tuttle's Mission to the Mormons at Salt Lake City, where there were 50,000 English people, of whom 15,000 were baptized members of the Church, and in 1871 it supplemented the contributions thus raised by a grant of £50 towards the completion of a church and provision of school accommodation [13].

Similarly, in 1874, the Society granted £100 towards providing ministrations for some artisans, members of the mother Church, in Portland and other towns in the Diocese of Maine. The offering was made to Bishop Neely "as a token of brotherly and Christian recognition" [14], and this feeling has been reciprocated on every opportunity that has offered. The 171st anniversary of the Society, held in St. Paul's Cathedral on July 4, 1872, was distinguished by its being made the occasion for the public reception and first use of an *alms-basin*, presented by the American Church to the Church of England, as "a slight token of the love and gratitude which" (they said) "we can never cease to cherish towards the heads and all the members of that branch of the Church Catholic from which we are descended, and to which we have been 'indebted,' first, for a long continuance of nursing care and protection, and in later years for manifold tokens of sympathy and affectionate regard." The gift originated from a visit paid to the General Convention in the previous

October by Bishop Selwyn of Lichfield, who now tendered it, and in accepting it the Archbishop of Canterbury said:—

"I receive this offering of love from our sister Church beyond the Atlantic, and I beg all of you who are here present, and all Christian people, to unite in your prayers to Almighty God that the richest blessing of His Holy Spirit may descend upon our brethren who thus express to us their Christian love; that for ages to come these two Churches, and these two great nations, united in one worship of one Lord, in one Faith, as they are sprung from one blood, may be the instruments, under the protection of our gracious Redeemer, of spreading His Gospel throughout the world and securing the blessings of Christian civilisation for the human race" [15].

At the 150th anniversary of St. John's Church, Providence (1873), Bishop Clark of Rhode Island said that not less than $18,000 or $20,000 were contributed by the Society to that parish alone, and not much less than $100,000 on the whole to the churches in Rhode Island. The seed so freely cast "seemed to yield a very inadequate return, and the wonder is that the hand of the sower did not fail and the faith and patience of our friends . . . become exhausted." But "in these latter days an ample harvest has been reaped." (The offering on this occasion, £100, was given to the Society.) Within the previous ten years (1863–73) St. John's Parish (besides gifts to colleges and other institutions) contributed $97,652 to Church work, incluing $20,268 to Foreign Missions [16].

In connection with the assembling of the Bishops for the Lambeth Conference in 1878 a Missionary Conference was held by the Society in London on June 28, on which occasion Bishop Littlejohn of Long Island said:—

"*For nearly the whole of the eighteenth century this Society furnished the only point of contact, the only bond of sympathy, between the Church of England and her children scattered over the waste places of the New World.* The Church herself, as all of us now remember with sorrow, was not only indifferent to their wants, but, under a malign State influence, was positively hostile to the adoption of all practical measures calculated to meet them. *It is, therefore, with joy and gratitude that we, the representatives of the American Church, greet the venerable Society on this occasion as the first builder of our ecclesiastical foundations, and lay at her feet the golden sheaves of the harvest from her planting.* And whatever the tribute to be paid her by the most prosperous of the colonial Churches to-day it cannot exceed in thankful love and earnest goodwill that which we are here to offer. Verily in that comparatively narrow coast belt along the Atlantic, which, in the eighteenth century bounded the Christian endeavours of this Society, the little one has become a thousand, and the small one a strong nation. . . . And this, thank God, is the return we make this day for the seed sown by this Society beside some waters in the New World more than a century ago. It speaks its own moral, and with an emphasis which not even the most eloquent tongue could rival. . . . May God speed the work of this Society in the future as in the past. The greatest, the most enduring, the most fruitful of all Missionary organisations of Reformed Christendom, may it continue to be in the years to come, as in those which are gone, the workshop of Churches, the treasury of needy souls all over the world, a chosen instrument of the Holy Spirit, for upbuilding and guiding the Missions of the Holy Catholic Church in all lands and among all peoples which as yet know not God and Jesus Christ whom He has sent to be the Saviour of the world" [17].

In this year the American Bishops were formally thanked by the Society for "the hearty sympathy" which they had shown with its work during their sojourn in England, "and for the valuable services which they have rendered to its cause" [18].

In 1882 the Diocesan Convocation of Central Pennsylvania decided that a Church being erected at Douglassville should be recognised as a memorial of the Society's "loving care" [19]. [*See also* Resolution of New York Diocesan Convention, 1872 [20].]

The Centenary of the American Episcopate being an event which could not pass without the Society's congratulations, the following resolution was adopted in 1883 :—

"That the Society . . . mindful of the privilege which it has enjoyed since its incorporation in the year 1701, of sending clergymen to minister in America, has great pleasure in congratulating the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States on the approaching completion of a century since the consecration of Dr. Seabury to the office of a Bishop, and the Society hopes that the work of that Church, which has been so signally blest during the intervening years, may grow and prosper and continue to receive that highest blessing from God which has hitherto been vouchsafed to it" [21].

The resolution was conveyed to America by Bishop Thorold of Rochester, with a covering letter from the President (Archbishop Benson), and the General Convention acknowledged it in these terms :—

"At the close of the first century of our existence as a National Church, we acknowledge with deep and unfeigned gratitude that whatever this Church has been in the past, is now, or will be in the future, is largely due, under God, to the long-continued nursing care and protection of the venerable Society.

"In expressing this conviction we seem to ourselves to be speaking not only for those who are now assembled in the great Missionary Council of this Church, but for many generations who have passed from their earthly labours to the rest of Paradise. We cannot forget that if the Church of England has become the mother of Churches, even as England herself has become the Mother of nations, the generous and unwearied efforts of the Body which you now represent have been chiefly instrumental in producing these wonderful results.

"That the venerable Society may continue to receive the abundant blessing of our Heavenly Father, and may bring forth more and more fruit to the Glory of God, and the spread of the Kingdom of His dear Son, is the sincere and earnest prayer of every Churchman in the United States" [22].

The Bicentenary of the Society was the occasion of many similar expressions of gratitude.* The Bishops of Albany and Kentucky,† who were delegated by the American House of Bishops, took a prominent part in the celebration in London in 1900, the former preaching at the opening service in St. Paul's Cathedral on Saturday, June 16, and in Westminster Abbey on the following day, when the Bishop of Kentucky preached in St. Paul's. At the great meeting in Exeter Hall, on June 18, the Bishop of Albany presented from "The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society" of the American Church an address,‡ in which the general feeling was thus happily summed up :—

"Thankful as the American Church is to-day to the Mother Church of England for all 'her nursing care and protection' in the centuries that are past, the most lasting debt of gratitude of all is owed to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" [23]. [*For Statistical Summary see p.* 86.]

* See addresses from the "Missionary Council" of the American Church, and various Diocesan Conventions.

† The Bishop of Kentucky, with the Bishops of Mississippi and Missouri, also took part in the Society's Anniversary in 1897, held at the time of the Lambeth Conference, the Bishop of Mississippi preaching the Anniversary Sermon in St. Paul's [23a].

‡ Also an address from the Diocesan Convention of New Jersey

(1) The Field and Period	(2) Races and Tribes ministered to	(3) Languages used by the Missionaries	(4) No. of ordained Missionaries employed (European & Colonial)
SOUTH CAROLINA 1702-83	Colonists (Christian and non-Christian)	English French German	54
	Negroes (Heathen and Christian)	English	
	Indians: Yammonseas, Cushoes, Catawos (Heathen and Christian) ..	English	
NORTH CAROLINA 1708-83	Colonists (Christian and non-Christian)	English	33
	Negroes (Heathen and Christian	English	
	Indians: Attamuskeets, Roanokes, Hatteras (Heathen and Christian) ..	English &c.	
GEORGIA 1733-83	Colonists (Christian and non-Christian)	English French Italian German	13
	Negroes (Heathen and Christian)	English	
	Indians Chickasaws (Heathen and Christian) ..		
PENNSYLVANIA (including Delaware, 1702-83	Colonists (Christian and non-Christian)	English Welsh	47
	Negroes (Heathen and Christian)	English	
NEW ENGLAND (Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Maine, Vermont, Naragansett) 1702-85	Colonists (Christian and non-Christian) Negroes (Heathen and Christian Indians: Many tribes, Naragansetts, &c. (Heathen and Christian) ..	English Naragansett dialect and Mohawk	84
NEW JERSEY .. 1702-83	Colonists (Christian and non-Christian)	English	44
	Negroes (Heathen and Christian)	English	
NEW YORK .. 1702-85	Colonists (Christian and non-Christian)	English Dutch French	58
	Negroes (Heathen and Christian)	English	
	Iroquois or "Six Nation Indians": Mohawks (chiefly), Oneidas, Onondages, Tuscaroras, Cayugas, Sennekas (Heathen and Christian)	Mohawk and English	
VIRGINIA	Colonists (Christian)	English	2
MARYLAND ..	Colonists (Christian)	English	5
OTHER PARTS OF THE UNITED STATES	.. ..	—	—
TOTAL§ ..	6 European-Colonial races, Negroes, and over 14 Indian tribes	8	§309

§ After allowing for repetitions and transfers.

(5) No. of Central Stations assisted	(6) Society's Expenditure.	(7) Comparative Statement of the Anglican (now American) Church generally.							
		1701				1900			
		Church Members	Clergy	Dioceses	Local Missionary effort	Church Members	Clergy	Dioceses	Local Missionary effort
15		*500	2	—		†33,700	62	1	
22		*600	1	—		†52,000	108	3	
4		—	—	—		†38,000	61	1	Domestic Missions to the Americans and to the Indians, Negroes, and Chinese, in the United States; and Foreign Missions to West Africa, China, Japan, Haiti, Mexico, Brazil, Cuba, and Portorico. Arrangements are also being made for the Hawaiian Islands.
24		*700	2	—		†437,000	506	4	
80	£227,454	*700	2	—		†475,000	611	6	
27		*400	—	—		†297,000	238	2	
23		*1,000	1	—		†817,000	920	5	
2		*20,000	25	—		†125,000	194	3	
5		*20,000	17	—		†195,000	256	3	
—		—	—	—		†1,168,000	1,865	47	
202	£227,454	*43,800	50	—		†3,547,700	4,811	‡75	

* Approximate estimate based on information contained in the Society's library.
† Approximate estimate based on the number of Communicants.
‡ In addition there are six Foreign Bishoprics (see p. 757), with (altogether) 136 Clergy.

CHAPTER XIII.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA (INTRODUCTION).

THIS designation includes Newfoundland, Bermuda, and the Canadian Dominion—the provinces of which are Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, North-West Territories, and British Columbia. Before 1867 Canada embraced only the two provinces of Lower Canada, or Quebec, and Upper Canada, or Ontario; but in that year began the union of the various Colonies, and by 1880 the whole of them, excepting Newfoundland and Bermuda, had been consolidated into "the Dominion of Canada." In each case a share of the Society's attention has been accorded almost as soon as needed; but, excepting in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, there was little British colonisation until at the close of the American Revolution. For many years after withdrawal from the United States the first seven Colonies named above, excepting Bermuda, constituted the chief field of the Society's operations, which, as will be shown, have been extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

CHAPTER XIV.

NEWFOUNDLAND (WITH NORTHERN LABRADOR).

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The island was discovered by John and Sebastian Cabot (acting under a Commission from Henry VII.) in 1497. First seen on the festival of St. John the Baptist (June 24), the site of the future capital was designated St. John's; but the island itself, called *Prima Vista* by the Venetians, took and retained the English name of Newfoundland. Nearer to Europe than any other part of America, the report of its prolific fisheries soon attracted attention, and the Portuguese, Spanish, and French resorted thither as early as 1500. Unsuccessful attempts to colonise the island were made by Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Humphrey Gilbert in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and by others; but in 1628 Sir G. Calvert, afterwards Lord Baltimore, obtained the grant of a large tract of land in the south-east of the island, with a view to forming a Roman Catholic settlement. Colonists were sent from Ireland in 1634, and from England twenty years later. The French established themselves at Placentia about 1620, and for a long period there was strife between them and the English settlers. At one time Placentia was besieged by the English (1692); at others (1694 and 1708) St. John's was captured by the French. By the Peace of Utrecht the exclusive sovereignty of the island was in 1713 ceded to Great Britain, subject to certain fishery rights reserved to France, who also retained, and by the Treaty of Paris (1763) has continued in possession of, the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon.

In 1701 the English settlements in Newfoundland contained a fixed population of 7,000, and in the summer about 17,000 people. For their spiritual welfare no provision existed beyond that afforded by the Rev. JOHN JACKSON, who, shortly before the Society was founded, had been sent to St. John's, the only place where there was any public exercise of religion [1].

IN April 1703 the Society took into consideration "the deplorable condition of Mr. JACKSON," "a painful minister in Newfoundland," who "had gone upon a Mission into those parts with a wife and 8 children

upon the encouragement of a private subscription of £50 p. an. for 3 years," which had come to an end. On May 21 he was adopted as a Missionary by the Society, £30 being voted him " by way of benevolence," and £50 per annum for three years as salary [2]. For lack of subsistence he was recalled by the Bishop of London in 1705. While returning he was shipwrecked and lost all his effects, and in his half-starved condition he experienced fresh acts of benevolence from the Society until, by its representations,* the Queen gave him a living in England in 1709 [3].

Soon after Mr. Jackson's recall the Rev. JACOB RICE† was sent to succeed him by the Bishop of London, and Mr. Brown, with some other merchants trading to Newfoundland, memorialised the Society for three additional Missionaries, " promising that the people of the country " should " do something for them " [4]. But the Society did not renew its connection with the island until 1726, when it began to assist the Rev. HENRY JONES, a clergyman already settled at Bonavista, where the people were " poor and unable to maintain their minister," and where he had established a school " for the instruction of all the poor children." In 1730 he reported that " the case of their church " was nearly finished, and " that a gentleman of London " had given them " a neat set of vessells for the Communion, and a handsome stone ffont." By 1734 his congregation was " in a flourishing condition." Since his settlement he had baptized 114 persons, 17 at Trinity. His ministrations were extended in 1728 to " a neighbouring harbour about 14 leagues from Bonavista," where the people were " very desirous of a Minister of the Church of England " [5].

The inhabitants of Trinity Bay having expressed a similar desire and undertaken to build a church and contribute £30 a year, the Society added a like sum, and sent the Rev. R. KILLPATRICK there in 1730 [6]. Failing to obtain sufficient local support, he was transferred to New Windsor, New York, in 1732, but only to experience greater poverty, and to return in 1734 with gladness to Trinity Bay, where the generality of the people were " zealous and notwithstanding the great coldness of the winter," attended " the publick worship " [7].

In 1737 they " gratefully and humbly " thanked the Society " for their great favour in sending a Missionary to be their spiritual Director according to the usage of the Church of England," and entreated an increased allowance for Mr. Killpatrick (then visiting England), " that together with their small contributions he may be able to subsist his family among them." This request was supported by Commodore Temple West, who " in one word, the most comprehensive of all others," characterised Mr. Killpatrick as " a good Christian ' [10].

* In reporting on his case, the Committee of the Society " were of opinion that the said Mr. Jackson is an object of the Society's ffavour and compassion, and that he having been in Her Matie.'s service, as well by sea, as in the plantations, and having therein suffered many unreasonable hardships, and being a man of good desert he is worthy to be recomended to the favour of the Lord Keeper " [8].

† Mr. Rice passed the Society's usual examination, but neglected to comply with certain conditions necessary to secure him appointment on its list of Missionaries [9]. His successor was the Rev. J. Fordyce, who laboured at St. John's from 1730 to 1736 when for lack of subsistence he received a gratuity of £30 from the Society for his past services, and was appointed to South Carolina [9a].

Aided by a gratuity of £10, Mr. Killpatrick went back to continue, to his death in 1741, his work at Trinity and at Old Perlican, 30 miles distant, where in 1735 he had begun service "with near 200 hearers" [11].

His successor, the Rev. H. JONES (who ten years before had officiated at Trinity) found there in 1742 "a large and regular congregation" [12]. In the summer there would be 600 people gathered there, "all of whom sometimes attended the church" [13] —a habit which was kept up. "Poor people! they declare themselves overjoy'd at my coming," wrote the Rev. J. BALFOUR in 1764; "they all in General attend Church, even the Roman Catholics: But I cannot say, how much they are to be depended upon." In the winter men, women, and children used to retire into the woods and "reside in little Hutts until seasonable weather," and of the few families remaining in the harbour scarce any of them would condescend to board the Missionary, even for ready money, lest his "presence should check some favourite vice." Nevertheless they built him "a Good Convenient new House" in the next year at a cost of £130 sterling [14]. Some parts of the bay were "lawless and barbarous" (such as Scylly Cove); and at Hart's Content Mr. Balfour baptized a woman aged 27 "who was so ignorant that she knew not who made the world, much less who redeemed it," until he taught her [15].

On one occasion (in 1769), while returning from visiting his flock, Mr. Balfour was "attacted by a German Surgeon" and a merchant's clerk. "I received several blows," he said, "This I did not in the least resent, but bore patiently, as our order must not be strikers." A few months later the Governor visited the Bay, and Mr. Balfour was offered "every satisfaction" he "chuse to desire." "To advance the Beauty of Forgiveness" he "chose to make it up, upon promise of Good Behaviour for the Future." However, the Governor obliged the offenders to ask Mr. Balfour's pardon "very submissively, and to pay each a small fine . . . to teach them better manners; and very handsomely give them to know that they ought to be extremely thankfull for being so easily acquitted" [16].

Gradually Mr. Balfour "civilized a great many of the middle-rank, and brought several of them off, from their heathenish ways, to a sense of themselves," so that in 1772 his congregation included nearly forty faithful communicants [17]. But it was still necessary for him to be "delicate in burying anybody . . . without knowing how they die." Once he "stopped a corpse to be looked upon by the people at the funeral, in the Churchyard, where violent marks of murder were discovered." He took care that the man "should not be buried, nor stole away, that prosecution might not be stopped. The neighbourhood upon inquest brought in the verdict, a horrible and cruel murder." For this the man's wife was convicted at St. John's and condemned to be executed. The appointment of civil magistrates* followed with good results [18]. The Rev. J. CLINCH, in making a circuit of the Bay in

* Several of the Newfoundland Missionaries had the office of magistrate added to their duties, *e.g.*, the Rev. E. Langman of St. John's in 1754, the Rev. S. Cole of Ferryland and Bay Bulls in 1792, and the Rev. L. Anspach for Conception Bay in 1802. The first-named was appointed in place of "Mr. Wm. Keene, the Chief Justice," who was "murdered for the sake of his money" by ten "Irish Roman Catholicks" [18*a*].

1793, reported "a spirit of Christianity" prevailing "through the whole"; in most of the settlements some well-disposed person read the Church Service twice every Sunday to the inhabitants assembled at some house, and at Scylly Cove a neat church had been erected by the people [19]. The Society was moved by the representations of the Rev. THOMAS WALBANK and the inhabitants of St. John's to re-establish Church ministrations in the capital city in 1744. Mr. Walbank was a chaplain of H.M.S. *Sutherland*, and while at St. John's in 1742 he ministered for four months to a congregation of 500 people in "a large church built of Firr and spruce wood by the inhabitants in the year 1720." The building was well furnished, and a poor fisherman of Petty Harbour had recently given "a decent silver Patten and Chalice with gold." For many years the New England traders had been "endeavouring to persuade the parishioners of St. John's to apply to the Presbytery there for *dissenting teachers*, but they influenc'd by a great love for the *Liturgy and Doctrine of the Church of England*," had "rejected all their proposals and chose rather to continue in ignorance than to be instructed by Presbyterian Preachers." On their petitioning the Society for "an orthodox Episcopal clergyman," and guaranteeing £40 a year and a house for him, the Rev. W. PEASELEY was transferred there from Bonavista. One of his first objects on arrival (1744) was to provide a school, for want of which a large number of children attended a papist one [20]. His congregation, already numerous, continued to increase daily, insomuch that the church could "scarce contain them," and they behaved "with much decency and devotion." "One of the Modern Methodists" took upon him "to pray and preach publickly" at St. John's in 1746, but gained not one follower [21]. Through the labours of Mr. PEASELEY (1743–9) and Mr. LANGMAN (1752–82) "the face of religion" became very much altered for the better, the people in general regularly attending service twice on Sundays [22].

By "the surrender of the garrison and all the inhabitants of St. John's, prisoners of war to the King of France" in 1762, Mr. LANGMAN and his people were reduced to great distress. During the French occupation (which lasted from June 27 to September 16) most of "the Protestant families" were sent out of the place – the death of Mr. Langman's wife and his own illness preventing his removal, but not the plundering of his house—and the offices of religion were performed by four Romish priests [23, 24]. The French made a second attempt on the coast, under Admiral Richerie, in 1796. Landing at Bay Bulls, they proceeded through the woods half-way to Petty Harbour. Discouraged at the impracticable character of the country, they then returned, and burned the Church and the Roman Catholic Chapel, with every house in the harbour except a log hut. The owners of this, a family named Nowlan, "owed the preservation of their cabin to the commiseration excited in the French marine by the sight of their infant twins, whom Nowlan held on his knee, when they broke in and put the affrighted mother to flight" [25]. Under the Rev. J. HARRIS, a new Church was opened at St. John's on October 19, 1800, the Society contributing £500 and King George III. 200 guineas towards its erection. The Society's contribution was considered by the people "as so unexampled an act of liberality" that they knew

not "how to express" their gratitude "through the channel of a letter" [26].

Still more noteworthy instances of Royal favour were shown in the case of Placentia. At this place the Rev. R. KILLPATRICK was detained three months on his return to Trinity Bay in 1734, and having preached six Sundays and baptized 10 children, he reported that the people of Placentia were "very much in want of a Minister," "being regardless of all religion and a great many of them wholly abandoned to atheism and Infidelity" [27].

In 1786 the Society received a petition from the principal inhabitants, recommended by Prince William Henry (afterwards William IV.) then Surrogate to the Governor of Newfoundland, setting forth the distressed condition of Placentia for want of a clergyman, and promising "all the assistance in their power" for his support. The movement was mainly due to the personal exertions of the Prince, who contributed 50 guineas towards building a church,* and "visited and exhorted the people from house to house." Two years later, having left the Colony, he sent out a handsome set of Communion plate for use in the Church. The Rev. J. HARRIS, who was then placed in charge, found not more than 120 Protestants in the district; nearly all the people (2,000 in winter and 3,000 in summer) being Roman Catholics. During nearly forty years' vacancy of the Mission in the next century the church fell into decay, but on the representation of the Society in 1846 it was restored by the munificence of Queen Adelaide, on the assurance that the "regular performance of Divine Service in the Church . . . and other religious ministrations in this district" would be secured for the future [28].

To Harbour Grace and Carbonear the Rev. L. COUGHLAN was appointed in 1766 on the petition of the inhabitants, who had engaged to maintain him, but were unable to do so. Many of the Irish, who were "all Papists," attended church when he preached in Irish; though for so doing numbers who went "annually to Ireland to confession" were put "under heavy penance." He also established a school, and baptized in one year no less than 68 adults; and by 1769 vice had been reduced and he had a large congregation and 160 communicants [30]. Under the Rev. J. BALFOUR the last number increased to 200 in 1777 [31]. But the generality of the inhabitants of this and his former Mission of Trinity Bay were, he said, "a barbarous, perfidious, cruel people and divided into many sectaries" [32]. On visiting Carbonear on New Year's Day 1778, "with an intent to perform Divine Service to a congregation of 200 people, he found the door of the Church shut purposely against him. He sent for the key which was not delivered and so he withdrew, restraining the people from doing violence to the Church on his account" [33]. Again, in January 1785, whilst he was officiating in the same church, "one Clements Noel pointed to John Stretton, who thereupon suddenly mounted the pulpit behind Mr. Balfour; who for fear of a riot, thought it best quietly to leave the place, though much hurt" by the "insult . . . offered to the whole Church of England" [34]. "Ill treatment"

* "With respect to the consecration [? dedication] of the Church when built," the President of the Society promised to "send over a proper form for Mr. Harris to *use*" [29].

marked the remainder of his ministry, which was brought to an end in 1792 by the compassion of the Society [35]. His successors (Rev. G. J. JENNER, 1795–9 [36] and Rev. L. ANSPACH, 1802–12) met with more favour, and the latter was privileged to witness a reformation denied to others. He too found the people degraded; for the children, of whom there were 3,000, were "most of them accustomed from their infancy to cursing and swearing . . . and to vice of every kind" [37]. But three years later (1806) he could not "speak too highly of the kindness" he received "from every class of inhabitants" in his Mission, "and of their attention to religious duties" [38]. In 1810, a year after Mr. Balfour's death, he wrote of Bay de Verd:—

"It is pleasing to observe the change which has taken place of late in most parts of that extensive district including a population of at least 10,000 souls. . . Where the Lord's Day was spent in profanation and vice, the Gospel scarcely known, and the education of children greatly neglected, the people now meet in an orderly manner, and schools are opened for the instruction of children in reading the Church Catechism . . . improvements which could not have taken place but for the liberal assistance from the Society. The unprecedented demand for the *purchase* of Bibles and Prayer Books . . which now prevails from every part of the Bay is a proof that Providence has wrought a blessed change" [39].

In the discharge of their arduous and perilous duties the Missionaries did not lack sympathy and support* from the Society, but their number was too few to grapple with the work before them. At Placentia, St. Mary's, Fortune Bay, and Trepassey there were in 1784 many English settlers who had "never heard the word of God preached among them for 30 years past," and the northern part of Trinity Bay to Cape St. John's was "equally destitute of the opportunities of public worship" [41]. In one part or another the same state of things continued to prevail far into the present century. The Rev. J. HARRIS of St. John's, visiting Lamelm (? Lamaline) in 1807, baptized 75 persons, "one-third of whom were adults and many of them very old." He was "the first clergyman the majority of them ever saw and the only one who had ever been in that place" [42]. On his way to Twillingate in 1817 the Rev. J. LEIGH visited Fogo, "where he found a small Church, and the Service regularly performed by an old man aged 78," who had a salary of £15 from Government. "Mr. Leigh was the first clergyman that ever appeared on the island. The Children had been baptized by this venerable man and it was not deemed adviseable to re-baptize them" [43]. Lay agents had long been employed by the Society with good effect in Newfoundland, and in 1821 it adopted measures for the appointment of Catechists or Schoolmasters in the outharbours, for conducting schools and reading service and sermons on Sundays [44].

But an organisation without a head must necessarily be feeble, and especially was this the case in Newfoundland. Until 1827 the Anglican Church there had been entirely without episcopal ministrations, and up to 1821 (when the Society secured the appointment of an Ecclesiastical Commissary, the Rev. J. LEIGH) it had been "altogether

* During the period 1788–99 the salaries of the Missionaries were thrice increased, until in the latter year the allowance to each man was £100 per annum. In 1821 it became necessary to raise this sum to £250 per annum, except in the case of St. John's [40]. The average annual allowance from the Society now is about £70.

deprived even of the very forms of Church Government" [45]. In 1827 Bishop J. INGLIS of Nova Scotia visited the island, which two years before had been constituted part of his See [46]. He was received "with every possible mark of respect," and among his "earliest visitors" was the Roman Catholic Bishop, Dr. Scallan. Newfoundland then contained over 70,000 inhabitants, of whom one-half were Roman Catholics, and "the larger part of the remainder" "members of the Established Church." A large portion of the people were of English descent, and it was "only owing to the want of timely means for their instruction in the faith of their forefathers that a number of these" had "united themselves with the Church of Rome." So little regard had been paid to the internal improvement of the island, that in every part of it the paths were, until a short time previous to the Bishop's visit, "in the same wretched state in which they were more than a century" before, and "the people seemed totally ignorant of the facility with which they could improve them." But the English Clergy were doing much to smooth the way to church. Archdeacon COSTER, by his personal influence and regular superintendence, had "induced his congregation to make three miles of excellent road at Bonavista." Others did the same, and the Bishop obtained a promise from the different settlements in Trinity Bay that, under the Rev. W. BULLOCK'S direction, "a good bridle-road" should be made "to connect all the places" that "could be visited by a Clergyman."* But while ancient paths remained for improvement, an ancient race to which those paths might once have led had almost entirely passed away.

The "Bœothick, or red, or wild Indians" had made the banks of the Exploits River their retreat, and on his visit the Bishop saw many of their traces. When Cabot first landed in Newfoundland he took away three of "this unhappy tribe," and from that day they had always "had reason to lament the discovery of their island by Europeans." English and French, and Micmacs and Mountainers, and Labradors and Esquimaux shot at the Bœothick as they shot at the deer.

The several attempts made towards their civilisation had proved utterly fruitless, except perhaps in the case of a young woman who with her sister and mother had been found in a starving condition by a party of furriers and brought into Exploits in 1823. Since the death of her mother and sister Mr. Peyton, the principal magistrate of the district, had retained Shanawdithit in his family. A Mr. Cormack was now (1827) "engaged in a search for the remnant of the race," but it was feared that Shanawdithit was "the only survivor of her tribe." The Bishop arranged for her instruction with a view to baptism and confirmation.

As regards the settlers, it was found that "in all places where a school had been established for any time, the good effect was prominent."

* How well this movement was followed up will be seen from the report of Archdeacon Wix in 1830: "On the road to Torbay, I was several days employed, before the setting-in of the winter, in company with a Roman Catholic clergyman, with nearly 100 of our united flocks, who most cordially gave several days of gratuitous labour to the repair of bridges, the draining of swamps, and other necessary improvements in the rugged path between that place and the capital. We may believe, that one of the greatest inducements to their undertaking this labour was the superior facility which it would afford their clergy for visiting them" [48].

Many settlements unsupplied with clergy had indeed been saved or rescued from degeneration by the employment of schoolmasters. Thus the once lawless and barbarous Scylly Cove was now "a very neat little settlement," whose inhabitants with few exceptions were members of the Church. Since 1777 Mr. J. Thomas had laboured here with results visible in adjoining stations also.

On August 24 the Bishop landed at Halifax, "after an absence of three months during which, with constant fatigue and occasional peril," he had "traversed nearly 5,000 miles," consecrated 18 churches and 20 burial grounds, and confirmed 2,365 persons, in the discharge of which duties he had "much comfort and encouragement" [47]. It was, however, evident that a Bishop of Nova Scotia could do little to supply the wants of the Church in Newfoundland. On the other hand, the Roman Catholics had their Bishops and priests, who were zealous in intruding into the English Missions. Consequently it was to the Society "a melancholy consideration that in a Protestant population of many thousands" there were "not more than nine clergymen of the Church of England," that these were mainly dependent for their scanty support upon the contributions of the benevolent in this country, while it was "in evidence that a great majority of the people would gladly avail themselves of their ministrations, await with anxiety their approach," and in the absence of such were "not unfrequently driven in despair to seek for religious consolation in the superstitious observances of a Popish priesthood" [49].

In the more remote parts no religious ministrations whatever were available beyond what the people themselves supplied. Such Archdeacon WIX found to be the case in visiting the long-neglected Southern Coast in 1830 and 1835. In some of the settlements, as at Cornelius Island and Richard's Harbour, two men* had long been in the habit of reading Divine Service to their neighbours regularly on Sundays. In other places, as in Bay St. George, "there were acts of profligacy practised . . . at which the Micmac Indians" expressed to the Archdeacon "their horror and disgust," and he "met with more feminine delicacy . . . in the wigwams of the Micmac and Canokok Indians than in the tilts of many of our own people" [50].

The chief obstacle to the progress of the Anglican Church in the island was removed by the division of the unmanageable Diocese of Nova Scotia in 1839, when the Rev. A. G. SPENCER became the first Bishop of the See of Newfoundland including the Bermudas [51]. At the outset the small number of his Clergy, the poverty of the settlers, the rigour of the climate, all combined to cast a shade over the state and prospects of Religion in his diocese. Little could be expected from Colonial resources. Whatever was to be done could be only by means of funds from the mother country, and there was no probability of obtaining these except through the Society. In this emergency the Society, instead of insisting, as on ordinary occasions, upon local provision being made towards the support of a Missionary, offered to allow stipends of £200 a year to clergymen willing to proceed to Newfoundland, also adequate salaries to such persons as the Bishop might

* John Hardy, a former parishioner of "the Rev. Mr. Jolliffe of Poole," had done this for nearly 40 years in Newfoundland.

select in the island. The services of eight additional clergymen were secured immediately [52], and such was the progress during Bishop SPENCER'S episcopate that in 1844 there were in Newfoundland 27 clergymen (nearly a threefold increase), 65 churches and other places of worship, and 30,000 Church members. A further advance had been made by the division of the island into deaneries, the multiplication of parochial schools, and the foundation of a Theological Training Institution and a Diocesan Church Society—the object of the latter being to extend the Church and ultimately to establish it on the basis of self-support. One merchant contributed liberally "to the building of five churches in his vicinity and promised to complete a tower and steeple for the church at Twillingate at the cost of £700 from his private funds." A planter of the same place "bequeathed his whole substance amounting to £2,000" to the parent Society (S.P.G.), to whose ministers he . . . felt himself indebted during fifty years for all the comforts of our blessed religion" * [53].

On Bishop SPENCER'S translation to the See of Jamaica he was succeeded (in 1844) by Bishop EDWARD FEILD. Previous to his leaving England the Rev. R. EDEN, afterwards Primus of Scotland, presented him with a Church ship. In the *Hawk* the Bishop passed several months yearly, visiting the settlements along the coast, binding up the broken, bringing again the outcasts, seeking the lost, and in every way proving himself a shepherd to his flock. In places possessing no building suitable for the purpose, the vessel was used for Divine Service, thus becoming in the fullest sense of the word a "Church ship." †

In recording his first impressions of the Diocese the Bishop said: "Never, I suppose, could there be a country where our Blessed Lord's words more truly and affectingly apply—'the harvest is truly plenteous, but the labourers are few.' . . . Never did any country more emphatically adopt your Scriptural motto, *Transiens adjuva nos*" [55].

On the Western and Southern Coasts the religious condition of the people was "distressing in the extreme"—thousands of Church people were scattered "as sheep without a shepherd," and the Bishop was "continually solicited, even with tears, to provide some remedy or relief for this wretched destitution of all Christian privileges and means of grace."

Measures were at once adopted by him with a view to raising the necessary funds by local effort, and every Church member in the Colony was urged to contribute 5*s*. a year to the General Church Fund [56].

In tendering the S.P.G. "a renewed expression of . . . gratitude for the many invaluable benefits" conferred by it "during nearly a century and a half, upon the Church in Newfoundland," the Diocesan Church Society in 1849 expressed their belief that there was "hardly a church

* A similar bequest was made at Twillingate in 1830 by "a boat's master," who after providing for placing the Ten Commandments and the Creed in the Church there, left the rest of his property to the Society "as the most likely to spend his money . . . to the glory of God" [54].

† The *Hawk* was superseded in 1868 by the *Star*; and the latter, which was wrecked on the West Coast of Newfoundland in August 1871, was replaced by the *Lavrock* (72 tons), presented by Lieut. Curling, then of the Royal Engineers, but who subsequently served for many years as a Soldier of the Cross in Newfoundland.

or parsonage-house in the Colony, towards the erection of which the venerable Society has not contributed" [57].

In 1848 the Bishop made a visit to Labrador, the Northern part of which, commencing at Blanc Sablon, is included in the Diocese of Newfoundland, and the southern in the Diocese of Quebec. His voyage, which extended to Sandwich Bay, was one of discovery, no Bishop or clergyman of the English Church having "ever been along this coast before," yet the inhabitants were "almost all professed members of our Church and of English descent." Included among them were many "Anglo-Esquimaux,"* also three distinct Indian tribes—Micmacs, Mountaineers, and Esquimaux. The first two tribes were mostly Roman Catholics, but the Esquimaux owed their instruction and conversion to the Moravian Missionaries.† The Bishop did not know "whether to be most pleased or perplexed by the earnest anxious desire of the people to have a Clergyman among them."

During his visit several Esquimaux‡ were "admitted into the Church and married" [58].

On his return from Labrador the Bishop appealed to the Society for help in stationing three Missionaries there, each of whom "would have to visit nearly 100 miles of coast, and be the shepherd of scattered flocks." The Society at once guaranteed a grant for five years. In acknowledgment thereof the Bishop said (Nov. 23, 1848):

"The Society's promise of assistance is, as I suppose it usually is, the first to cheer and encourage me. I have as yet received no reply from the merchants and persons more directly interested in, and more responsible for, the wellbeing and welldoing of the inhabitants and fishers of that desolate shore. The Church by her handmaid is the first to care for and the first to help them. But now where are the . . . Missionaries to make of good effect, with God's blessing, the Society's liberality?" [61.]

Two men were soon forthcoming, the Rev. A. GIFFORD being placed at Forteau in 1849, where he laboured 10 years, and the Rev. H. P. DISNEY at Battle Harbour in 1850. Their first year's labours showed results by no means small. Mr. Gifford wrote: "There is a degree of simplicity and boldness in the increasing devotion of some of my people, which human expectation could never have presumed upon in so short a time nor human endeavours ever deserve." In the summer Mr. Disney sailed or rowed in a whaleboat many hundred miles, and daily was "incessantly occupied with teaching and preaching, visiting the sick, dispensing medicines, &c." The number of Englishmen married to Esquimaux women was "very considerable," and this had prepared the way for spreading Christianity among the natives. The Esquimaux women and children who had been baptized during the Bishop's visit in 1848 were "anxious to receive instruction," and

* "In the race of mixed blood, or Anglo-Esquimaux, the Indian characteristics very much disappear, and the children are both lively and comely" [59].

† The Moravian Mission in Labrador dates from 1770. In 1850 it could reckon 4 chief stations, with 1,200 native converts and 500 communicants [60].

‡ It may be noted here that about 1851 an Esquimaux was brought from Baffin's Bay to England by Captain Ommaney, and, by the liberality of the Admiralty, placed at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury. In Oct. 1855 Kallihirua was transferred to the Theological Institution at St. John's, Newfoundland, where he died on the 14th of the following June. "We miss him greatly" (the Bishop wrote), "he was so gentle, kind, and submissive; so regular in his devotions, that he spoke by his actions what he could not express by his tongue" [65].

at St. Francis Harbour Mr. Disney "had a large school, chiefly Esquimaux" [62].

In 1858 the Bishop "saw and heard" ample proofs of the zealous labours of these Missionaries. He was "assured everywhere that a great change" had "been produced in the lives and habits of the people," and the condition and prospects of the Mission were such as to inspire thankfulness and hope. On this occasion what was believed to be "the only church on the coast of the Labrador" was consecrated at St. Francis Harbour under the name of St. John the Baptist. The Rev. G. HUTCHINSON came with the Bishop to carry on (for fourteen years as it proved) the work begun by Mr. Disney among the poor English and Esquimaux fishermen [63]. In 1859 the Society established a third mission on the Labrador coast, viz., at Sandwich Bay [64].

Up to at least the middle of the present century the natives and other inhabitants of Newfoundland had not considered it worth their while to prosecute the fishery to any extent on the so-called French shore, or to settle there—the operations of the French fishermen, being assisted by their Government, were on such a scale as to exclude competition. Nevertheless English families migrated there from time to time and scattered themselves widely in remote settlements. Between 1848 and 1858 the Bishop had visited at intervals of four years most of the settlements, which could only be done from the sea in a boat, and that during less than six months in the year. In St. George's Bay a Missionary of the Society had been stationed some time, and in consequence there had been a "great . . . improvement in the residents." But it was not till the end of 1857 that the Bishop learnt that in the White Bay district there was a large population professing themselves members of the Church of England. His first visit to them in 1859 disclosed a "sad state of religious destitution." "Poor people!" (he wrote) "the fair faces of the children would have moved the admiration of a Gregory and the destitute, forsaken condition of all would move the compassion of anyone who believed they have souls to be saved." Some families "had never before seen a clergyman and never been in any place of worship." At Bear Cove during the administration of baptism

"sad and strange were the discoveries made by the question whether the child or person (for some were 15, 16, and 18 years of age) had been baptized or not; of all it was answered they had been baptized; but some, it appeared, could not tell by whom, some by fishermen, several by a woman - the only person in the settlement (and she a native) who could read correctly. One woman (married) was baptized, hypothetically, with her infant. Twenty-one in all were admitted, the majority with hypothetical baptism. Both of the women who came to be married had infants in their arms; one of them had three children. Not one person in the whole settlement could read correctly, except the woman before mentioned; her husband (a native of Bay of Islands), a little. He had, however, been employed to marry one of our present couples, which he confessed to me with some shame and confusion of face, saying, 'he had picked the words out of the book as well as he could make them out,' but he did not baptize, because 'that reading was too hard'; in fact, he could scarcely read at all, he left the baptisms therefore to his wife. . . . He inquired also whether he ought to be christened, having been baptized only by a fisherman, though as he said, with godfathers and a godmother. Here was confusion worse confounded; and shame covered my face, while I endeavoured to satisfy him and myself on these complicated points. The poor

man was evidently in earnest, and I gladly did all in my power to relieve his mind, and place him and his in a more satisfactory state. But how sad that one who had baptized and married others, should himself apply to be baptized and married, being now the father of six children!" (*Bishop Feild's Journal.*)

At Sea Cove a father brought three children to be received, all of whom had been baptized by lay hands. Two of them, he said, "had been very well baptized," *i.e.* "by a man who could read well." When asked, in the service, "By whom was this child baptized?" he answered, "By one Joseph Bird, and a fine reader he was." "This Bird," says the Bishop, "who on account of his fine reading, had been employed to baptize many children in the bay, was a servant in a fisherman's family" * [66].

To the service of the poor inhabitants of this remote country the Rev. R. TEMPLE devoted himself for about fourteen years (1864–77), at first "living with the fishermen in the various settlements, eating and drinking such things as they" could "give him" [68–9]. In 1866 he wrote: "No married Clergyman could subsist upon the present income: neither could I establish a residence or continue housekeeping above a month or two in the year." The Society enabled him to procure a decked boat, in which he visited every cove and harbour in the bay. From February to December he had "no settled home"; all these months he continued moving "week by week, residing with the various families and supported by them in turn." Every man able to fish contributed according to his means, and some were "even willing to deny themselves necessaries in order to increase" Mr. Temple's comfort [70]. His work was abundantly blessed, and within three years the people generally had become "zealous for the worship of God"—few of them willingly suffering "their places to be vacant at the daily service" whenever it was possible to hold it [71].

In the Bay of Islands, a locality almost as unhappily circumstanced as White Bay, the Rev. ULRIC RULE, in the same spirit of self-sacrifice, rendered similar service for eight years (1865–73) [72].

How grateful the people were for the ministrations of the Church will appear from such incidents as the following, related by the Rev. J. MORETON on visiting Plate Cove in 1857:—

"I could not . . . have timed my visit better; for it so happened that *all* the men had just come in from the fishing-ground. An hour after I had service in one of the houses, and christened two children. There are but four *Protestant* families residing in this settlement; but I had been for some time anxious to pay them a visit to encourage them, having heard that during the winter one of the poor *women* had read the morning and evening prayer every Sunday; also prayers every Friday evening during Lent—she being the only person in the little community who could read—and the place being four miles distant from Red Cliff, it was impossible for these poor people to walk down to Church. . . It was impossible at this time to *walk* to Indian Arm for swamps; and though it was the height of the fishing, one man from each of the four houses was spared to row me to the latter place, while the rest went to split and salt their fish, which they had delayed on account of prayers. And so grateful were they, that they further offered,

* Both in Newfoundland and Labrador lay baptism was frequently resorted to when there was no prospect of the services of a clergyman being forthcoming. In some parts it was quite a custom to take children to the clerk of some fishing establishment or the captain of a vessel. Sometimes a father would baptize his own children; and in 1849 the Bishop met with one instance of baptism performed by a midwife [67].

should it blow too hard next evening for me to get down to Open Hole direct from Indian Arm, to make a crew again to convey me there" [73].

Another Missionary, the Rev. T. A. GOODE of Channel, wrote:—

"Fancy a crew of four hands rowing against wind and tide forty miles—a night and a day—for the Clergyman to bury the dead! I have seen this more than once done here; and I have gone with them when I thought we were risking our lives" [74].

Though it was impossible to supply the wants of this poor diocese unaided by the Society, the Bishop was modest in his demands, ever seeking to relieve its funds as soon as possible [75]. As a result of his efforts the local contributions of the people in Newfoundland for Church purposes, which in 1844 "were wretchedly small" (not more than £500 a year), had reached £2,530 per annum in 1864, while in the same period the number of Missionaries was increased from twenty-four to forty-six, of whom sixteen were supported without any help from the Society.

The progress made during Bishop FEILD'S episcopate was thus summarised in an address presented to him in October 1875 by the Church in St. John's City on his departure for Bermuda:—

"Thirty-one years have passed since you assumed the spiritual supervision of this diocese, and none of us can be unmindful of the vast benefits you have been instrumental in conferring upon our Church during that long period; your own consistent life of self-denial and sympathy has done much to support and cheer your clergy amidst their many toils and privations.

"When you entered upon your Episcopate our Ecclesiastical System was unorganized and feeble. Now, Synodical order and unity prevail.

"Then, we had only about twelve clergymen in the colony; now, upwards of fifty are labouring therein, whilst Churches and Parsonages have been multiplied in a like proportion.

"A College for the Education of Candidates for the Ministry has, by your exertions, been adequately and permanently endowed.

"Separate Seminaries for Boys and Girls have been established, and are in successful operation.

"Distinct Orphanages for destitute children of both sexes have been founded under your auspices, and are effectively conducted.

"Our beautiful Cathedral was designed and partially built under your care, and the necessary funds for its completion are in process of collection.

"A Coadjutor Bishopric has been created solely through your disinterested assistance and the services of a divine* eminent for his piety, and conspicuous for his abilities, have been secured for that important office.

"For the future support of the Episcopate, an endowment has been provided, and many a desolate settlement on our rugged shores has, year after year, been solely indebted for the ministrations of religion, to the visitations made by you and your Coadjutor in the Church Ship.

"That the Almighty has permitted you to be His instrument in effecting so much good and for so long a time, that He has preserved you through so many labours and dangers, and (until recently) has upheld you in health and strength, has been a cause to us of wonder, and of gratitude to God.

"We sincerely hope that a temporary sojourn in a more genial climate than that of a Newfoundland winter may prove beneficial to your impaired health, and we pray that you may be permitted to return from Bermuda in renewed vigour, and long be spared to your grateful flock" [76].

* Bishop Kelly, who held the office of Coadjutor Bishop from 1867 to 1876, and of Bishop from 1876 to 1877, when he resigned, and was succeeded in 1878 by Dr. L. Jones, the present Bishop. In both instances the Society, at the request of the Diocesan Synod, assisted in the election of the Bishop.

It pleased God that this hope should not be realised. On June 8, 1876, at Bermuda, Bishop FEILD passed to his rest [77].

"The mention of Dr. Feild" (said the Diocesan Synod) "reminds us of the special debt we owe to your Society in relation to that holy man, whose righteous life and ceaseless labours have caused his name to be honoured by all people of every denomination, and his memory to be held in veneration by every Churchman in the diocese. Towards his annual income your Society largely contributed and . . . your sympathy . . . cheered him in his difficulties and encouraged him in his labours" (*Synod Address*, 1877) [77*a*].

At this time the Society was assisting in the support of 36 Missionaries in Newfoundland at an annual expenditure of about £4,000. Without this assistance, the Synod declared, "the work of our Church would be paralyzed" [78]. The completion of the episcopal endowment—to which the Society had given £2,000 in 1870—now rendered the Bishops of Newfoundland no longer dependent for their support on an annual subsidy of £500 which, up to 1877, had been contributed by the Society [79]. [Since then much has been done towards rendering the diocese self-supporting, the Society's grant for 1893 being £2,800.] The Missions planted and fostered by the Society in Newfoundland have effected a great reformation in the land. Places "sunk in heathen darkness" have become Christian communities [80], and the influence of the Church of England on the Colonists generally may be gathered from the fact that in 1880 thousands of persons belonging to the various religious bodies in St. John's joined in hauling stone for the completion of the cathedral. Roman Catholics and Dissenters vied with English Churchmen in helping forward the work [81].

(1892–1900.)

By a fire which broke out* in St John's on July 8, 1892, two-thirds of the city were destroyed in less than twelve hours, and ten thousand people were rendered homeless. Towards relieving the distress and repairing the losses, which included the Cathedral, the Bishop's residence, and other Church property, the Society opened a special fund which realised £5,600† [82].

The choir and transepts of the Cathedral, sufficiently restored for Divine service, were re-dedicated on St. Peter's Day, 1895, but the nave walls are still (1900) in ruins. It seemed a happy omen that the one window of the Cathedral which escaped destruction was a representation of the Resurrection. In 1896 a Cathedral Chapter was appointed, the Bishop himself being the Dean [83].

The collapse of the Union and Commercial Banks in St. John's, on December 10, 1894—a greater calamity than the fire—brought disaster and ruin upon the Colony. The Clergy were among the principal sufferers, and would have been penniless but for the prompt aid of the Society. The phenomenal misfortunes of the people drew liberal sympathy from all parts of the world, and almost every clergy-

* The fire was caused by a man lighting his pipe in a stable.

† Eighteen of the American (U.S.) and thirty of the English-Colonial dioceses, besides Great Britain and Ireland, showed their sympathy by placing a sum of £17,175 (altogether, including the Society's Fund) at the Bishop's disposal in answer to his appeal.

man became a relieving officer and doled out supplies to his starving parishioners. Though the financial crisis was passed in 1895, the shock to the commerce of the island had not been entirely overcome even in 1899 [84].

Whatever measure of prosperity may be in store for Newfoundland, the Clergy will always suffer much from isolation. In some parishes nothing is heard for months of the outside world, but the faithful Missionaries follow the daily round of duty—teaching, training, comforting the sorrowful and visiting the sick. Their reports, especially in the last ten years, are of uniform tenor and with few startling incidents. They tell of diligent work performed often amid perils and always with rough surroundings [85]. One clergyman wrote in 1895 from Burin, after having been almost frozen: "There is more than enough work for two men in this Mission, but so long as I enjoy good health I only feel a pleasure in doing what I can" [86].

The Jubilee of Canon Colley, of Avalon, celebrated at Topsail on St. James' Day, 1899, was interesting and unique, as he is the only (Anglican) Missionary during the last two centuries who has laboured continuously for fifty years in Newfoundland. When in 1877 he left Hermitage Cove, after twenty years' isolation, there was "not one Protestant Dissenter in the whole Mission," a district extending over 100 miles of coast [86*a*].

As a rule Newfoundlanders attend church well, and fifty or sixty men at an early celebration of the Holy Communion is not an uncommon sight: "If we can get up early all the week for our work" (they say) "we should not grudge doing the same for God's work on this day" [87]. Some, when removed beyond the reach of a clergyman, have become "the high priest" of the family, reading the Church Services regularly twice on Sundays. "The True Story of a Prayer Book" (told in the *Gospel Missionary* for 1896) records instances of this kind extending through two generations and over a period of nearly forty years [88]. In the payment of their "Church dues" and the erection of their churches the congregations also set a good example. At Broad Cove in 1894 seventy poor men built a church, not a penny having been paid for labour, and in Burin district three new churches were completed in the same year at only a slight expenditure on labour. Again, at Norris' Point, though the people had lost four-fifths of their savings in the bank crash of 1894, and though a new church which they had succeeded in raising in 1896 was then destroyed by a cyclone, they rebuilt the exterior of the church within two years [89]. In this and several similar instances the Society assisted in the completion of the building by a grant from the Marriott bequest. From the same source £1,000 was granted in 1897 for the Theological Institution of the diocese, "Queen's College," (£500 for enlargement of buildings and £500 for endowment) [90]. The training of the students of this valuable institution* includes practical experience in Mission work, gained by assisting in the neighbouring parishes on Sundays and in more distant parts during the summer vacation [91]. In places such as Labrador, where a resident

* About one-half of the Clergy who have served in the diocese have been trained in the College.

priest cannot always be provided, especially in the winter, schoolmasters and others licensed as lay readers baptize privately, conduct services, sometimes perform marriages, and itinerate along the coast. The appointment of a travelling schoolmaster for Labrador in 1884 proved so successful that ten years later ignorance on the Labrador was not so great as in Newfoundland. The teacher, Mr. Dick, followed the fishermen from place to place for hundreds of miles, holding school in their shanties or huts, the ages of his pupils varying from five to fifty-five [92].

Missionary meetings have become a regular part of the work of many parishes in Newfoundland. With the means derived therefrom many of the Clergy have been enabled to visit distant parts of the Mission field, ministering to the scattered people [93]. In 1898 the Rev. T. P. Quintin, while thus visiting Labrador, discovered "a band of Missionaries" at Rigoulette, consisting of the Hudson Bay Company's officer, his wife, and three daughters, who had been doing noble work for the Church for seven years, holding services, classes, &c., with beneficial results. When other sources failed, the young ladies took their sledges, went into the forest and cut a lot of wood and sold it for the benefit of their charitable work [94].

In 1895, for the first time in twenty-three years, Flowers Cove Mission, which is partly in Labrador, had the services of a *resident* priest, the Rev. W. Weaver, who resigned the Mission of Trinity and volunteered for the post [95]. In this year the captain of a stranded ship was astonished to find that the Church of England could muster three clergymen (two from Quebec diocese) working on such a dreary coast as Labrador, and who in their ordinary work had chanced to meet near the ship [96].

In 1898 the Rev. L. Dawson, then Assistant Organising Secretary of the Society for London Diocese, spent his summer holiday in visiting Newfoundland and Labrador, with the object of learning the nature of Church work there and administering the Holy Communion in certain places where only deacons were in charge. The welcome and hospitality which he received showed that similar visits from other English clergymen would be also appreciated [97].

In the summer of 1899 the Rev. S. M. Stewart, the Society's Missionary at Flowers Cove, the largest and hardest Mission in the Diocese of Newfoundland, made a voyage of discovery between the settlements on the Labrador. Rounding Cape Chidley, he penetrated into Ungava Bay, where he found some 200 Eskimo living in the most degrading heathenism. The few days at his disposal he employed in teaching them, through an interpreter, the rudiments of the Christian faith. On his return he offered himself to the Bishop of Newfoundland for work among the Eskimo [97*a*], and in 1900 he commenced a Mission* to them under the auspices of the Colonial and Continental Society [97*b*].

In response to a petition from the Diocesan Synod, the Society in 1899 agreed to suspend for a time the further diminution of its annual grant, which had been gradually reduced from £4,000 in 1897 to

* Mr. Stewart has the honour of being the first clergyman of Newfoundland to go forth as a Missionary to the heathen.

£1,918 in 1899. About $45,000 per annum are raised in the diocese for Church purposes, in addition to $11,000 for educational purposes, and this from a population depending almost entirely on a precarious industry. The diocese is now trying to raise the Clergy Sustentation Fund* to $50,000. The introduction of a new Diocesan Assessment Act (1898) has produced encouraging results in the matter of self-support. The progress towards self-support is best shown by the fact that the Society's grant of £4,000 in 1877 supported 36 Missionaries and its present grant of £1,918 helps to support 49. The stipends of the Missionaries do not average more than $500 per annum from all sources [98].

NOTE.—The French colony of St. Pierre is visited by the Bishop of Newfoundland under a commission from the Bishop of London. For the small English community, consisting mainly of members of the staffs of the various cable companies and their families, a consecrated church and an English clergyman have been provided [99].

* The Society aided the effort by a grant of £1,000 from its Bicentenary Fund in May, 1901.

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 192.)

CHAPTER XV.

BERMUDA.

THE BERMUDAS or Somers Islands, situated in the Western Atlantic Ocean, 580 miles from North Carolina, 780 from Halifax, and 800 from the nearest West Indies, consist of about 100 small islands, some 16 only being inhabited. The group was discovered in 1515 by Juan Bermude, a Spaniard, but no settlement was formed there until 1609, when Sir George Somers was wrecked on one of its sunken reefs, while conveying English colonists to Virginia. This led to the Virginia Company obtaining a concession of the islands from James I., but soon afterwards they sold them for £2,000 to "The Company of the City of London for the Plantation of the Somers Islands." Representative government was introduced into the Colony in 1620; but in 1684 the Charter of the new body of adventurers was cancelled, and since then the Governors have invariably been appointed by the Crown.

IN 1705 a Mission Library and books for his parishioners were voted by the Society to the Rev. T. LLOYD on his being appointed to Bermuda by the Bishop of London [1]. Assistance towards the support of a clergyman was solicited in the same year (by the Bishop of London) [2], and again in 1714 (by or on behalf of the Rev. — King) [3] and in 1715, but not granted. On the third occasion the application was made by the President and Council of Bermuda, who, "believing that nothing keeps the Memorials of God and Religion in a

degenerate age more than the Publick Worship, and ordinance of God's Duty administered, and, seriously considering the ill consequences to any people for want of the same," heartily offered their "present case to [the] Venerable Society" "for their serious consideration and assistance." In the islands were "nine Churches, which not being far distant from one another it was thought that three Ministers could supply them all, and therefore by an Act of Assembly" provision was made for such number (viz., £40 per annum, with house and glebe lands worth another £30), but there being "but one Minister in the Island the Rev. Andrew Auchinleck,"* they asked the Society to encourage Missionaries to Bermuda as in other parts of America, adding that they would "always think it an honour to receive their commands and in all things joyfully concur for promoting religion and virtue." The petition was supported by Mr. Auchinleck, who stated that he had "for some years past been obliged to [make] many tirearsome journeys in the island," and had "constantly read prayers and preaced in several Churches in this island to people that had been brought up under Dissenting Teachers . . . particularly under one Mr. John Fowles who had been teacher bette [better] then 30 years, yet in a little time" Mr. Auchinleck "found them ready to conform," and he now had "good congregations," which in numbers "daily increased" [4]. The opinion of the Society at the time was that it was "not consistent" with its "rules" "to send any Missionary to Bermuda" [5], and up to 1822 it continued to regard the colony as able to provide for its own spiritual wants. In 1821 the Rev. A. G. SPENCER, having removed to Bermuda from Newfoundland in search of health, was employed in one of the vacant parishes by the Governor, on whose representation of "the deplorable situation of the islands . . . and the inadequacy of the provision made for the Clergy," the Society in 1822 extended its aid to the Bermudas for the support of Mr. Spencer and of the Rev. GEORGE COSTAR, "who had for years struggled through the many difficulties of his charge with exemplary attention to its duties" [6]. In 1823 an allowance was made for a schoolmaster [7]. On his transfer to Newfoundland in 1824 Mr. Costar left in his two districts congregations "numerous and attentive," and in Devonshire parish the number of communicants was "nearly equal to the third part of the white population." His work among the negroes was disappointing. Their masters willingly assented to their attending church on a week-day, and at first "considerable numbers" came; "but when the novelty had passed away it was not possible to form any congregation" [8].

A few years later the Church obtained a great and lasting influence over the coloured population. The Rev. A. G. SPENCER and the Bishop of Nova Scotia, both Missionaries of the Society, were foremost in effecting this change. When the Bishop visited the islands in 1826 the population numbered 10,612, of whom 4,648 were white, 722 free negroes, and 5,242 slaves. "A very large proportion of the inhabitants" were "members of the Established Church," but although a small glebe had been allotted to each parish many years before, the whole provision for the Clergy was so

* A clergyman who had been appointed by the Society to South Carolina in 1705, but who had changed his destination.

insufficient that "the Churches were very badly supplied . . . four and even six of them" had "been committed to the care of a single Clergyman for many years together." "During the administration of Sir William Lumley . . . an Act was passed by the Colonial Legislature forming 8 parishes into 4 livings, and allotting from the public treasury $600" (= £135) "to each of 4 Clergymen . . . in those parishes and a like sum for the ninth parish, that of St. George." With "other advantages, arising from glebe, subscriptions and fees," the salary was made up to £200 for each clergyman. Each parish was provided with a "respectable Church" built of stone and whitened, and surrounded by beautiful Churchyards "inclosed with walls as white as snow, adorned with cedar trees and some of them covered with roses and geraniums." Where he found only three Clergymen (Messrs. SPENCER, LOUGH,* and HOARE) the Bishop left six, and the Sunday before his leaving Bermuda "divine service was performed in every Church in those islands, a circumstance almost unknown there." In each church also Confirmation was administered—to over 1,200 persons in the whole, "many of whom were seventy years old, and some more than 80 and among them were more than 100 blacks." Throughout the Colony "the zeal of the Clergy and the excellent disposition of the people excited his admiration." No Bishop had ever been seen before on the islands, and "the inhabitants seemed ready to welcome such a visitor with primitive affection."†

The negroes, of whom about 1,200 had been baptized, were "domestic rather than plantation slaves and treated very kindly by their masters." They required religious instruction, and were "anxious to receive it in connexion with the Established Church," to which their masters belonged, and there was "a readiness on the part of the Masters to acquiesce and even to co-operate in any reasonable method of affording it." As a step in this direction the Bishop "laid the foundation of ten temporary schools," and authorised the employment of a catechist in every district, and made representations to Government on the subject [9]. Within a year fourteen schools were at work—seven being for the coloured children—and it was then thought that the Bermudas were "adequately supplied with means of religious instruction." Under the superintendence of Archdeacon Spencer the schools "assumed a conspicuous feature in the religious concerns of the diocese" [10].

On his second visit to the Bermudas (in 1830) the Bishop was struck with the great advance which the Church had made. "The Society," he said, had "been successful in the introduction of the National system of education"; and, although four years before there was "not a coloured person in the islands receiving regular instruction" in connection with the Church, more than 700 of those people, of various ages, were now in the enjoyment of that blessing. "The moral influence of this instruction" had "checked the prevailing vice among the people of colour by inducing them to desire the benefits of legal marriage" recently extended to them by the Colonial Legislature, and "the little pilfering which was common in every part of the islands"

* The Rev. John Lough, father of the Ven. J. F. B. L. Lough [*see* p. 860].

† The Bermudas were constituted a part of the See of "Nova Scotia" in 1825 [9*a*].

had "greatly diminished." Persons who "formerly considered it as a thing of course that a large portion of their poultry would be stolen from them" had in the last three years "not lost a fowl."

Referring to a confirmation of negroes at Warwick, the Bishop says of one of the candidates: "At an early hour" Archdeacon Spencer "manumitted a slave who had been for some time under his instruction. Soon afterwards he baptized him; at ten o'clock he married him; and at eleven the same person was confirmed." At Pembroke on Ascension Day "nearly 200 communicants attended at the altar," and the Bishop delivered a Charge to the Clergy, twelve being present —a fourfold increase. Such a number had never been in the islands before.

So eagerly were the ministrations of the Church sought after by the negroes that a general enlargement of the buildings was called for. At one place nine-tenths of those who attended service "were without accommodation," and "if Church room be not provided for the people of colour" (wrote the Bishop) "all our labours in their behalf will lead to their early separation from the Established Church" [11].

The granting of "immediate and complete emancipation" to the slaves of Bermuda, "without the intervention of the offered apprenticeship" (the course generally adopted in the West Indies), called for additional exertions for dispensing religious instruction to the coloured population.

By means of the Negro Education Fund [*see* p. 195] the Society "readily attended to the call, and greatly assisted the benevolent object." Aid from this source began in 1835 [12], and two years later Archdeacon Spencer reported that "the best effects have been produced by the Society's grants," and "that the local Legislature has been extremely liberal . . . in aiding the several parishes to enlarge their Churches for the coloured parishioners" [13].

By the subdivision of the Diocese of Nova Scotia in 1839 Bermuda became attached to the See of Newfoundland,* then founded and placed under charge of Archdeacon Spencer as first Bishop, to whose support the Society continued to contribute [14]. Between this time and his translation to the See of Jamaica in 1843 "the labours of the exemplary clergy of these islands" (Bermudas) were signally blessed, the candidates for confirmation having "increased in more than a double ratio"; and three Romanists "intelligently embraced the doctrines of the Church of England mainly through the instrumentality of Dr. Tucker" [15]. It is noteworthy that in 1826, when the first Bishop visited Bermuda, there were said to be "only 2 Roman Catholics in the islands" [16].

The Bermudians continued to be "very liberal in their support of the Church and its institutions," and probably did "as much in this way in proportion to their means as any colony" [17]. Referring to the erection of four new churches in the islands in 1849,

* In 1851 the Society obtained for Bishop Feild a legal opinion as to his powers and jurisdiction as Bishop in Bermuda [14*a*]. Five years later the Bishop recommended the separation of Bermuda from the Diocese of Newfoundland and its union with the Bahamas, so as to form a new Colonial See, and offered to resign the £200 salary which he received annually from Bermuda. The Society regarded such an arrangement as "highly desirable," and communicated with the Colonial Office on the subject, but the union did not take place, though the See of Nassau was founded in 1861 [14*b*].

Bishop Feild stated that though "the whole white population of Bermuda does not exceed 5,000 . . . they have built nine handsome churches, without any foreign aid," and "each of the nine parishes has to maintain its own church and to enlarge it when necessary." At this Visitation the Bishop "was particularly pleased with the increased intelligence and interest displayed by the coloured population," and added, "the schools built by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for the coloured population, at the time of emancipation, have proved an inestimable blessing" [18].

The Rev. Dr. MURRAY, who had witnessed the transition of the negroes from a state of slavery to one of freedom and responsibility, reported in 1850, after 25 years' experience, that the result of the Society's efforts in Bermuda had been "very remarkable." Time was "when not one in a thousand could write his name or read it if . . . written." Now there was not one per cent. of those born since 1830, and of a fit age to be taught, but what were able to read and write, &c. Where the marriage tie had been so generally disregarded that there were probably not a dozen couples "united in lawful wedlock," the reverse was now the case. And a "meagre," "unintelligent," and apparently "fruitless" attendance at Divine Service had given way to crowded congregations, who joined "in the Liturgy and psalmody with understanding and apparent affection," "the great mass of the coloured people" being "steadfastly attached to the Church" and furnishing hundreds of constant communicants in place of the "very few" of former years. In everything that regards moral or religious purpose the coloured people of Bermuda "might compare not disadvantageously with any people of the same origin in any part of the world" [19].

The work and claims of the Society have obtained general and lasting recognition in Bermuda. Every parish there joined in celebrating the last jubilee [20], and a substantial contribution to the Society's funds is still made annually [21].

In 1856 the Rev. Dr. Tucker of St. George's voluntarily resigned his Missionary salary from the Society, as he had provided a church, school, and parsonage on a destitute island in his parish [22].

On the death of the Rev. J. F. LIGHTBOURN in 1870 the entire support of the Church was left to local resources.

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 192.)

CHAPTER XVI.

NOVA SCOTIA, CAPE BRETON, AND PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND.

NOVA SCOTIA was discovered by the Cabots, under the English King Henry VII., in 1497. The French began to colonise it in 1598, but their settlements in La Cadie, or Acadie as they called the country, were mostly destroyed in 1613 by an English ship from Virginia. In 1621 the territory was assigned by James I. to Sir William Alexander, and received the name of Nova Scotia, which included the province now known as New Brunswick. Possession for the English was obtained about 1628–9 by David Kirk, a Huguenot refugee, who captured Port Royal* (the capital); but in 1632 the colony was restored to France. During the last half of the 17th century it passed through several changes of government—English and French; but in 1713 it was finally surrendered to Great Britain by the Peace of Utrecht. In 1758 the two islands of Cape Breton and St. John (now Prince Edward Island), which also had been settled by the French, and the former of which had been held by the English from 1745 to 1747, both became permanently British possessions. Prince Edward Island, annexed to Nova Scotia in 1763, was constituted a separate Colony in 1770. During the wars the presence of the French Acadians in Nova Scotia was considered dangerous to English interests, and in consequence thousands of them were expelled in 1755. After the peace many of the exiles returned to the colony. The success of the English led to the Micmac Indians "burying the hatchet" and formally accepting in 1761 George III. (instead of the French King) "as their Father and Friend." Previously to this they had committed fearful barbarities upon the colonists of Nova Scotia, and in the French Governor's house at St. John were found many English scalps hung as trophies.

IN January 1711 Colonel Nicholson laid before the Society an address "from the gentlemen that compose the Council of War at Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia praying that Ministers may be sent over to convert the Indians in the said country." The address, with "several other papers and letters concerning the same business," were "refer'd to the Committee" for "opinion" [1], and in the following year a Mission among the Indians in New York Province was renewed [*see* pp. 67–70]; but nothing further is recorded of Nova Scotia until 1727, when the Rev. RICHARD WATTS, then about to go to Annapolis as a Chaplain to the Forces, prayed the Society for "an allowance for teaching the poor children there." The Society voted him £10 a year—which was doubled in 1731—and sent a supply of Bibles, Prayer Books, and tracts for his school, which was opened at Easter 1728, and in which he taught fifty children. At his own charge he built in 1737 a "school house for the good of the publick and especially for the poorer sort," in Annapolis, "and appointed it for that use for ever with other necessary conveniences." Two years later, the chaplaincy having determined, he removed to New Bristol, in New England [2].

While at Annapolis Mr. WATTS in 1729 reported that the people at Canso "were generally bent to address the Society for a Minister," and he offered his services to the Society for that place, "there being no other Minister of the Church of England in that whole Province or Government [Nova Scotia] besides himself." The Society awaited a communication from the people themselves, but nothing came until 1736, when Mr. Edward How, a Canso merchant, petitioned for an allowance for a school, "great numbers of poor people," chiefly fisher-

* Afterwards Annapolis Royal, in honour of Queen Anne.

men, soldiers, and labourers, "being very desirous of having their children taught and instructed in the principles of Christian religion," a work which no one had been found to undertake until the arrival of the Rev. JAMES PEDEN, "Deputy-Chaplain to the Forces there," in October 1785. Mr. Peden had taken fifty poor children under his care, and for his encouragement the Society granted £10 a year, which was continued up to the end of 1743, when, as he had given "a very insufficient account of the state of the school." the allowance was withdrawn [3].

The circumstances under which the Society's connection was renewed with Nova Scotia are set forth in the following letter from the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations to the Society :—

"Whitehall, April 6th 1749.

"Sir,—His Majesty having given directions that a number of persons should be sent to the Province of Nova Scotia, in North America: I am directed by my Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations to desire you will acquaint the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, that it is proposed to settle the said persons in six Townships, and that a particular spot will be set a Part in each of them, for building a Church, and 400 acres of land adjacent thereto granted in perpetuity, Free from the payment of any Quit Rent, to a Minister, and his successors, and 200 in like manner to a Schoolmaster: Their Lordships therefore recommend to the Society to Name a Minister and Schoolmaster for each of the said Townships, hoping that they will give such encouragements to them as the Society shall think proper, untill their lands can be so far cultivated as to afford a sufficient support.

"I am further to acquaint you that each Clergyman who shall be sent with the Persons who are to Form this first settlement, will have a grant of 200 acres of land, and each Schoolmaster 100 acres in Propriety to them and their heirs, as also 30 acres over and above their said respective quotas, for every Person of which their Families shall consist; that they will likewise be subsisted during their passage, and for twelve months after their arrival, and furnish'd with Arms, Ammunition, and Materials for Husbandry, Building their houses, &c., in like manner as the other setlers.

"Their Lordships think proper that the Society should be inform'd that (except the Garrison of Annapolis) all the inhabitants of the Said Province, amounting to 20,000, are French Roman Catholicks, and that there are a great number of Priests resident among them, who act under the Directions of the French Bishop of Quebec.

"At the same time their Lordships would recommend it to the consideration of the Society, whether it may not be advisable to choose some amongst others, of the Ministers and Schoolmasters to be sent, who by speaking the French language may be particularly usefull in cultivating a sense of the true Protestant religion among the said inhabitants, and educating their children in the Principles thereof.

"I am Sir your most obedient humble servant

"JOHN POWNALL, Sollr. and Clk. of the Reports." [4].

It afforded the Society "much satisfaction to observe" that the Commissioners . . . "shew'd so just and necessary Regard for introducing and supporting true Religion among the People to be settled" in Nova Scotia, "at the same time that they were consulting in so great a Degree the civil and commercial Interests of that Colony and of Great Britain." To further "the pious and laudable intention" a special meeting was held on April 7, attended by the two Archbishops and ten Suffragan Bishops, at which the Society undertook to supply (as settlements were formed) six clergymen and six schoolmasters—including some able to speak French—and to provide them with "the

highest salary* allow'd" by it, as well as gratuities* "to facilitate the first settlement," and (with the aid of the S.P.C.K.) "proper books."

The Commissioners were asked "to consider this assistance . . . in its true light as an approbation and an encouragement only of this excellent design," it being "the very best" the Society's circumstances allowed, and "indeed . . . beyond" its "ability, for besides this large, new expence for the support of Religion in this new settlement, the constant, annual, necessary charge in providing for Divine Worship and usefull instruction, that the people in the numerous and extensive Colonies of America may not sink into Atheism, or be Perverted to Popery," already exceeded "considerably £3,500 a year, while the certain annual Income" was not "so much as £1,000."

It was assumed that the "Chaplain setled already at Annapolis Royal" was "resident and constantly" performed "his duty there," and the hope was expressed that early care would be taken by the Government "to build churches and to erect comfortable houses for the Missionaries," and to assist them in clearing and cultivating their glebes.

With reference to the "great danger" the new settlement was "like to be in," "of being perverted to Popery by the number of French Papists, the Vigilancy of their Priests and the activity of the Bishop of Quebeck," the Society submitted for the Commissioners' consideration "whether the barrier against this bad religion and bad government would not be rendered stronger by making some Provisional allotment of a number of acres towards the supporting a Bishop of the Church of England there, when the importance of this hopefull and growing colony shall require and the wisdom of the Government shall think fit to place one in that country." Also "whether it might not be of considerable service to the Publick" if the Commissioners were "to assist the application that the Society made some time since to the Government for the appointing of Bishops . . . in our Colonies in America in such places as shall be thought most proper" [5].

It was not until most of the American Colonies had been lost to England that the Government thought fit to appoint a Bishop for any of them; but when that time came Nova Scotia was selected as the seat of the first Bishopric. [*See* p. 751.]

Within a fortnight of the receipt of the Commissioners' letter the Rev. WILLIAM TUTTY, the Rev. WILLIAM ANWYL, and a schoolmaster had been appointed by the Society to accompany the first settlers from England [6]. The necessity of this provision will appear from the following abstract of a letter from Mr. Tutty, "dated from Chebucto Harbour in Nova Scotia Sept. 29th 1749 acquainting that on the 21st of June they arrived safe on that Harbour . . . he was on board the Beaufort man-of-war with the Governor thro' the kind recommendation of the . . . Bishop of Lincoln:" They had "met with many difficulties arising chiefly from the Perverseness of the present settlers, which thro' the wise conduct of the very worthy Governor, with the assistance of Hugh Davidson Esq., the Secretary, and of Richard Bulkeley Esq., the Aid-de-Camp," were "in a great measure sur-

* At that time £70 salary and £50 gratuity in the case of each Missionary, and £15 salary and £10 gratuity in the case of each schoolmaster.

mounted," and the Colony was "so far advanc'd" that Mr. Tutty hoped "neither French treachery nor Indian cruelty," nor, "worse than both, even the Perverseness of the Setlers themselves" would "be able to prevail against it. The old Inhabitants, both the French and Indians," were "Bigotted Papists, and under the absolute Dominion of their Priests"; they acknowledged "obedience to our King of Great Britain," but it was "a mere verbal acknowledgement," to judge "by their present Prevarication, and past behaviour, and the effect of Fear alone; The Indians of the Pen Insula came frequently with their Wives and Children" among the settlers on their arrival, "traded with them, and seem'd not in the least dissatisfied with their settling in the Country; But they disappear'd all at once, on a summons to Chiginecto from their Priest" who endeavoured "to stir them up to Arms, and appear'd as he did in the late War at the Head of them about Minar; but as an officer with 100 men" were posted there no great danger was "to be apprehended on that side." Of the new settlers from "Old England," the "lower sort" were "in general a sett of most abandon'd wretches . . . so deeply sunk into almost all kinds of Immorality" as to "scarce retain the shadow of religion"; there were "indeed a few good men amongst them," and the officers behaved "with great decency" in general, and seldom failed "to join in the Publick Worship."

The "settlers from New England" made "great Pretentions to Religion," and were "justly scandaliz'd at the barefac'd immorality of the others"; but if they were "to be judged from their commercial dealings, the externals of religion" were "much more prevalent with them than the essence of it." This, Mr. Tutty said, was "the true disposition of the Inhabitants of Nova Scotia," and in order to amend it, to begin with the "Old Inhabitants," he proposed "that some French Bibles or Testaments at least, with a plain comment upon them, should be sent over to be distributed among the French," who would "gladly read them, if not prevented by their Priests; and if some French Protestants were induced to come over with an able Missionary of the same Nation . . . a few years would make a great alteration for the better, both in their Religion and Loyalty." To further this scheme Mr. Tutty recommended to the Society "the Rev. Mr. MOREAU, some time since Secular Priest and Parochial Minister in France, which he quitted for the sake of a good conscience, and came over and join'd himself to the Church of England, and after some . . . time, married and embark'd with the new setlers for Nova Scotia." For the Indians nothing could be done for the present, as they had just "commenc'd hostilities" against the Colony "in a base barbarous manner," and were "running blindly upon their own destruction." "As to the new setlers," Mr. Tutty would "oppose himself to stop the torrent of Immorality thro' God's Assistance with all his might." The Governor ordered him to "beg . . . that some more Missionaries might be sent them." "Good Schoolmasters" were also "much wanted," the "chief hope" of the Colony being "among the rising generation." The number of inhabitants "in the town of Halifax" exceeded 15,000, "excluding the soldiery." Since his arrival Mr. Tutty had baptized 20 infants, but "the Blessed Sacrament" had not been administered because Divine Service had "hitherto been per-

form'd in the open air," but as soon as "the Governour's dining room" was finished, it was "purpos'd to make use of that" till a church was erected; one was being framed at Boston "capable of holding 900 persons."

The Society at once laid out £50 "in purchasing French Bibles and other proper books" * for the Colonists, and submitted to the Commissioners of Trade &c. a representation of its "present low circumstances," with an abstract of Mr. Tutty's letter [7]. The Commissioners replied, March 5, 1750, "that having had last year so great an instance of the goodwill of the Society, towards the Infant Settlement of Nova Scotia," they would "be far from pressing them beyond what the cause of Religion" might "require and the circumstances of the Society . . . admit." They also had sent a large supply of Bibles† to the Colony, and it was design'd that the next settlement should "consist chiefly of Foreign Protestants" [8]. Meanwhile Mr. Tutty reported (Dec. 5, 1749) that if the new Colony went on "with such success as it has begun it must infallibly in a few years eclipse all the other Colonys in North America." On Sept. 2, 1750, St. Paul's, Halifax, the first English Church in Nova Scotia, was opened; the inhabitants of that town then numbered 4,000 (exclusive of the military), and Mr. Tutty had 50 regular communicants. During the next year the population rose to 6,000, over one-half being professed members of the Church of England, and between 300 and 400 actual communicants. These included many Germans, formerly Lutherans and Calvinists, whose conformity having been promoted by a Swiss Minister, Mr. Burger, that gentleman was ordained and appointed to their charge in 1751. In that year Mr. Tutty wrote: "The Colony in general is much amended, and the behaviour of the worst among them is less profligate and abandoned." Between Churchmen and Dissenters there was "a perfect harmony," and "the most bigotted" among the latter seldom failed to attend Church "every Sunday morning" [9].

Mr. ANWYL's conduct being unsatisfactory, the Society decided to recall him, but he died in February 1750, before the decision was taken [10]. In his place the Rev. J. B. MOREAU was appointed to minister to a settlement of French and Swiss Protestants, which he began to do on September 9, 1750, in the French language [11]. In 1752 his congregation was increased to 1,000 (800 adults) by the arrival from Montbelliard of "500 Protestants of the Confession of Augsburgh," who conformed to the Church, receiving with the "greatest satisfaction" copies of the Book of Common Prayer in French—"kissing his hand and the books for joy" [12]. Most of the French and Germans, with a few English, in all 1,600 persons, under Mr. Moreau's charge, removed to Lunenburgh in 1754. There every Sunday they assembled themselves together for service "in the open parade," and more than 200 of the French and Germans were "regular communicants" [13].

* The S.P.C.K. co-operated with the Society in providing books on this occasion [8*a*].

† The French Bibles sent by the Commissioners, "having the Geneva form of prayer annex'd to them," almost occasioned a schism among the Conformists; but the Swiss leaders "having examined the English Liturgy with great attention . . . thought it in all respects preferable to any human composition and . . . determined constantly to use it"; and they succeeded in removing "the Prejudices of their weak Brethren" in most instances [8*b*].

Over his flock Mr. Moreau exercised a "godly discipline." On Easter Day 1757 he "put to publick Penance one of the Congregation who had been one of the Chiefs in a Conspiracy . . . against the Government." "After an humble prostration of himself in the Church the Penitent rose up and humbly asked pardon of God, of the King and of his Christian brethren." After an exhortation from the pulpit to a sincere repentance and amendment of life, he was re-admitted to the Holy Communion, 149 others communicating at the same service [14].

Ministrations in Lunenburgh and Halifax* were continued in three languages for many years, and notwithstanding the great difficulties arising from the diversities of language and creed, the Rev. P. Bryzelius in 1770 and the Rev. P. De La Roche in 1775 numbered 120 German, 50 French, and 30 English-speaking persons among their communicants" [15].

Mr. De La Roche rendered good service also by "publishing weekly in the *Gazette* a Practical Commentary on the New Testament" "for the benefit of the unlearned" in the Province [15*a*]. Besides serving his three European congregations, Mr. Moreau so extended his operations that in 1764 he could report the "success of his labours in bringing over the Indian savages to our holy religion having baptized several of their children." These Indians behaved "with great decency in religious ceremonies." Most of them understood French, and had been under the influence of the Roman Catholic Priests, who had taught them the "grossest absurdities" [16].

The Rev. J. Bennet, an itinerant Missionary, also made some good impressions on the Indians. He had several long conferences with them, and was "instrumental in keeping the Savages quiet" in the interests of the English [17].

The Rev. T. Wood of Halifax and Annapolis Royal &c. obtained considerable influence over the Indians. In August 1762 there died at Halifax M. Maillard, a Roman Catholic Priest, Vicar-General of Quebec, and "Missionary to the French and Indians," "who stood in so much awe of him that it was judged necessary to allow him a salary from our Government." The day before his death, "at his own request Mr. Wood performed the Office for the Visitation of the Sick according to our form [Anglican] in the French Language in the presence of all the French whom Monsr. Maillard ordered to attend for that purpose." At his funeral Mr. Wood "performed the Office of burial according to our form, in French, in the presence of almost all the gentlemen of Halifax and a very numerous assembly of French and Indians" [18]. The respect shown to Mr. Wood by M. Maillard had so good an effect on the Indians that they expressed a desire "to join in the service of the Church of England in the French tongue, with which they were so well pleased that they . . . begged" for a monthly service. The use of "the sign of the Cross" in the English baptismal service gave the Indians and the French Neutrals particular satisfaction. As most of the Indians in the Province understood their own language only, Mr. Wood devoted from three to four

* By 1799 the Germans at Halifax had been "so intermixed and intermarried with the other inhabitants" that all of them spoke English much better than they did German [15*b*].

hours daily to acquiring it, and with such success that in 1767 he was able to officiate in Mickmack, which he first did publicly in July of that year in St. Paul's, Halifax, in the presence of the Governor, most of the army and navy officers, and the inhabitants.

"On this occasion the *Indians* sung an Anthem before and after Service. Before the Service begun, an *Indian* Chief came forward from the rest, and kneeling down . . . prayed that the Almighty God woulld bless His Majesty King *George* the Third, their lawful King and Governor, and all the Royal Family: he prayed also for . . . the Governor, and for Prosperity to His Majesty's Province. He then rose up, and Mr. *Wood* . . . explained his Prayer in *English* to the whole Congregation. Upon which his Excellency turned to the Indians and bowed to them. When Service was ended the *Indians* thanked God, the Governor, and Mr. Wood, for the opportunity they had of hearing Prayers again in their own Language."

Soon after, Mr. Wood officiated at the marriage of the daughter of Thoma, the hereditary king of the Mickmacks, and entertained the Indians at his own house. By the next year he had made good progress in a Mickmack translation of the Prayer Book and a Mickmack Grammar [19].

Mr. Wood's labours among the Europeans at Annapolis and Granville were no less successful. He visited the district in 1753, and again in 1762–3, when he found "more than 800 souls, without either Church or Minister, whose joy was universal and almost inconceivable at the hopes he gave them of being appointed their Missionary" (*see* p. 865) [20]. In an appeal for an additional clergyman the inhabitants of the two places said in 1770:—

"We . . . having been educated and brought up (at least the greater number of us) in the Congregational way of Worship, before we came to settle in Nova Scotia, and therefore we should have chosen to have a Minister of that form of Worship, settled among us: but the Rev. Mr. Wood by his preaching and performing the other Offices of his Holy function occasionally amongst us in the several districts of this County hath removed our former prejudices that we had against the forms of Worship of the Church of England as by Law established, and hath won us unto a good Opinion thereof; inasmuch as he hath removed all our scruples of receiving the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in that form of administering it, at least many of us are communicants with him and we trust and believe many more will soon be added."

This representation was addressed to their former pastor, the Rev. W. CLARK, who also had conformed and was then a Missionary of the Society at Dedham, Massachusetts [21]. (His transfer was not, however, effected.) In the next few years Mr. Wood "baptized several whole Families" of Dissenters [22].

The same spirit manifested itself elsewhere. In the Cumberland district under the Rev. J. Eagleson the number of Dissenters who regularly attended the Church service in 1773 nearly equalled the full Church members [23]. After three years' work in the Windsor Mission (1776–9), where he had "found the lower orders of the people nearly to a man Presbyterians or Fanatics," the Rev. W. ELLIS reported:—"The Dissenting interest declines beyond my expectation; all bitterness is entirely over, and although some still profess themselves Dissenters, they are often at Church, and which is more, send their children regularly to Catechism" [24]. So much indeed was the Church of England respected in the province that in the General Assembly Dissenters joined in passing a law for her establishment and

for finishing the parish church of St. Paul's, Halifax, which in 1762 was "frequented by all denominations," among whom harmony universally "prevailed" [25]. This was partly due to the ministry of the Rev. J. BREYNTON, who in 1770, out of a total population of 5,000, "including the army, Acadians, and fishermen," could return 4,500 as being in outward conformity with the Church of England, and add that many of the "Protestant Dissenters . . . attend the Church and occasionally use its Ordinances" [25*a*]. In June of this year "the Clergy, with the Dissenting Ministers, and his Majesty's Council, and the House of Assembly," all attended St. Paul's Church, Halifax, to celebrate the anniversary of the first Foreign Auxiliary Committee of the Society, which was instituted at Halifax in 1769 [26].

During the eight years of its existence [*see* p. 759] this "Corresponding Committee" rendered great assistance in the settlement of Missions, and by their representations many destitute districts were supplied with Missionaries earlier than would otherwise have been the case [27]. Generally there was a great desire for the ministrations of the Church, and infants were "brought to Halifax" for baptism from a distance of "40 leagues" [28].

In 1771 the Committee expressed to the Society

"their great satisfaction in the vigilant and assiduous Applications of the respective Missionaries to all the duties of their Functions and Trusts, and that by their good lives, prudent and exemplary Conduct, they have gained a general esteem, and have considerably served the pious and excellent design of their Missions, the Interests of Religion in general, and of the Established Church in particular by an encrease of its Members, and that by their Moderation and patient labors a very general harmony subsists among the members of the Church of England and those of other Denominations." (Signed by the Governor, the Chief Justice, and the Secretary of the Province) [29].

At the request of the Governor of "the Island of St. John," [now Prince Edward Island], Mr. Eagleson of Cumberland spent eleven weeks there in the autumn of 1778, visiting Charlottetown, St. Peter's, Stanhope, Traccady, and Malpeck or Prince Town, "at which places he read and preached, baptised twenty-nine children and married one couple," "a number of well-disposed persons" rejoicing "in the opportunity of hearing a Protestant clergyman" "for the first time since St. John's was made a separate Government" [30]. The good work done by him in the Cumberland Mission was interrupted by his being "taken prisoner" in November 1776 "by a body of the Rebels and carried into the Massachusetts" his house being "plundered his property destroyed and his person insulted" in consequence of his loyalty. After sixteen months' imprisonment he effected his escape "at the peril of his life" [31]. An attempt made to recapture him in 1781 he evaded by fleeing to Halifax through the snow and woods [32]. Long before this Halifax had become the chief refuge for the loyalists from the insurgent American Colonies. "Many wealthy and large families" from New England arrived in 1775–6, and the refugees continued to pour in until by 1783 there were 35,000 (including 5,000 free negroes) settled, or rather trying to settle, in the province [33]. In many instances the trial failed. The Bishop of Nova Scotia in 1844 stated that he had

"lately been at Shelburne, where nearly *ten thousand* of them, chiefly from New

York, and comprizing many of my father's parishioners, attracted by the beauty and security of a most noble harbour, were tempted to plant themselves, regardless of the important want of any country in the neighbourhood fit for cultivation. Their means were soon exhausted in building a spacious town at great expense, and vainly contending against indomitable rocks; and in a few years the place was reduced to a few hundred families. Many of them* returned to their native country, and a large portion of them were reduced to poverty. . . . Some few of the first emigrants are still living. I visited these aged members of the Church. They told me that, on their first arrival, lines of women could be seen sitting on the rocks of the shore, and weeping at their altered condition" [34].

The peculiar situation of the unhappy fugitives, many of whom had "been obliged to leave their friends, part of their families, and most of their substance behind them" justly claimed the attention of the Rev. Dr. BREYNTON, who strove "to soften and alleviate their banishment by every civility and consolation in his power" [35]. Among those befriended was the Rev. J. BAILEY of Pownalborough, Massachusetts, who, having undergone "the most severe and cruel treatment from the rebels of New England" [*see* p. 50], arrived at Halifax in 1779 with "nothing remaining except two old feather beds without any appendages"; both he and his family were not only "destitute of money," they had "not cloathing sufficient to appear among the very lowest classes of mankind." "But through the humanity of private persons (more especially of Dr. Breynton) and by a vote of £50 currency from the Assembly of the Province" they were "in some measure relieved" from their distresses and found "their spirits again reviving" [36].

During an epidemic of smallpox in 1776, so fatal in those times, Dr. Breynton promoted inoculation by preaching on the subject and raising a subscription towards inoculating the poor, and was thus "instrumental in saving many lives in the province; the example being . . . followed all over the colony; and the New England people, formerly the most averse to inoculation," became "perfectly reconciled to it . . . practising it with much success in every district"† [37].

Numbers of the refugees, though Dissenters in New England, "constantly attended the service of the Church since their arrival at Halifax," so that the church was "too small to hold the congregations," and many formerly "rigid Dissenters" became "regular communicants" [38]. Dr. Breynton also records the administration of the Holy Communion to "Baron de Seitz's Hessian regiment, amounting to about 500," whose "exemplary and regular behaviour" did them "great honour" [39]. Both on the coast and in the interior settlements daily sprang up "where scarcely a vestige of human cultivation and resort existed before," and some years elapsed before the exiles could raise sufficient provision for their own families [40]. For the supply of their spiritual wants dependence rested mainly on the Society, and the Society could the more easily meet the first demands seeing that many of its Missionaries had been ejected from the States [*see* p. 79], and were in need of employment, and that the British

* In 1788 the Rev. Dr. W. Walter reported that four-fifths had returned to the States [34*a*].

† This treatment produced opposite results at Annapolis in 1798. "Smallpox appeared in almost every house" there and "numbers died by inoculation while the old Sexton who took it in the natural way, tho' 98 years of age, recovered" [37*a*].

Government promised to co-operate "in affording to His Majesty's distressed and loyal subjects" in North America "the means of religious instruction and attending the Public worship of Almighty God" [41]. The lands reserved by Government for this purpose in Nova Scotia amounted in 1785 to 30,150 acres, distributed among thirty-four townships, 18,150 being glebe lands and 12,000 school lands [42]. [*See* pp. 119, 121]. Pecuniary assistance also was continued by Government for a long period. [*See* p. 121.]

Among the refugees were many negroes, and perhaps no greater proof of the reality and value of the Society's work among the slaves in the United States can be found than in the fact that the Nova Scotia Missionaries discovered that "many hundreds" of them, "adults, children, and infants," had "been baptized, and some of them" were "constant communicants," and that others showed "a docility and a desire to receive the truths of Christianity" which were highly commendable [43]. In one year 40 were baptized by Dr. Breynton at Halifax, and 125 (81 adults) at Shelburne by the Rev. G. PANTON, who also married "44 couple" [44], while at Digby (under the Rev. R. VIETS) the black communicants in 1786 outnumbered the whites by 31 to 17 [45]. In the Shelburne district 1,162 negroes were distributed in 1790-1, 350 at Birchtown, where a school was established for them [46]. By 1818 "several permanent establishments of negroes" had been formed in the neighbourhood of Halifax, consisting of escaped slaves brought by Her Majesty's ships, but although lands were given to them these people were then for the most part "wretchedly poor and ignorant" [47].

Especially was this the case at Sackville, where the Rev. J. H. C. PARSONS "frequently visited them in their log huts," and "prevailed upon them to have their children baptized" [48].

On the other hand at Tracadie there was at that time a comparatively flourishing settlement of negroes in charge of a native Reader, DEMSY JORDAN. They were "temperate" and "industrious." Their farms were "in a state of tolerable cultivation." "Most of them" had "a few cattle and a small flock of sheep, and their huts" assumed "an air of decency." "Persons of all ages" were "punctual attendants on the performance of the services of this Catechist," who was "well qualified for the trust" which he held, and "faithful in the discharge of its duties."*

With the Society's assistance they built a church, and in 1887, although reduced to "very straitened circumstances," they undertook to assist in erecting a school house, and to contribute £20 a year towards the support of a schoolmaster. They then numbered forty-two families, "containing 160 children." So well had Demsy Jordan profited by his early training in New York that he "maintained his attachment to the Church through every trial and brought up his family in habits of attention to her ordinances." He died in 1859 at the age of eighty-nine, after nearly twenty years' blindness [49]. No race seemed to have escaped the attention of the Society. The settlement of a body of Maroons† at Preston about 1796 brought them

* Previous to the establishment of a school by the Society in 1788, the negroes at Tracadie were "exceedingly indolent," and their condition was "very wretched" [49a].

† *See* "Jamaica," page 238.

under the care of the Missionaries. The Rev. B. GRAY, who acted as Chaplain to them, baptized fifty-five in fourteen months, twenty-six being adults. They numbered between 400 and 500, one half being Christians, and the Society sent them a supply of Bibles and Prayer Books. In 1799 the Governor of Nova Scotia informed the Society that nineteen of the Maroon scholars who were being educated at Boydville, "were examined publicly in the Church on Easter Sunday," and "repeated the Catechism, Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Commandments with admirable precision, and read all the Lessons and Responses during the service very correctly" [50]. "At the particular request of the inhabitants" the Rev. T. SHREVE of Lunenburgh visited Petit Riviere in 1813, and preached to a congregation of 300 persons, of whom he baptized sixteen. "Not one half of that congregation had ever before heard a Minister of the Church of England, nor seen a Common Prayer Book, being mostly Presbyterians from the North of Ireland." Many afterwards repaired to Lunenburgh for Holy Communion, and took steps to erect a church in order to obtain a resident Missionary [51]. In 1821 we find a Welsh colony at New Cambria and a body of Highlanders at Antigonish and Remsheg profiting by the ministrations of the Society's agents. For the latter, Mr. Anderson, the schoolmaster at Merigomish, acted as Catechist, explaining the Scriptures "chiefly by translating Sermons into Erse," and those people, though then not in communion with the Church of England, were "well affected to her" [52].

In the island of Cape Breton a Mission was begun at Sydney in 1785 by the Rev. RANNA COSSIT. On his first coming the people "expressed great satisfaction" at the prospect of a Mission, but the majority of them were "French and Irish Roman Catholicks," chiefly storekeepers and fishermen. There were also "some Indians of the Romish persuasion"; only two persons had ever received the Holy Communion according to the Church of England form. Within two years that number was increased sevenfold, and on Christmas-Day 1789 a church was opened [53].

On August 12, 1787, the Rev. CHARLES INGLIS, formerly Missionary of the Society in Pennsylvania, was consecrated (at Lambeth) the first Colonial Bishop. Until 1793, when Upper and Lower Canada were formed into the See of Quebec, the Diocese of Nova Scotia comprised the whole of the British possessions in North America, from Newfoundland to Lake Superior, a territory now divided into ten Bishoprics and demanding more. Bravely, however, did Bishop Inglis strive to do the best for his huge diocese. His first tour of visitation was made in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick in 1788, during which he travelled 700 miles, and confirmed 525 persons. The kind treatment which the Bishop met with everywhere, and the good disposition both of the clergy and laity to comply with his exhortation, showed how agreeable the appointment of a Bishop had been. "By his judicious conduct and zealous exertions" he awoke the people "from that torpid state in which he found them respecting religious matters, and making the proper external provisions for the due administration of the public worship." "Scarcely was there a Church finished throughout the Province" when he arrived, but soon Churches began to rise in many places,

At Granville application for a resident clergyman was supported by Dissenters, who unanimously gave up their "Meeting House" "for the sole use of the Established Church, reserving only their own pews" which they designed to occupy, and the building received the appropriate name of Christ Church [54].

A similar spirit was shown in one of the Guysboro districts, where "a chapel of ease" was opened by the people and named Union Chapel, "from the circumstance of their having, tho' bred of different denominations, agreed to join together in one congregation and to use no other form but that of our Church" (*i.e.* the Liturgy of the Church of England)* [55].

The times were such as to impel the sober-minded Dissenters to seek rest in the bosom of the Church. During the last decade of the 18th century Nova Scotia was distracted by "the prevalence of the enthusiastic and dangerous spirit among a sect . . . called New Lights," whose religion seemed "to be a strange jumble of New England Independency and Behmenism." They were most troublesome in the districts of Annapolis, Granville, Wilmot and Aylesford. Both Methodist and New Light teachers "in their struggles for pre-eminence" excited among the people "a pious frenzy." Over all the Western Counties "a rage for dipping" prevailed and was frequently performed "in a very indelicate manner before vast collections of people." Hundreds of persons were "rebaptized," this plunging being deemed absolutely necessary to the conversion of a sinner. The teachers were mostly "very ignorant mechanics and common labourers" who were "too lazy to work." The Clergy, who were caused "a great deal of uneasiness and trouble," "exerted themselves to the utmost to keep their congregations free from the contagion." At Granville and Annapolis "multitudes" attended the Bishop's exhortations and "went away with favourable impressions of our Church"; and Mr. VIETS of Digby reported in 1791 that there was "no other sort of public worship" than that of the Church "in his Missions or in the vicinity," and "all other denominations" were becoming "more and more reconciled to our Church."† Many of the poor, ignorant people so neglected their temporal concerns in following the rambling preachers that they became "much distressed for the bare necessaries of life," which seemed to have "cooled their zeal and abated their frenzy" [56].

At Granville there was still in 1823 a variety of fanatical teachers, but by the exertions of the Rev. G. BEST the Church was strengthened and "a respectable congregation" was gathered from "the New Lights themselves" [57].

* The inhabitants of Guysboro at this time were so poor that it was with difficulty that their clergyman, the Rev. P. De La Roche, could obtain a subsistence among them. Residence there was not, however, without its compensations. In May 1792 Mr. De La Roche reported "that where there is a scarcity of the sons of Æsculapius there is a scarcity of burials. The only one they had there was obliged to leave," "as he could not get a livelihood." During the previous five years Mr. De La Roche had buried only 39 persons, while the baptisms numbered "229 besides adults and parish children"—a result of the "healthiness of that country which makes amends for the poverty of it" [55*a*].

† *See* also remarks of Mr. Justice Halliburton of Nova Scotia, in his Speech at the London Meeting of S.P.G., June 28, 1831.

In 1807 the Society represented to the English Government that the lands reserved for Church purposes were "sometimes granted away afterwards, the reservation not conveying title,"* and that the incomes of the Clergy were "so inadequate" that there was "no prospect of a sufficient succession unless further encouragement" was given. It was found also that there was a decline rather than advance towards self-supporting Missions, the inhabitants exerting themselves only when they liked their pastor, which was more often the case with "Native American" clergymen than with those sent from England [58].

With a view to raising an indigenous ministry the Society in 1809 began to found Divinity Exhibitions at the University of King's College which had been established at Windsor in 1789. [*See* p. 776.] It was to this institution that the Bishop looked for help in meeting such an emergency as arose in 1795, when four of his sixteen Clergy were removed by death. One of these, the Rev. T. LLOYD of Chester, lost his life "by a very imprudent resolution" "to walk on snow shoes from Chester to Windsor, a distance of 30 miles, through a dreary rocky wilderness, without an inhabitant." He was caught in a terrible storm, and a search-party "after exploring their way all night by the help of a candle, found his body frozen hard as a rock," 14 miles from the town which he had left two days before [59].

The Exhibitions of the Society, increased as they were from time to time, proved of inestimable value to the Church, and without them it would have been impossible to have maintained and developed the Missions [60]. In the education of the masses the Society led the way by introducing into Nova Scotia in 1815–16 the "Madras" or National system of education, which rapidly spread throughout the North American Colonies. [*See* p. 769.]

Bishop CHARLES INGLIS died in 1816, after more than 50 years' service to religion in North America [61]. His successor, Dr. R. STANSER (another laborious Missionary of the Society), was permitted to do little episcopal work. Having met his Clergy and "with the utmost difficulty" "performed the offices of visitation, confirmation, and ordination" he returned to England in 1817 in broken health, and did not see his diocese again. For seven years the Church was deprived of episcopal ministrations, and it was only after "repeated applications" on his part that "His Majesty's Government" "permitted" him to resign [62]. Meanwhile in the Northern and Eastern parts of the province alone there were settlements comprising in the whole 10,000 inhabitants without a resident clergyman [63]. During this time Dr. JOHN INGLIS did all that was possible to be done by a Priest and Commissary to supply the place of a Chief Pastor. At Halifax he devoted "from four to seven hours a day to the sick and afflicted," "Presbyterians and Methodists" as well as Church people having "no scruple in sending for him" [64]. In 1825 he became the third Bishop of Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and the Bermudas were formally constituted a part of his

* The Church eventually suffered "great losses" of Church and School lands through the intrusion of squatters; yet (though as recently as 1881 some of the glebes were still of little value) much benefit has accrued to the Church from this source in many districts [58*a*].

charge. Returning from consecration in England, he landed at Halifax under a salute of twenty-six guns from the frigate *Tweed* and Fort Charlotte and amid the ringing of the church bells [65].

His first visitation (1826) extended to New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton, and the Bermudas, involving a journey of 5,000 miles by sea and land, frequently accompanied by difficulty and danger; 4,367 persons were confirmed, and 44 churches consecrated, arrangements were made for the erection of many more churches, and everywhere as he went the Gospel message was preached, both to "devout attentive and anxious hearers," and to others who were little better than heathen [66]. On this subject he wrote:—

"It is an unhappy mistake, but prevalent in England, and one which doubtless has diminished the resources of the Society, to suppose that the labours of our Clergy are not of a Missionary character. In the neighbourhood of the towns there are settlements which cannot be visited with effect, unless the Missionary is ready to endure all the toils and privations to which primitive professors were subject. Those whom they visit are often as much without God in the world, as the remote tribes who have never heard the sounds of salvation" [67].

Of the Missionaries he said: "They are respected and beloved—zealous in their labours exemplary in their lives and entirely devoted to the duties of that sacred profession which they adorn"; and in 1831 he spoke of them as "not unworthy to be ranked with the most distinguished individuals that have borne that honourable name," *i.e.* of "Missionaries" [68].

The spiritual destitution existing in the diocese became more and more manifest as the visits of the Bishop and his Clergy were extended to the remote and neglected districts. It might have been thought that Nova Scotia, having been a British Colony for such a long period, could not be much in want of Missionaries, but even up to 1831 the settlements along the coast to the eastward of Halifax for over 100 miles had not "one resident Minister of the Gospel." All that could then be done for them and for other destitute places was to send, perhaps once in a year, a Missionary "willing to submit to more than usual toil and privation" to visit settlement to settlement and house to house. Whenever persons competent for the office could be found, they were appointed Catechists and schoolmasters [69].

The Rev. J. BURNYEAT (in 1821) was the first Missionary to attempt to visit the whole of the settlements along the S.E. shore [70].

In 1834 the Bishop visited this district. The Rev. J. STEVENSON, who had been labouring there, went before him to prepare the people; but to do this he had on one occasion to pass at night two miles through the woods, often crawling on his hands and knees. Among those confirmed at Fisherman's Harbour was an Englishman upwards of 80 years of age, who was supported chiefly by the benevolence of one of the poor families. "So little did he expect such a visit that he concluded the Bishop in the neighbourhood must be of the Church of Rome; and when he was first spoken to, said, with much good feeling, that he was too old to change his religion and forsake the Church of his fathers. He was greatly delighted when he found we were of the same Communion, and gladly received the rites which he had long despaired of obtaining" [71].

In 1835–6 Mr. Stevenson found preparations being made for

the erection of two churches in places which had been previously "shrouded in almost heathen darkness and had seen three generations rise and fall without any stated ordinances of Christianity." At Sheet Harbour, on the death of the Society's Catechist, his place was supplied "by one of the Presbyterian Deacons" who still adhered "to the offices and forms of our Liturgy. This denomination having no provision of its own for public worship, in the absence of an Officiating Minister," had, "with the consent of their Minister adopted the service of our Church," for which they entertained "great reverence and admiration."

Most of the inhabitants of Beaver Harbour also—descendants of Dutch Presbyterians—had conformed to the Church.*

The people at Taylor's Head were quite illiterate. but so desirous of instruction that they frequently attended a minister "from place to place for three or four successive days." Only one of them—a woman—could read, and she consented "to teach a Sunday School, and read the prayers and a sermon" [72].

Many other instances of attachment to the Church were reported by the Bishop and Mr. Stevenson† [73].

In 1843 thirty-nine persons were confirmed at Marie Joseph, where ten years before the people were little better than heathen.

"The attention of all," said the Bishop, "was most becoming and widely different from the want of feeling exhibited in this place when I made my first visit to it. The principal magistrate was absent, but had requested that his house, and all he had, might be used for our convenience. . . . The barn which we used [for service] was his. . . . He arrived in time to be confirmed and receive the Lord's Supper for the first time and appeared deeply affected. . . . He promised immediate exertions to secure the erection of a Church, in which all around him will take great interest" [74].

A similar change was effected at Margaret's Bay by the exertions of the Bishop and the Rev. J. STANNAGE [75].

While the spiritualities of the Church were being increased her "temporalities" were being lessened. In 1833 consternation was caused by the proposed withdrawal of all State aid to the Church in North America. The Society, supported by the local Colonial authorities, succeeded in effecting an arrangement securing the payment for life of three-fourths of the original salaries to all Missionaries employed previously to 1833 [76].

During the next few years the Church suffered further loss by the confiscation of the glebes and school-lands in Prince Edward Island,‡

* Their example was followed by their co-religionists at Salmon River and two neighbouring settlements in 1845 [72*a*].

† In the house of a shoemaker at Barrasawa, Pictou Mission, 374 persons (children mostly) gathered by him, were baptized between 1833–59. "Hoping almost against hope" he had kept his own children 12 years waiting for Church baptism, and he had to wait another 26 years before he could receive Confirmation [73*a*].

‡ Extract from "The Royal Instructions to the Governor of Prince Edward Island dated the 4th day of August 1769":—"SECT. 28.—You shall be careful that the

and the school-lands in Nova Scotia,* and the withdrawal of the Government annual grant to King's College, Windsor. An attempt was also made to suppress the College, in order to found a secular University, but the Archbishop of Canterbury, as Patron, refused his consent to the surrender of the Charter, and the institution still continues its good work. [*See* pp. 776–7.] The establishment of a Diocesan Church Society in 1837 had the effect of eliciting more support from Churchmen in Nova Scotia. Alluding to the wants of his diocese in 1838 (which then still included Newfoundland and New Brunswick), the Bishop said nothing could be more affecting than the deep sorrow which the emigrants showed when they lamented their separation from the joy and the consolation of the ordinances of their Church which were once their portion in their native land:—

"This feeling is strongly manifested by the affectionate regard with which they receive the occasional visits of a Missionary in their scattered settlements; they surround him in the house where he is lodged; they follow him from place to place, often for many miles, that they may gather comfort and instruction from the repetition of his prayers and his counsel. I have been followed upon such an occasion by a little vessel, that all her crew might be present at every service that was performed along an extensive line of coast; they sailed when I sailed, and anchored when I anchored, that they might land and join in worship with their brethren, in many different harbours" [77].

Three years later, when his charge had been reduced by the formation of Newfoundland into a separate See [1839], the Bishop thus reported the progress which had been made:—

"From the first settlement of these colonies, which we now occupy, the Church has been cherished within them by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to which, indeed, we are indebted, under the mercy of the Most High, for the existence of the Church within our borders, and, indeed, throughout the whole of this extensive continent. It was well said to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, by a pious agent from the Church in the United States of America, when visiting England, that 'this venerable Society might point to the present prosperity of that branch of the Church, and challenge any other Missionary Society to show equal fruits of its labours.' But these fruits are, happily, to be seen here also. Many of our Clergy have been fostered by the Society almost from their cradles—they have been assisted in their education, cheered in their

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Churches hereafter to be built within our said Island, be well and orderly kept; and that, besides a competent maintenance to be assigned to the Minister of each Orthodox Church, a convenient house be built at the public charge for each Minister; and you are in an especial manner to take care that one hundred acres of land, for the site of a Church and as a Glebe for a Minister of the Gospel, and thirty acres for a Schoolmaster, be duly reserved in a proper part of every township, conformable to the directions and conditions annexed to our Order in Council of the 26th of August, 1767, hereinbefore referred to" [77*a*]. The alienation of these lands was prayed for by the House of Assembly of P. E. I. by addresses to the Throne in 1830 and 1832. No reply being received, a third address was presented in 1834, which produced an order from the Secretary of State Oct. 30, 1834, for the sale of the lands, and by a Colonial Act (which received confirmation in 1836) 9,380 acres were sold, and the proceeds of the sale—£4,000 currency—were "applied to purposes unconnected with the Church" [77*b*].

* The Nova Scotia school lands were reserved (together with other lands, for Churches and Clergymen) when grants were made by the Crown upon the settlement of townships or parishes in the province. Previously to 1829 they had "been considered as appropriated (even without a special grant) to the schools of the Society, conducted upon the principles of the Church of England." But about this time it was contended "that although the Church and Clergy lands are reserved for the Church of England and the Ministers thereof, the school lands may be applied for purposes of general education," and Bills were brought into the provincial Legislature, founded upon this assumption, "appropriating all school lands not actually occupied by the Society's schoolmasters to the support of general education" [77*c*.]

labours, and sustained in their trials and privations. Their flocks have been encouraged and assisted in every good work: in the building of Churches, the support of Schools, the wide circulation of the Bible, the Prayer-Book, and innumerable books and tracts full of holy instruction, under every variety of condition that can be seen among the children of mortality. And have these benefits been diminished at the present time? Far otherwise. Never were the exertions of the Society so great as they now are; never was their assistance more readily and more liberally afforded; and while they give in faith, they trust that their barrel of meal and their cruse of oil will not be permitted to fail, until the whole earth shall be refreshed by the heavenly rain. . . .

"In the last fifteen years it has been my happiness to consecrate . . . 119 Churches and Chapels. . . . Many others are in progress" [Letter to his Clergy, April 15, 1841 [78].]

Up to 1844 "the erection of nearly every Church in Nova Scotia" (then 150 in number) had been "assisted by a grant" from the Society [79]. In his visitation of 1844 the Bishop met with instances in which one poor man had contributed sixty, and another eighty days' labour towards the building of their churches* [80].

By the formation of New Brunswick into the See of Fredericton in 1845 the Diocese of Nova Scotia was reduced to its present limits. In addressing the Society in 1849 the Bishop and Clergy of the latter province said: "The praise of that Society is in all the Churches; the grateful sense of obligation to her is in all our hearts; the fields now ripe for the harvest in this vast continent were first sown by her hands; and the pious remembrance of her services is dearly cherished by all sound Churchmen" [81]. While on visitation in this year Bishop John Inglis was struck down with fever at Mahone Bay, but his anxiety to finish his work was so great that he could scarcely be restrained from calling his candidates to receive confirmation at his bedside [82]. He died in London on October 27, 1850, a few days after his arrival, in the 50th year of his ministry, and was buried in Battersea Churchyard [83].

The portion of the income of the Bishopric hitherto provided by the Imperial Government terminated with the life of Bishop JOHN INGLIS, but the Society, which from the very first had annually contributed to the maintenance of the respective occupants of the See, was now mainly instrumental in procuring a permanent endowment for the future Bishops [84].

During Bishop BINNEY'S episcopate (1851–87) a Clergy Endowment Fund of £30,000 was raised (the Society contributing £1,000 in 1860), and a great advance was made towards self-support [85].

By a decision arrived at in 1886, after a prolonged controversy, the Society's aid to Nova Scotia (apart from Prince Edward Island) was from that date limited to the payment, during their "efficient ministry," of certain clergymen (then nine in number), with whom the Society had a moral, though not a legal, covenant.

(1892–1900.)

Of the "privileged" clergymen, referred to in the preceding paragraph, the last, the Rev. R. Avery, died on May 8, 1900 [86].

* At St. Margaret's Bay, in 1856, 20 fishermen walked 24 miles "to lend a hand" in erecting a church for a settlement of white and coloured families [80a].

To Prince Edward Island the Society has continued a small grant, which has been gradually reduced from £200 in 1892 to £80 in 1901, and will entirely cease at the end of the latter year. In appealing against the recent reduction, the Bishop stated (in 1897) that, while the Island is the most thickly settled area in the Dominion of Canada, it is the Province in which the Church is weakest [87]. His Lordship has, however, since admitted the wisdom of steadily reducing aid as the need for it diminishes, and he expresses his "regret that this policy was not pursued, as regards this diocese, from the very first." Had this been done, and the spirit of self-help been earlier evoked,

> "not only would our financial position to-day be much more satisfactory than it is, but a very great many Churchpeople from having to pay for the services of the Church, and the maintenance of a clergyman, would have taken such a deep interest in her welfare, and learned to love her in such a fashion, as would have made them insensible to the blandishments and invitations of those bodies of separated brethren by whom they have been led astray, and are now hopelessly lost to the Church."

The Bishop added, "The Society may be well satisfied with the result of its generous and long-continued assistance to the oldest Colonial See of the British Empire" [88]. Until recently the extent of that assistance was not fully realised in the diocese. In addition to the grants from the General Fund for Clergy, a considerable sum has been paid from the Society's "American Colonial Bishops' Fund" for the support of successive Bishops of Nova Scotia, in the form of an annual allowance (from 1787 to 1900), in addition to an endowment grant of £8,200. In 1892 the diocese was formally notified that the annual allowance (now £203. 10*s*.) could not be guaranteed to future holders of the See. But no action was taken by the Synod until 1898, when, after a further reminder, it was resolved to raise an additional $50,000 for the Bishopric Endowment Fund, in order to make up for the anticipated loss of the said allowance. At the same time the Bishop submitted a proposal for the division of the diocese, and the Society was asked to give an endowment grant and to transfer the allowance of £203. 10*s*. to the proposed new Bishopric "in perpetuity."

But the Society felt that the case of Nova Scotia was not one for further assistance, either as regards the existing Bishopric or the proposed new one, especially in view of the stronger calls and claims from other parts of North America [89].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 192.)

CHAPTER XVII.

NEW BRUNSWICK.

NEW BRUNSWICK.—The territory now known by this name was formerly reckoned as a part of Nova Scotia (discovered by the Cabots in 1497 [*see* p. 107]). The French, who held it in the early part of the 18th century, called it New France. A few families from New England settled there in 1761; in 1763 it came into the undisputed possession of Great Britain, and by the settlement of disbanded troops and refugees from the United States in 1783 &c. the British population had increased to 800 in 1785, when it was disconnected from Nova Scotia and made a separate colony.

IN the summer of 1769 the Rev. T. WOOD, the Society's Missionary at Annapolis [*see* pp. 112–13] visited the settlements on the St. John's River, New Brunswick.

Before leaving Annapolis he held a service in the Mickmack language for the "neighbouring Indians" and others from Cape Sable &c., and reaching "St. John's Harbour" on July 1, on the next day, Sunday, he "perform'd Divine Service and preach'd there in English in the forenoon and in Indian in the afternoon to thirteen Indian men and women who happen'd to arrive there in their way to Passamquoddy." After service he "told them to sing an anthem which they perform'd very harmoniously." An Indian girl was then baptized. In the evening "many of the French inhabitants being present," Mr. Wood held service in French, the Indians also attending, many of them understanding that language.

Four English children were also baptized at St. John's Harbour, but at Maugerville, where he "had an audience of more than 200 persons" he "christened only two," as most of them were Dissenters. A like number received baptism at Gagetown and Morrisania; in the former instance the children were "twins* . . . born in an open canoe on the River, 2 leagues from any house." Mr. Wood's tour extended "even to the Indian village of OĸPĀAĸ." When Captain Spry, the head engineer of the party, and Mr. Wood arrived at this, "the farthest settlement upon the River,"

"the Chief of the Indians" (wrote Mr. Wood) "came down to the Landing place and Handed us out of our Boat, and immediately, several of the Indians, who were

* "Joseph and Mary, children of John and Dorothy Kenderick"

drawn out on the occasion, discharg'd a volley of Musketry turned from us, as a signal of receiving their Friends; the Chief then welcomed us and Introduced us to the other Chiefs, after, Inviting us to their Council Chamber . . . conducted us thither, the rest of the Indians following: just before we arrived . . . we were again Saluted with their Musketry drawn up as before, where after some discourse relative to Monsieur Baille, the French Priest, who the Government have at present thought proper to allow them and finding them uneasy that they had no Priest among them for some time past I told them that the Governor had employed him to go to the Indians to the Eastward of Halifax and therefore had sent me to officiate with them in his absence: They then seem'd well enough satisfied; and at their desire I begun prayers with them in Mickmack, they all kneeling down and behaving very devotely; the Service concluded with an Anthem and the Blessing, and altho' there were several among them of the three different Tribes . . ." viz. the Mickmacks, Marashites, and the Caribous], "they almost all of them understood the Mickmack language and I am fully convinced had I been sent among them two years ago . . . and no Popish Priest had been allowed to have been with them, that the greatest part, if not all of them, by this time, had become in a great measure if not altogether Protestant and the English Inhabitants on St. John's River are of the same opinion" [1].

No further steps appear to have been taken on behalf of the Anglican Church to provide for the religious wants of New Brunswick until 1783, when, along with other loyalist refugees from the United States, Missionaries of the Society began to arrive. One of these, the Rev. JOHN SAYRE of New England, "pitched upon" St. John's River "merely on account of a multitude of his fellow sufferers, the management of whose concerns he freely undertook, without any compensation, having found them unsettled, and many of them unsheltered and on the brink of despair, on account of the delays in allotting their lands to them." With the intention of ultimately settling at Fort Howe, Mr. Sayre stationed himself for the winter of 1783 at Majorvill, where he "officiated in the meeting house of the Congregationalists, with their approbation, to a very numerous congregation, consisting partly of Refugees and partly of old Settlers," who were "in general Independents, on the plan of New England." By the American Revolution Mr. Sayre had "lost his *all*, so as not to have had even a change of garments for either himself or his family," and his circumstances were so "peculiarly distressing" as to call for relief from the Society. He died in the summer of 1784 [2].

Meanwhile, in 1783, "at the point of land in St. John's Harbour," the refugees had "built more than 500 houses, mostly frames, within ten weeks," and the Rev. JOHN BEARDSLEY, from New York Province, had erected a shelter for his family at Parr, whence he made excursions up the St. John's as far as St. Anne's. Settlements were also forming at Gagetown, Burton, Port Roseway or Shelburne, and Amesbury, and in 1784-5, the Government having made some provision for four Missions in the province, Mr. Beardsley was transferred to Maugerville, the Rev. S. COOKE (from New Jersey) to St. John's,* and in 1786 three New England Missionaries—the Revs. J. SCOVIL, S. ANDREWS, and R. CLARKE respectively to Kingston, St. Andrew's, and Gagetown [3].

Mr. Cooke met with a friendly reception from the people at St. John's in Sep. 1785. About 18 months before they had "purchased an house 36 ft. by 28 for a Church," but from the difficulty of

* Now called "St. John."

raising the money and from other causes" it had remained unfinished. By his personal application to the principal inhabitants over £90 was raised in "three days' time" for the improvement of the building until the people's circumstances should enable them to build "a proper Church," to be "a credit and ornament to the place.' Some distant settlements were visited by Mr. Cooke in 1785. At St. Andrew's, the capital of Charlotte County (60 miles from St. John's), for want of a Missionary there were many unbaptized children. The "repeated invitation" of some of the people, supported by the Governor, induced Mr. Cooke to visit them, though at an inclement season. On his way he landed at Campo Bello (Nov. 13), where he performed Divine Service, and "baptized a woman about 40 years of age," with her infant and five other children. On Nov 16 he reached St. Andrew's, where, on the Sunday after, "he read prayers and preached to a very respectable congregation, and baptized 13 children." In the course of the week others were brought to him from different parts of the neighbourhood, and, including 10 at Digdequash, he baptized in all during this tour 78, of whom 3 were negroes. The number would have been much greater had not the rivers been frozen and prevented the children being brought from the higher settlements. He represented that if a clergyman were stationed at St. Andrew's the majority of the settlers, though "of the Kirk of Scotland," would probably conform. At St. John's in four months his baptisms numbered 32, including 6 blacks, and on New Year's Day 1786 he had 25 communicants. "The weather being then cold to an extreme, he could not expect the people, especially the women, to attend: but going warmly cloathed himself he stood it tolerably well" [4].

In 1786 Mr. Cooke removed to Fredericton. Within "the nine months" that he had officiated at St. John's he had baptized there and in Charlotte County 153 persons, 13 of whom were negroes. The communicants at St. John's had grown from 25 to 46; he left behind him "a decent well-finished Church, though small, and a very respectable, well-behaved congregation." At parting "there were few dry eyes in the Church" [5].

Under the Rev. G. BISSETT (from New England) enlargement of the building became necessary, and £500 was allotted by Government for this purpose. A "Charity Sermon" preached by him on Christmas Day 1786 realised £36, besides private donations, and in the next year was instituted "the humane and Charitable Society" "for the relief of the poor," which it was thought might "probably supersede the necessity of Poor rates." In 1788 the congregation wrote to the Society "with the keenest sensations of heartfelt grief," being "persuaded that no Church or Community ever suffered a severer misfortune in the death of an Individual than they experienced from the loss of this eminent Servant of Christ, this best and most amiable of men," Mr. Bissett [6].

By Governor Carleton the Society had been previously assured that the appointment of Messrs. Cooke and Beardsley had given "very general satisfaction," the latter especially being "much esteemed by the people," and he pleaded for more "men of merit" to fill the other Missions [7].

At Maugerville "a respectable congregation of orderly people, of different denominations . . . having no settled Minister of their own, concurred" with the Church Members in desiring Mr. Beardsley's appointment there. Although these settlers had been "stripped of their all by the Rebellion" (in the United States), they were forward in erecting a small church, which they named Christ Church, and they promised to do all in their power to render his situation comfortable [8]. With Government aid (£500) a new church was built in 1788, which was "esteemed an elegant structure." Mr. Beardsley in 1788–9 extended his Ministrations to Burton and other settlements on the St. John's and Oromocto rivers and the Grand Lake, sometimes baptizing as many as 140 persons in six months [9]. The work grew also at Maugerville as the people became "zealous in their attention to God's Word and Sacraments," and in 1792 he had 63 communicants. In finishing the Church here in that year a pew "with a canopy over it," was reserved for "Governor Carleton" and "his successors" [10].

At Fredericton (formerly called "St. Anne's") a Mission was begun in Aug. 1787 by Mr. Cooke preaching "to 60 or 70 people in the King's Provision Store," the "only place in which a congregation could be accommodated." The people then were few in number and "poor to an extreme." The congregation in the first year seldom exceeded 100, and "he had only 14 Communicants on Christmas Day," when he first "administered the Lord's Supper" [11]. Government aid for erecting a church here also was freely bestowed, but many years passed before the building was finished,* it having been planned on a scale beyond the people's means [12].

In August 1788 the Bishop of Nova Scotia visited New Brunswick, confirming 55 persons at Fredericton and 95 at St. John's, where on the 20th he held his Visitation. Two years later Mr. Cooke, acting as Ecclesiastical Commissary, "held a Convocation of the Clergy of the Province at Fredericton." All attended except Dr. Byles, who was ill, and of all it was reported they are "diligent in their missions and their churches encrease and flourish" [13].

In 1795 Mr. Cooke, accompanied by his only son, was returning from Fredericton to his home on the opposite side of the river, on the evening of May 23, when a squall of wind overset their canoe and both perished. "Never was a Minister of the Gospel more beloved and esteemed or more universally lamented. . . . All the respectable people . . . of his parish" and "of the neighbouring country went into deep mourning" for him [15].

St. Andrew's, Charlotte County, received a resident Missionary in the Rev. S. ANDREWS (of New England) in 1786. A "considerable body of people of different national extraction" were then living there "in great harmony and peace," being "punctual in their attendance on Divine Service" and manifesting "propriety and devotion." "The Civil Magistrate had regularly called the people together on Sundays and read the Church Liturgy and sermons to them since the beginning of the Settlement" [16]. A church, built chiefly with the

* In July 1789 Mr. Cooke reported that "an addition of 4 Companies of Soldiers to the garrison" had obliged him to give up the King's Provision Store and to officiate in the Church though in a very unfinished state" [14].

Government allowance, was opened on St. Andrew's Day 1788, and named after that Apostle [17]. As many of Mr. Andrews' congregation were Presbyterians his communicants were few, but most of the people were in the habit of bringing their children to him for baptism, and during nine months in 1791 he baptized 105, including 18 at one time on the island of Campobello [18]. Several other country towns were visited by him, and the results of his labours were soon visible, but more particularly in St. Andrew's [19]. In 1793, as he was travelling in a distant part of the parish, he was "invited to a lonely house, where he found a large family collected and in waiting for him. After proper examination he baptized the ancient matron of the family, of 82 years, her son of 60 years, 2 grandsons, and 7 great-grandchildren." In all, 150 persons were baptized by him in this year [20].

The two other earlier Missions—viz., Gagetown under the Rev. R. CLARKE and Kingston under the Rev. J. SCOVIL, also embraced enormous districts with a scattered population, whose morals (in the case of Gagetown) had become "much corrupted" [21]. All the Missions enumerated were wisely shepherded and showed excellent results. The Church in New Brunswick indeed was fortunate in having as her pioneers men who had already "witnessed a good confession," who were accustomed to "endure hardness," and who combined with an apostolic zeal, discretion and general good sense. By the Bishop of Nova Scotia the Society was assured in 1792 "that the diligent and exemplary conduct of their Missionaries" had "made them much respected and esteemed by their people"; their congregations flourished; communicants increased; and churches were "every day raising and applications made for new Missions." Reaching Fredericton on July 20, the Bishop "adjusted several things with the concurrence of the Governor, whom he found . . . disposed to do everything for the benefit of religion and the better accommodation of the Missionaries," including the rectification of mistakes made in laying out Church glebes. At Kingston 142 inhabitants of Belleisle petitioned for a "Minister . . . to officiate among them, as they had already built a small Church at their own expense. All that could then be done was to desire Mr. Scovil to allot them a portion of his time, though his parish . . . might find employment for three Missionaries." At Sussex Vale was one of three Indian schools established in the province—the others being at Woodstock and Sheffield. The Bishop examined two of the schools, which included white scholars. "The Indian children behaved well and learned as fast as the white and were fond of associating with them." Those at Sussex Vale "repeated the Catechism very fluently and by their reading and writing gave good proofs of the care that had been taken of their instruction," and the Society adopted their teacher. In the Woodstock district there were 150 Indian families residing. Most of them had been instructed by "Popish Missionaries," but their prejudices wore off; many of them regularly attended the Church of England service, and "behaved decently," and Mr. Dibblee thought that as he was now in Priest's Orders they would bring their children to be baptized and put themselves under his care; hitherto they had only considered him "as *Half a Priest.*" Mr. Dibblee was "much

beloved by the Indians and respected by the Whites." He was able to converse in the Indian language, and the Society supplied him with Mohawk Prayer Books. "But the most remarkable occurrence" was that the Indians were seriously disposed to cultivate land and relinquish their wandering mode of life—the cause being a failure of their game in hunting, which had reduced them to great distress.

Some of them had already commenced cultivation, and the Bishop "solicited Governor Carleton to grant them lands for culture which he promised to do." In his way down the river from Fredericton the Bishop consecrated four new churches, and confirmed 777 persons [22].

After another visit to the province in 1798 the Bishop reported: "The Society's Missionaries in New Brunswick maintain their usual good character, being of exemplary life, diligent in the discharge of their clerical Duty and generally esteemed by their parishioners; the congregations in as flourishing a state as can reasonably be expected, the number of Communicants encreased, and Fanaticism on the decline" [23]. But two years later all of the Missionaries and "some of the laity also" lamented "in strong terms the fanaticism" that abounded and "the many strolling teachers" who ran about the country bringing "by their preaching and conduct the greatest disgrace both on religion and morals," and exciting "a spirit of enmity to the Established Government" [24].

Yet, in spite of all difficulties, the Missions progressed in both the town and country districts. At Fredericton in 1815 the church, "a very large and handsome structure," was "constantly filled by a devout and attentive congregation," there being 800 Church members and 100 regular communicants [25]. The building would have been more useful but for the system of letting pews as "private property," which operated "almost as an exclusion of the lower orders from the Church" [26].

In 1817 the Society introduced the National system of education into New Brunswick. As early as 1786 it had commenced the formation of Mission Schools [27], but now a Central Training Institution similar to that established at Halifax was formed in St. John's. The movement received much local support, and the "National" system soon spread throughout the Province, many Dissenters "eagerly embracing these means of education and expressing no objection to learning the Church Catechism" [28].

Of equal, if not greater, importance has been the aid afforded by the Society for the education of candidates for Holy Orders. Hitherto the supply of clergymen had been far from adequate to meet the wants of the country. From Woodstock to Grand Falls, a distance of nearly 80 miles, there was in 1819 a district inhabited by disbanded soldiers, among whom there was "no Christian Minister of any denomination" "and no religion whatever." For the payment of their military allowance it was necessary that an oath should be administered. A justice of the peace, "a good old Churchman," went up for that purpose, but "it was with the utmost difficulty and after half a day's search that a Bible could be found." On hearing of this the Society sent a supply of Bibles and Prayer Books &c. and appointed two schoolmasters for these people [29]. Many other districts were in a similar

condition. Soon after assuming the government of New Brunswick Sir Howard Douglas, "in his desire to place the Established Church" "on a more respectable footing and in his anxiety to extend the blessings of religion throughout its remote districts, in the due administration of the sacrament and the spiritual superintendence of the regular Clergy," addressed a circular (1825) to the members of the House of Assembly "and other characters of influence and respectability" inquiring of them the best method of effecting this object, and asking for a general report of the state of religion in their several districts. The answers showed that for the whole province, containing a population of nearly 80,000, there were "but sixteen resident Clergymen scattered over a space of country of upwards of 27,000 square miles, and twenty-six Churches," some unfinished [30].

The opinions upon the utility of employing Visiting Missionaries as suggested by the Governor were in "general favourable," and although there were instances in which the writer was biassed by dissenting interest, "in no case" "was the measure opposed." The spirit of the province at this time was "undoubtedly a Church spirit," "its own acknowledged members" forming "a majority over any single sect" and being "staunch and true" * [31].

The next step taken by the Governor to meet the religious wants of the settlers was the promotion of the erection of churches [32] and of an institution where clergymen might be trained. The establishment of King's College, Fredericton, in 1828 was chiefly due to his exertions, and the Society readily co-operated in extending the blessings of the institution by providing scholarships for the training of candidates for the ministry [*see* p. 777] [33].

Foremost in promoting the erection of churches was the Rev. C. MILNER of Sackville. His practice was to work with the people, and where any backwardness was shown he "walked with his axe to the forest and shamed them into exertions by cutting down the first tree" to be "used in the building." The churches at Sackville, Amherst, Chediac, and Westmoreland owed their erection chiefly to his influence and labour. Finding the expenses arising from horse-hire and ferries in serving his districts, more than he could afford, he purchased a boat "and often rowed himself, in storms when no person would venture with him." Once, on his way to church, while crossing a dangerous river, his horse's leg got fixed in the ice, from which he freed it by cutting a passage with a small pocket knife. But in doing this "his hands and arms . . . were completely frozen, like solid masses of ice, to his elbows, and were with great difficulty recovered by immersion in spirits" [34].

In 1825 the province suffered from another element. On October 7 about one-third of the town of Fredericton was burnt, and on the same evening what was then described as "the most extensive and destructive fire perhaps ever heard of" took place at Miramichi. "Whole forests in the neighbourhood were in one continued blaze," and there being a hurricane at the time, "the devouring element spread with wonderful velocity, and . . . a most hideous, roaring noise." With

* "The loyalty" of New Brunswick was attributed by Archdeacon Best in 1827 to that "general feeling" in favour of the Church of England which existed there "to a degree unknown in any other part of British America" [31a].

the exception of a house or two the whole of Newcastle and Douglas Town was destroyed. Many lives were lost, some by rushing into the river. The anniversary of the event was "observed by all denominations as a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer" [35].

For quite ten years there had been an entire absence of episcopal ministrations in New Brunswick owing to the illness of Dr. STANSER, the second Bishop of Nova Scotia, but 1826 brought with it an episcopal visit from Bishop JOHN INGLIS, when 19 churches were consecrated and 1,720 persons were confirmed [36].

All that could be done for the advancement of the Church in New Brunswick by a non-resident Bishop that did he, and cheerfully he bore his share of the privations involved in visiting this part of his large diocese. In 1835 we hear of him being welcomed in the wilderness "with torches and bonfires" at Stanley, where a congregation of 60 persons gathered together in a wooden shed for Divine Service. The Bishop "preached the first sermon that was delivered on this spot and endeavoured to adapt it to the occasion, and to the place where only a few months before, the untamed beasts of the forest were the only occupants" [37]. This year's visitation occupied two months, every toil being "lightened" by a well-encouraged hope "that, through the blessing of God, this portion of the Gospel vineyard" was "in a state of progress and improvement." The Missionaries, "exemplary in their lives and conversation," were "labouring faithfully through many difficulties," and to him it was "a delightful task to share in their labours and their prayers" [38]. Their labours at this period must have been great, for there were only 28 clergymen to serve eighty parishes, and more than half of these parishes were without a Church building. With a view to meeting these deficiencies and ultimately to supporting the entire establishment from local sources, a Church Society was formed for New Brunswick in 1836 [39]. One of the earliest members of this institution, the Hon. Chief Justice Chipman, bequeathed £10,000 to it at his death in 1852, and already by means of its grants 27 churches and stations were being served which would otherwise have been left unoccupied [40].

In 1845 the province was erected into a diocese, and the inhabitants of Fredericton hailed the appointment of the first Bishop (Dr. J. MEDLEY) "as an event, under the blessing of Divine Providence, calculated to have a deep and lasting influence in ameliorating the spiritual and temporal condition of this Province." They also assured the Bishop of their "fervent desire to co-operate" "in advancing the interests of Christianity throughout this infant Colony." At his first service in the cathedral "150 persons communicated, among whom were some coloured people who had walked six miles to be present" [41]. One of the first objects of the Bishop was the erection of a cathedral, and generally "the increase of Church room for the poor." He "steadfastly resisted the advice of those who wished to deprive the cathedral of the advantages of *seats free* and open to all" [42].

The example of the cathedral with its daily service and frequent communions has been most beneficial to the diocese. In the majority of the churches seats are now "free to all" [43].

Within two years [1845–7] the number of Clergy had been raised from 30 to 44, but still in passing through the country there was

"mournful evidence of its spiritual destitution"—"separate and lonely graves scattered about on farms or by the roadside, without any mark of Christian or even common sepulture." "Men and beasts" were "mingled together," "our brethren . . . committed to the earth without sign of salvation, without any outward token of Christian fellowship, or a future resurrection" [44].

Every year made the Bishop "more fully sensible of the great advantages" bestowed on the country by the Society. "Without its fostering aid it would be absolutely impossible in many of the country Missions to maintain a Clergyman . . . in ordinary decency." Even sectarian preachers, taken from the lowest ranks of the people, were "unable to maintain themselves long in any one place" [45].

In 1862 he pressed on his flock the fact that since 1795 the Society had contributed £200,000 towards the maintenance of the Church among them. His appeal to relieve the Society from the burden of further support met with a prompt response from the Clergy, who, though many of them were poor, gave nearly £1,000, and the Bishop added £300 [46].

That the Society's expenditure had borne good fruit was shown by the Rev. S. THOMSON of St. Stephen's, who in summing up forty years' progress in one district said: "Contrast the state of this county (Charlotte) as respects the Church when I came to it in 1821 with its state now. Then there were no Church buildings—save one in St. Andrew's and one imperfectly finished here; now it has one in every parish, save Deer Island; nine parish Churches and three Chapels. . . . Five of these parish Churches were got up by my brother and myself." These new churches were "handsome and convenient buildings and well filled by devout worshipping congregations" and all through the county "heartfelt religion" had sensibly increased and "many of the besetting sins of new countries" had "greatly diminished" [47].

The King's Clear congregation at this time included "several families of coloured people," descendants of negro refugees. Before the opening of the Mission "they were all Anabaptists," but now were "exemplary and consistent members of the Church" [48]. It should be added that between 1786 and 1800 only three years passed without the baptism of negroes having been mentioned by the Society's Missionaries at one or other of the following places: Maugerville, St. John's, Fredericton, Gagetown, St. Andrew's, and Woodstock. The blacks who took refuge in New Brunswick at the time of the American Revolution were not numerous, but wherever they settled the Missionaries appear to have sought them out. The number baptized in the period referred to varied from two or three to twelve in a year. On one occasion 38 (25 adults) were admitted at Maugerville [49].

In 1822 the school for children of persons of colour at St. John's had "succeeded beyond expectation" [49*a*]. Another negro settlement in the neighbourhood (Portland parish) was formed about 1825. Sir Howard Douglas, "desirous of giving permanency to their title of occupation," yet "apprehensive of the consequences that might result from conferring on them in their present degraded state the elective franchise and other rights incident to the possession of a freehold," granted them leases of reserved lands for 99 years. Their

"truly deplorable" condition moved the Society to grant an allowance for a schoolmaster for them [50].

The Bishop stated in 1868 the Society had "fostered and assisted every Mission in the whole country, till we have learned (and in all the towns we have learned) to sustain our own Church by our own unaided exertions" [51]. The need of such help will be seen from the fact that New Brunswick, compared with some parts of Canada, is very poor; the value of the Crown glebes* bestowed on the Church is extremely small, and the immigrants having been chiefly Scotch and Irish have mostly gone to swell the ranks of the Presbyterians and Roman Catholics. Still the Anglican Church, with "the benevolent and constant aid" of the Society, has not only been enabled to hold her own [52] but to tell of accessions from those of other denominations.

A striking instance of this occurred in 1876, when a colony of Danish immigrants—Lutherans—who had been ministered to for five years at New Denmark by one of their own persuasion, were at their own request admitted into the Church of England. Their catechist, Mr. HANSEN, received ordination from Bishop Medley, and at the first confirmation held among them "their joy was unbounded." In compliance with their home customs, the Bishop when confirming called each candidate by name [53].

(1892-1900.)

On the retirement of Mr. Hansen in 1895 some difficulty was experienced in finding a successor who could speak both English and Danish, the former language being used by the men and the latter by the women. The Bishop of an American (U.S.) diocese, however, relinquished a Danish candidate for Holy Orders (Mr. C. F. Maimann) in view of the needs of New Denmark. In 1897 Mr. Maimann's charge constituted probably "the only Danish Anglican Church in Canada." The parish numbers nearly one hundred families. All are Churchpeople, Dissent having in vain tried to gain an entrance among them. Ready money is seldom seen at New Denmark; business is transacted on the old Indian plan—trading; and the people contribute to the Church in produce and manual labour [53*a*].

Fredericton in 1898 was stated to rank still (as in 1848) "among the poorest dioceses." Consequently, while the older Missions are becoming self-supporting, it has been difficult to re-open past neglected spots and to occupy new settlements. A few years previous to 1894 a clergyman discovered a small community in his district, some members of which had given up being Churchpeople "because none came near them." But one woman called out to her mother that her longing prayers were at last granted, a clergyman having indeed come to see her before her death. In another settlement a woman had never ceased sending her subscription to the Diocesan Church Society, while waiting year after year, hoping against hope, "for a clergyman to baptize her child, and at last, knowing the value of the Sacrament, even when irregularly administered, had obtained it from a lay teacher." In a third place two brothers were discovered in 1894, both still calling themselves Churchpeople, though their wives and children were of other denominations. The elder brother was moved

* 8,900 acres of land were reserved by Government for the Church in New Brunswick about 1785, 5,300 being for glebes and 8,600 for schools; but here, as in Nova Scotia, loss occurred from squatters [52*a*].

to tears on seeing Bishop Kingdon, and said he had been confirmed fifty years before by Bishop Medley and had never communicated since, though he had several times visited Bathurst, thirty-five miles distant, in the hope of finding an opportunity. He had built a little chapel at the end of his land, on the roadside, "which was to be for all Protestant denominations," but hitherto there had been no Church service there [54]. On the whole, however, the spiritual growth of the diocese is remarkable. For the first thirty years (1845–74) the yearly average of persons confirmed was 374, for the next twenty years it was 612. During the same period there has been a nearly fourfold increase of communicants, though owing to emigration the actual number of Church members has decreased of late years. These facts were brought out on the occasion of the Diocesan Jubilee, held in 1895, under Bishop Kingdon [55], who, after being coadjutor Bishop since 1881, succeeded Bishop Medley on his death in 1892 [56]. Since the year 1896 the Society's grant to New Brunswick has been subjected to an annual reduction of 10 per cent. [57] (*see* page 176).

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 192.)

CHAPTER XVIII.

PROVINCES OF QUEBEC AND ONTARIO (OLD CANADA).

OLD CANADA, supposed to have been discovered by Cabot in 1497, was taken possession of by the French in 1525. The St. Lawrence was explored by Jacques Cartier ten years later; and in 1608, under Champlain, their first settlement was founded at Quebec. In 1612 four Recollet Priests were sent from France to convert the Indians. Other Roman Catholic Missionaries followed, and the Abbé Laval (appointed a Vicar Apostolic in 1659) became in 1670 the first Bishop of that Colony. Meanwhile Kirk* had in 1629 captured Quebec, which remained in possession of the English three years, when under the Treaty of St. Germain it was relinquished. Its recapture by Wolfe in 1759 led to the cession of the whole of Old Canada to Great Britain in 1763. Two years later the population of the province was estimated by Governor Murray to be about 69,000. Of these the Protestants were few, numbering only 19 families in the towns of Quebec and Montreal. "The rest of that persuasion, a few half-pay officers excepted," he described as "traders, mechanics and publicans . . . most of them followers of the army, of mean education, or soldiers, disbanded at the reduction of the troops . . . in general, the most immoral collection of men" he "ever knew; of course little calculated to make the new subjects enamoured with our laws, religion, and customs." The white population was computed† to be 140,000 in 1789, about 25,000 being English, who were "rapidly increasing by emigrations from the Revolted Colonies." In 1791 the province was divided into two provinces, the eastern being styled "Lower Canada" (now Quebec) and the Western "Upper Canada" (now Ontario). To the honour of Upper Canada it should be recorded that one of the first acts of its Legislature (1792) was the abolition of slavery—an example which the mother country and her other colonies were slow to follow. The two provinces were re-united into one Government in 1840. On the conquest by Great Britain the existing Church was guaranteed undisturbed possession of its rich endowments, and the majority of the population of the Quebec Province are still Roman Catholic. In Upper Canada the reverse is the case.

HITHERTO "a Rev. Mr. Brooke" has been credited with having been "the first clergyman of the Church of England who officiated in Quebec." The same writer states (and no man of his time could speak with such authority on the subject) "there is no record of his life or proceedings. He arrived, it is supposed, almost immediately after the

* *See* page 107. † R. 1789, p. 51.

conquest. The three next clergymen of whom we find any mention, seem to have been appointed by the Government, under the expectation that an impression might be made on the French Canadians by clergymen who could perform the Anglican service in the French language." [*See* Rev. Ernest Hawkins' *Annals of the Diocese of Quebec*, S.P.C.K., 1849, pp. 13–14.]

A close study of the Society's Journals would have led to a modification of these statements and to the advancement of a claim on behalf of a Missionary of the Society, who played an important part in the proceedings which led to the capture of Quebec. On October 28, 1759, the Rev. MICHAEL HOUDIN, Itinerant Missionary of the Society in New Jersey, wrote from Quebec intreating that his absence from his Mission might not bring him under the Society's displeasure, as what he had done had "been in obedience to Lord Loudon and other succeeding Commanders" (of the British forces), "who depended much on his being well acquainted with the country." After the reduction of Quebec he asked leave to return to his Mission, but the Governor, General Murray, "ordered him to stay telling him there was no other person to be depended upon for intelligence of the French proceedings," and that he would acquaint the Society therewith. Mr. Houdin added that he as well as the public had "received a great loss by the death of the brave General Wolfe who promised to remember his labour and services," and that he hoped to return to New Jersey in the spring of 1760. He was however "detained by General Amherst in Canada" far on into 1761, and was then transferred to the Mission to the French Refugees at New Rochelle, New York [pp. 59, 855]. Formerly Mr. Houdin had been Superior of a Convent in Canada, but having become a convert to the Church of England he was (after some years' probation) appointed to New Jersey, where he "acquitted himself well" [1].

Another Missionary of the Society, the Rev. JOHN OGILVIE, attended the British troops to Canada in 1759 in the capacity of chaplain to the British soldiers and to their Mohawk allies, who formed part of his charge in the neighbourhood of Albany, New York. In 1760 he was "obliged to return to Montreal for the winter season by express orders from General Amherst, who seem'd extremely sensible of the inconveniency of removing him from his Mission for so long a time but said it must be so, to keep up the honour of the Protestant religion in a town where all the old inhabitants are of a contrary persuasion, by the regular and decent performance of the public offices of our Church."

On the capitulation of Montreal the Roman Catholic priests were "all left in their respective parishes among the Indians, as well as the French inhabitants," and Mr. Ogilvie promised "to do all in his power to recommend the Church of England by the public and constant performance of its Divine Worship, and by keeping up a friendly correspondence both with Clergy and Laity." To assist him in his work the Society sent him a supply of French Bibles and Prayer Books and of "tracts in French on the chief points in dispute between the Protestants and Papists, wrote with the most Christian temper." "The British merchants with the garrison" in Montreal made "a considerable congregation," who assembled "regularly for Divine Worship on Sundays and other Festivals." From November 1760 to July 1763 he baptized 100 children, and he "administered the holy

Communion to 30 or 40 persons at a time." "As by the Capitulation" no provision was made "for a place of worship for the Established Church," Mr. Ogilvie's congregation were "under a necessity of making use of one of the chapels" [Roman Catholic], which was "the cause of much discontent."

The Indians in the neighbourhood for some 40 miles distance were "extremely attached to the Ceremonials of the [Roman Catholic] Church," and had been "taught to believe the English have no knowledge of the Mystery of Man's redemption by Jesus Christ." As these Indians spoke the Mohawk language Mr. Ogilvie "endeavoured to remove their prejudices and by showing them the Liturgy of our Church in their Mother Tongue," he "convinced many of them that we were their fellow Christians."

The need of fixing a school and a Clergyman at Montreal was urged by him, and he placed his services at the "Society's command," but in the autumn of 1764 "his uncertain and unsettled situation at Montreal together with the solicitations of his friends," induced him to accept the office of assistant to the Rector of Trinity Church, New York. During his residence in Montreal Mr. Ogilvie succeeded in gathering congregations which became "numerous and flourishing" under his care; but after his departure, for want of shepherding, they dwindled away, and "many converts who under him had renounced the errors of Popery" returned again "to the bosom of their former Church," and carried with them "some members of ours" [2].

Referring now to Mr. Brooke's ministrations we find the Society in January 1762 considering a letter from "the Civil Officers, Merchants and Traders in Quebec," dated August 29, 1761, representing "in behalf of themselves and all British Protestant inhabitants that the Rev. John Brooke has been personally known to many of them from the arrival of the Fleet and Army from Britain in 1757 and to all of them by their attendance on his Ministry for more than a year past," and asking that he might be established a Missionary there, and promising to contribute to his support. The petition was supported by General Murray [L., Sept. 1, 1761], "in compliance with the unanimous request of the Protestants in his Government," and "from a twenty years' knowledge of him and a particular attention to his conduct in the exercise of his functions for upwards of a year past." "In compassion to a numerous body of poor children" General Murray appointed "a schoolmaster of competent sufficiency and good character for their instruction" (viz., Serjeant Watts), and assigned him a "proper room and dwelling," but both the General and Mr. Brooke [L., Sept. 1, 1761] desired assistance in supporting the school; the latter also asked for salary for a schoolmistress, and for English and French Bibles and Prayer Books &c. for the soldiers and the (R.C.) Clergy.

The Society decided to consult with the Secretary of War on the subject of these communications [3].

In February 1764 General Murray was assured

'that the Society have the most grateful sense of his good disposition towards them by the particular attention he is pleased to pay to the state of Religion in his Province and they will not fail to consider his request of having a Missionary appointed at Quebec as soon as the Government have taken that matter under

their consideration and in the meantime have ordered 30 French Bibles 30 French Testaments 50 small French and 50 small English Common Prayer Books to be sent to Mr. Brooke, to be distributed as he shall think proper" [4].

Nearly a year later (January 25, 1765) a petition was received from the "Chief Justice, Civil Officers and others of the City and Province of Quebec" (March 1, 1764), representing, "on behalf of themselves and other Protestant inhabitants," that the Rev. Dr. John Brooke had been resident in that place "upwards of 4 years," most of the time "in quality of Deputy Regimental Chaplain and since of Chaplain to the Garrison; appointments very inadequate to the Importance of his office, the labour of his cure, and that respectable appearance which he ought to sustain for his greater usefulness, amongst a Clergy and People, strangers to our Nation and prejudiced against our Faith and Religion." They therefore requested the Society to add to his existing appointment "that of a Missionary," and to appoint "another Missionary to Officiate in French" and to assist Dr. Brooke in his English duties. In recommending the petition Dr. Brooke [L., Nov. 1, 1764] added "that some of the Dissenting party" were "getting subscriptions for a minister of their own and forming a scheme of dividing from the Church, which should they succeed," would "be very prejudicial to the Protestant interest," as it would "create great contempt in the minds of the Clergy and people there to see the Protestants so few in number, and yet divided among themselves" [5].

At the same meeting of the Society the President reported that he had received letters from the Rev. Mr. Samuel Bennet, dated Montreal, Nov. 19, 1764, stating that in Canada there were "but two Protestant Clergymen himself included," that "this unhappy neglect of the Mother Country to form a religious establishment" there, was "so improved by the Friars and Jesuits as to induce the French inhabitants to look upon their conquerors in an odious light and to become more impatient of the English yoke." Montreal, where Mr. Bennet was "accidentally stationed" that winter (by General Gage's orders) was "a large city inhabited by near 100 British Families, besides many French Protestants . . . also a garrison containing two Regiments of Soldiers," who frequently married "with French women and for want of Protestant Clergymen" were "obliged to have recourse to Romish Priests to baptize their children." Mr. Bennet expressed his intention of returning to England with his regiment unless the Society should appoint him a salary, in which case he would give up his chaplainship and remain [6]. The Society gave due consideration to these communications, and after its representations the Government (1766–8) provided three Clergymen primarily for the French Protestants, but who also, according to their ability, ministered to the English. Two of them were Swiss, viz., Rev. David Chadbrand de Lisle [stationed at Montreal 1766], and Mons. Francis de Montmollin [Quebec 1768]; the third, Mons. Legere Jean Baptist Noël Veyssière [Trois Rivieres 1768], was an ex-Recollet friar ["Father Emmanuel"]. To assist them in their work the Society supplied them with English and French Prayer Books, Bibles, and other religious books, but their ministrations were less acceptable than had been anticipated. Colonel Claus stated in 1782 that the "Dissenting

Governor" appointed over the Province at its conquest had represented the number of French Protestants there as consisting of "some hundreds of families, when in fact there were hardly a dozen." Hence the supersession of Dr. Ogilvie—"an ornament and a blessing to the Church"—by French Clergymen had "been a fatal measure."

Mr. de Lisle reported in 1767 that the Romish priests availed themselves greatly "of the neglected state of the Church of England in those parts," "persuading the Canadians that the Government" had "not religion at heart." Being "destitute of a decent place of worship," he was "forced to perform it in the Hospital Chapel." Two Canadians and one German had "made their recantations," and in the year he had baptized 58 children, a negro boy, and an Indian child, and "married 22 couple." The English inhabitants of Montreal at this time, though mostly Presbyterians, attended the Church service constantly. But in 1784–5 the Dissenters "being weary of attending the ministry of a man they could not understand and for other reasons" "entered into a liberal subscription for a Presbyterian minister," and chose a Mr. Bethune, formerly chaplain in the 84th Regiment, "a man of liberal sentiments and good morals, and not unfriendly to our Church," having "regularly attended Divine Service and joined in it, till he obtained this appointment."*

From Quebec Mr. Montmollin wrote in 1770–1 that his congregation "daily grows smaller," religion "being little regarded in those parts." Of Mons. Veyssières the Bishop of Nova Scotia reported in 1789: he "does us no credit and is almost useless as a Clergyman" [7].

In 1773 a "Committee for erecting a School at Montreal" appealed for assistance in establishing it, but the Society regarded the request "as not yet properly coming within" its province [8].

The year 1777 brought with it to Canada refugees from the revolted Colonies to the south of the St. Lawrence, and among them the Rev. JOHN DOTY, S.P.G. Missionary at Schenectady, New York, who, having "been made twice a prisoner," found it necessary "to retire with his family into Canada." His distresses in removing were lessened by his having been appointed "Chaplain to His Majesty's Royal Regiment of New York." As a great part of the New York Mohawks† had joined the royal army, he was able to serve them also. On an allotment about six miles distant from Montreal the Mohawks in 1778 "built a few temporary huts for their families and . . . a log house for the sole purpose of a Church and a Council room." In it Mr. Doty officiated "to the whole assembled village, who behaved with apparent seriousness and devotion"; and on his admonishing them to remember their baptismal vows, and assuring them of his readiness to do anything for them in his power, one of their Chiefs answered for the whole "that they would never forget their baptismal obligations, nor the religion they had been educated in, and that it revived their hearts to find once more a Christian Minister among them, and to meet together, as formerly, for the worship of Almighty God." So far as Mr. Doty could ascertain, these Mohawks from the Society's Mission at Fort Hunter were "more civilized in their manners, than any other Indians" [9].

* Two of Mr. Bethune's sons took Holy Orders, and one became Bishop of Toronto.

† *See* p. 74.

Mr. Doty's conduct in this matter received the approbation of Colonel Claus (Superintendent of the Loyal Indians), who showed "unremitting zeal in co-operating with the . . . Society to promote a true sense" of "religion among the Indians," having provided them with a log house for a church and school, also with a native teacher, a primer and a revised edition of their Mohawk Prayer Book [10].

In 1781 the Mohawks were rejoined by their old pastor, the Rev. JOHN STUART, who, "after various trials and distresses" as a loyalist in New York Province escaped to Canada. For some years his headquarters were at Montreal, whence he visited the Mohawks both in that neighbourhood (La Chine) and in Upper Canada, where they began to remove in 1782, and where he himself permanently settled in 1785 [11]. [*See* also pp. 73–4, 154.]

In the meantime the Society had been made well acquainted with the religious needs of Canada through Mr. Doty, who had paid two visits to England (between 1781–3). On the second occasion he drew up (in January 1783), "Minutes of the present state of the Church in the Province of Canada," which are here printed almost in full :—

"1. The Canadian Papists (which are very numerous) are in general a well disposed people; attached indeed to their own religion, yet inclined to think well of *Serious* Protestants; and in many respects, open to conviction.

"2. The French Protestants in Canada are, at this time about 10 or 12 in number, and probably never exceeded 20: while, on the contrary, the English Protestants, immediately after the conquest of the country amounted to more than 10 times as many; and are now estimated at no less than 6,000 beside the troops.

"3. To the former of these, three *French* Clergymen were sent* out by Government, soon after the peace of 1763,* appointed to their respective parishes (vizt. *Quebec*, *Trois Rivieres*, and *Montreal*) by a Royal Mandamus, with a stipend of £200 sterling per annum, paid to each of them out of the Revenues of the Province, besides which one of them is Chaplain to the garrison where he resides.

"4. Two of these gentlemen (natives of Switzerland and doubtless, men of ability in their own language) perform, as well as they can, in English; but there is not one English Clergyman settled in all the Province (excepting an Independent Minister, who has a small congregation at Quebec where he has resided for some years past), nor is there a single Protestant Church, the Protestants being obliged to make use of Romish Chapels.†

"5. The paucity of French hearers hath so far set aside the performance of Divine Service and preaching in French, that during four years' residence in Canada, the writer of these Minutes doth not remember to have heard of four sermons in that language.

"6. Catechising, however important in its consequences, is a practice unknown in that country: and the sad effects of so great an omission are visible—too many of the rising generation fall an easy prey to Popery, Irreligion and Infidelity.

"7. The evening‡ Service of the Church of England is not performed: The weekly prayer days, Saints' Days &c., are totally neglected: and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered not above 3 or 4 times in a year at Montreal, not so often at Quebec and not at all at Trois Rivieres.

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* [*See* p. 138. M. Veyssière left the Recollets in 1766, came to England in 1767, and returned to Canada in 1768. Mr. De Lisle's first communication with the Society was in 1767; and M. de Montmollin's name appears in the Quebec register in 1768.]

† [At Quebec after every English service, the chapel underwent "a regular lustration" to remove the supposed pollution [12*a*].]

‡ [While at Montreal the Rev. Dr. Stuart assisted Mr. De Lisle, the Swiss clergyman, "without any reward or emolument"; and in 1784 he reported that an afternoon service had just been established [12*b*].]

"8. The most destitute places are Sorrel and St. John's. The former is a flourishing town, pleasantly situated on a point of land, at the conflux of the Rivers Sorrel and St. Lawrence. It is the key of Canada from the southward and bids fair to be in time one of the largest places in the province. The number of Protestant English families there at present is about 40 besides the garrison, which is middling large. It is just 15 leagues below Montreal. Saint John's is more of a frontier town situated on the west bank of the River Chambly . . . and is about 5 leagues from the mouth of the Lake [Champlain]. The number of Protestant English families thère at present is near upon 50: the garrison as large as that of Sorrel. Besides these, there are many other families scattered in different places. . . .

"9. To the foregoing may be added the garrisons of *Niagara* and *Detroit*, though not in the Province of Canada. The latter is situated at the entrance of the Strait between Lakes Erie and Huron—about 900 miles N.S.W. from Quebec; and according to the best accounts, commands a beautiful country. It's inhabitants are chiefly French Catholicks; but there are many English Protestants among them and the garrison especially consisteth of English alone: they have no minister, but a Popish Missionary. Niagara . . . is also a garrison town. The inhabitants are, for the most part, English Traders, and pretty numerous. It has likewise been for some time past, a place of general rendezvous for loyal Refugees from the back parts of the Colonies; and especially for the greater part of the Six Nation Indians, who have withdrawn, with their families, to the vicinage of that place, where it is likely they will remain: among the rest are a part of the Iroquois or Mohawk nation."

Then follows "a general estimation of the number of Protestant English families in the Province of Canada," the total being 746 families (250 at Quebec, and 160 at Montreal); besides 60 at Detroit and 40 at Niagara, and "many other English families in the vicinage of Quebec and Trois Rivieres, whose numbers cannot at present be well ascertained." "The aggregate of families in Canada (Protestant and Catholic) is supposed to be between 50 and 60,000."

In submitting these "Minutes" Mr. Doty added, the Society

"will not have the rank weeds of Republicanism and Independency to root out before they can sow the pure seeds of the Gospel, as was too much the case heretofore, in the Colonies, but on the contrary they will find a people (like the good ground) in a great measure prepared and made ready to their hand. The Protestants to a man are loyal subjects, and in general members of the Church of England" [12].

To gather these into congregations, and to build them up in the faith, was an object to which the Society now directed its attention, and as Mr. Doty "freely offered his services," it was decided to make a "trial" by appointing him to open a Mission at Sorrel [13].

After this introduction to Old Canada it will be convenient to keep the accounts of the Society's work in Lower and Upper Canada as distinct as possible.

CHAPTER XIX.

PROVINCE OF QUEBEC—(continued).

On his arrival at Sorrel in 1784 the Rev. John Doty found that nearly 300 families of loyalists, chiefly from New York, had just removed from Sorrel to Cataracqui, Upper Canada. There remained "70 families of Loyalists and other Protestants" within the town and district. These, "though a mixed Society, consisting of Dissenters, Lutherans, and Churchmen" all attended Divine worship, "the Dissenters conforming to the Liturgy and the Lutherans, without exception, declaring themselves members of our Church." For the first few weeks he performed service "in the Romish chapel," but as the continuance of that indulgence was inconvenient he got the permission of the commanding officer to fit up "a barrack" in which a congregation of about 150 assembled "every Lord's Day." Some Prayer Books and tracts which he brought were gratefully received, and the people also expressed their "gratitude to the Society for their Apostolic Charity in sending them a Missionary" [1].

Within two years the communicants had increased from 29 to 50, and in 1785 he purchased "one of the best houses in Sorrel," "being part of a bankrupt's effects," "for only 15 guineas," out of a collection of over £30 which he had obtained in Montreal. It was "fitted for a church, so as to accommodate above 120 persons," and opened for service on Christmas Day 1785, when it was crowded, and thirty-two persons received the Communion. Soon after, Brigadier General Hope, Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief, gave five guineas, Captain Barnes of the R.A. a bell, and Captain Gother Man "some boards and timber." This "encouraged them to add a steeple to their church which was finished about midsummer" [2]. Such was the erection of the first English church in Old Canada.

With the aid of Lord Dorchester it was replaced by a new structure, which was opened on October 8, 1790 [3]. By 1791 the church had been pewed and become "a very decent and commodious place of worship." The people in general were "observant of the sacred Institutions of the Church"; their children were sent to be catechised, they themselves were "regular and serious in their attendance," and the garrison were "no less exemplary" [4].

In 1787 land was allotted by Government for a church and parsonage house, a glebe also being promised. From this time for many years the town was generally called "William Henry" * [5].

Mr. Doty remained there till 1802, occasionally ministering in other parts also. In 1788 he heard that a number of Germans, "chiefly the remains of the troops lately in that country," had formed themselves into a distinct congregation at Montreal, and with the Governor's permission, assembled on Sundays in the Court House. They numbered 158 (113 men), and though very poor, paid Mr. J. A. Schmidt £40 a year (currency) to read the Scriptures to them and instruct their children. They were unacquainted with English, but

* In honour of a visit of H.R.H. Prince William Henry, afterwards William IV.

on Mr. Doty sending them one of the Society's German Prayer Books "in about 10 or 12 days they sent Mr. Schmidt, with two of their people, to request some more, as they had unanimously determined to conform to it." A sufficient supply was soon forthcoming from the Society [6]. In 1798 Mr. Doty visited "a new and flourishing settlement," St. Armand, about 90 miles from Sorrel. He was received with "much affection," and had "a serious and crowded audience, and baptized 6 infants and one adult." At a second visit (in 1799) he remained twelve days. The district of St. Armand (18 miles by 4) contained from 1,200 to 1,500 souls, all "Protestants and a considerable part professing the Church of England." They were "very earnest to have a Missionary," and subscribed £30 a year for his support* [7].

The year 1789 was memorable for the first visit of an Anglican Bishop to Old Canada. The ecclesiastical state of the province "was by no means such as could give either strength or respect to the national profession," but Bishop CHARLES INGLIS of Nova Scotia exerted himself "to put it upon the best footing it could . . . admit of." [*His visit extended from June* 10, *the day he landed at Quebec, to August* 18.] He fixed the Rev. Philip Toosey† at Quebec, and the Rev. [JAMES MARMADUKE] ‡ TUNSTALL at Montreal, for the special benefit of the English settlers, who "very earnestly desired to have an English Clergyman," since they could "reap little advantage" from the ministrations of the Government ministers appointed some years before for the French inhabitants.

The "Protestants" at Montreal were "reckoned at 2,000"; at Quebec there were "not so many," but 130 were confirmed here and 170 at Montreal. The Bishop appointed Mr. Toosey his Commissary for the Eastern limits of the province, and he confirmed the Society's good opinion of Mr. Doty as "a worthy diligent Missionary" [8].

The need of a resident Bishop for Old Canada received earlier recognition than the English Government had been accustomed to give to such matters, for in 1793 Dr. JACOB MOUNTAIN was consecrated Bishop of Quebec, thus relieving the Bishop of Nova Scotia of the charge of Lower and Upper Canada. At this time there were still only six clergymen in the Lower Province, including the three French-speaking ones, and in the remainder of the century only one was added to the Society's list, viz., the Bishop's brother, the Rev. JEHOSAPHAT MOUNTAIN, appointed to Three Rivers (Trois Rivieres) in 1795.

At this place Divine Service had "for some years past been performed in the Court House" by M. Veyssières, the French clergyman, but a part of the building was now (1795) separated for a church, and under Mr. Mountain the communicants increased in two years from 4 to 18 [9].

During the next twelve years (1794–1807) only two other Missions were opened by the Society in Lower Canada—Quebec (Rev. J. S. RUDD) and St. Armand and Dunham (Rev. R. Q. SHORT), both in 1800 [10].

The reason for this will appear from a memorial addressed by the

* Other places visited by Mr. Doty were St. John's (afterwards called Dorchester), 1794, 1799, &c.; Caldwell's Manor and L'Assomption, 1799; and Berthier, 1799 or before [7a].

† Mr. Toosey was not an S.P.G. Missionary.

‡ Mr. Tunstall was wrongly referred to as "John" in 1788–9.

Society to the English Government in 1807, after personal conference with the Bishop of Quebec and the son of the Bishop of Nova Scotia. It stated that the Churches of Canada and Nova Scotia were "rather on the decline than advancing towards the state of being able to maintain themselves, tho' a great part of the revenues of the Society" was being "absorbed in supporting them. None of those in Canada, except at Quebec, Montreal, and Trois Rivieres" had "yet reached that point. The cause" was "that the Protestant Clergy were "not legally established or confirmed in their churches." They were "dependent on the Crown, and their situation" was "rendered uncomfortable, and indeed hardly tenable," unless they pleased the inhabitants, in which "persons of very respectable abilities and character" often failed; those who succeeded best were "native Americans," but the supply of such was difficult "for want of proper education." There was "a Cathedral,* Choir, and Choir Service at Quebec but not endowed." The Bishop had "not the means of enforcing discipline over his own Clergy." "The Provision for a Protestant Clergy by Act of Parliament 31 G[eo]. III., one-seventh of all lands granted since the Peace of Paris in 1762 (one-seventh being also reserved for the Crown)," had "not yet been of much service."† The building of churches also in either province was succeeding "but ill." "It ought to be done by the inhabitants," and was sometimes "liberally" when they liked the clergyman, "otherwise not at all." In the meantime in Canada the Roman Catholics had "great advantages over the Protestants," and had "lately usurped more than they formerly did, or was intended to be allowed them." They had "even by Act of Parliament not only their parishes but even tithes." The "patronage of their Bishops" was "reckoned to be from 40 to £50,000 per an." They had "even proceeded so far as to question the validity of marriages celebrated according to the form of the Church of England, it being alledged that the contract" was "not according to the law of Canada as by Act 14 G. III. and no Church of England known to the law of the country." The proportion of inhabitants in Lower Canada was given as 225,000 [Roman] Catholics to about 25,000 Protestants, and it was stated generally that "the Protestant Church" was "more likely to decline than to advance, till either a fuller effect is given to the Act in its favour or further provision made" [11].

At this period (1807) the Society was privileged to secure the services of one who has done perhaps as much as anyone to plant and build up the Church in Canada. The Rev. and Hon. CHARLES J. STEWART, a son of the Earl of Galloway, while employed as a beneficed clergyman in England, is said to have been contemplating Missionary work in India when an account of the deplorable condition of St. Armand (heard at a meeting of the Society) moved him to offer himself for that district. Between 1800-7 three successive clergymen had laboured there, but with little success, and on Mr. Stewart's arrival (Oct. 1807), the landlord of the inn where he put up endeavoured to dissuade him from holding service, informing him that "not very long before, a preacher had come to settle there,

* Built by the bounty of George III. Opened and consecrated Aug. 28, 1804 [11*a*]. The organ imported from England was the first ever heard in Canada [11*b*].

† [*See* the Account of the Clergy Reserves, pp. 161-3.]

but that after remaining some time he had found the people so wicked and abandoned that he had left it in despair." "Then," said the Missionary, "*this* is the very place for *me*; here I am needed; and by God's grace here I will remain, and trust to Him in whose hand are the hearts of all people, for success" [12]. For a few Sundays he officiated at the inn, then in a small school-room; and when in January 1809 a new church was opened in the eastern part of this district, he had a congregation of 1,000 persons. His communicants had already increased from 6 to 44; 60 persons were confirmed later in the year, and in 1811 "a great concourse of people" assembled in a second church, erected in the western district, which hitherto had been without a single church, although possessing a population of 40,000 [13]. His ministrations were extended far and wide, and while visiting England in 1815-17 he raised among his friends a fund (£2,300) which "assisted in building twenty-four churches" in the poorer settlements of Canada [14]. Committing his former Mission, now settled and flourishing, to other hands, in 1818 he moved to Hatley, another neglected spot. Here, with scarcely "a congenial companion, in habits, manners or attainments," Dr. G. J. MOUNTAIN (afterwards Bishop of Quebec) saw him in 1819, winning rapidly upon all parties, and forming Church congregations.

"I found him," he says, "in occupation of a small garret in a wooden house, reached by a sort of ladder, or something between that and a staircase: here he had one room in which were his little open bed, his books and his writing table—everything of the plainest possible kind. The farmer's family, who lived below, boarded him and his servant. Soon after my arrival I was seized with an attack of illness and he immediately gave me up his room and made shift for himself in some other part of the house, how I know not. And here, buried in the woods, and looking out upon the dreary landscape of snow—some thousands of miles away from all his connexions, many of whom were among the highest nobility of Britain—this simple and single-hearted man, very far from strong in bodily health, was labouring to build up the Church of God and advance the cause of Christ among a population, who were yet to be moulded to anything approaching to order, uniformity or settled habit of any kind in religion—utter strangers to the Church of England, with I believe the exception of a single family, and not participants in the great majority of instances of either of the Sacraments of the Christian religion" [15].

At this time Dr. Stewart and his servant were living on a dollar a day; and he limited his personal expenses to £250 a year in order that he might devote the remainder—£400—of his income "to public and private beneficial purposes" [15*a*].

As "visiting Missionary" for the Diocese (appointed 1819) he reported in 1820 that "the progress and effects" of the Society's exertions had "already been very great and beneficial"; the Church had "widely extended her influence," and was "rapidly increasing her congregations." "Many persons of different persuasions," had already "united with her." In the previous year over 12,000 immigrants had arrived at Quebec [16].

Besides sending Missionaries from England, the Society strove to raise up a body of "Native American" Clergy, by providing for the training of candidates for Holy Orders in the country; and this form of aid—begun in 1815 and continued to the present time—has perhaps been as valuable as any that could be given [17]. [*See also* pp. 779, 841.]

The Society also took a leading part in promoting the education of the masses, by making grants for Schoolmasters, for many years onward from 1807, and by introducing in 1819 the National School system of education into Lower Canada [18]. [*See also* p. 769.]

Special provision was likewise made for the building of Churches—in addition to Dr. Stewart's fund. Referring to one sum of £2,000 placed at his disposal for this object, the Bishop of Quebec wrote in 1820: "The pious liberality of the Society appears to have produced the happiest effect; it was natural indeed that it should tend to attach the inhabitants to the Church and to call forth their exertions to qualify themselves for obtaining the establishment of Missions among them and this it has evidently done" [19].

On the death of Bishop JACOB MOUNTAIN in 1825 Dr. STEWART was chosen his successor, and consecrated in 1826. His altered position and circumstances, when holding a visitation as Bishop in districts in which he had previously travelled as a Missionary, made no alteration in his simple habits and unaffected piety [20].

In 1830, having regard to the fact that "the only impediment to the rapid extension of the Church" in the Diocese was "the want of resources for the maintenance of a body of Clergy in any respect adequate to the wants of the two provinces," the Society supplied the Bishop with the means of forming a body of licensed Catechists, acting under subordination to the Clergy. Some such measure was necessary "in order to maintain even the profession of Christianity" in isolated parts, and the effect produced was "highly beneficial." As soon as possible their places were taken by ordained Missionaries [21].

For ten years Bishop STEWART bore the burden of his vast Diocese, doing his utmost to supply its needs. In 1836, being worn out by his incessant labours, he obtained the assistance of a coadjutor, and sought rest in England, where he died in the following year [22].

His coadjutor, Dr. GEORGE JEHOSHAPHAT MOUNTAIN, continued to administer the Diocese, but retained the title of "Bishop of Montreal" until the formation of a See of that name, when (July 25, 1850) he became nominally, what in reality he had been from 1837, Bishop of *Quebec* [23].

Already, as Archdeacon of Quebec for fifteen years, he had a thorough knowledge of the diocese, and shortly after his consecration he wrote:—

"Since the Society has been sometimes reproached with a presumed character of inertness attaching to the Clergy in Canada, and since that bounty, which is so greatly needed from the British public, is proportioned to the estimate formed of its profitable application, I cannot forbear from adverting to a very few simple facts, as examples of the statements which might be put forth in recommendation of the Canadian Church. I do not, of course, mean that the labours of *all* the Clergy are in accordance with the picture which I proceed to sketch—some are, from situation, not exposed to any necessity for hardships or severe exertions; and it must be expected to happen that some should be less devoted than others to the cause of Christ; but not to speak of the episcopal labours which, from the prominent situation of those who have successively discharged them, are of necessity better known, I could mention such occurrences, as that a Clergyman, upon a circuit of duty, has passed twelve nights in the open air, six in boats upon the water, and six in the depths of the trackless forest with Indian guides; and a Deacon, making his *insolitos nisus* when scarcely fledged, as it were, for the more arduous flights of duty, has performed journeys of 120 miles in the midst of winter

upon snow-shoes. I could tell how some of these poor ill-paid servants of the Gospel have been worn down in strength before their time at remote and laborious stations. I could give many a history of persevering travels in the ordinary exercise of ministerial duty, in defiance of difficulties and accidents, through woods and roads almost impracticable, and in all the severities of weather; or of rivers traversed amid masses of floating ice, when the experienced canoe-men would not have proceeded without being urged. I have known one minister sleep all night abroad, when there was snow upon the ground. I have known others answer calls to a sick-bed at the distance of fifteen or twenty miles in the wintry woods; and others who have travelled all night to keep a Sunday appointment, after a call of this nature on the Saturday. These are things which have been done by the Clergy of Lower Canada, and in almost every single instance which has been here given by Missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. . . . The chief object of my anxiety is to draw some favourable attention to the unprovided condition of many settlements. . . . In the township of Kilkenny, lying near to Montreal, I have been assured by one of the principal inhabitants that there are 120 families, and that they *all* belong to our own Church. I do not think that any of our Clergy have ever penetrated to this settlement; and I have no reason to doubt the melancholy truth of an account given me, that the people hearing of a Protestant minister, whom some circumstance had brought into the adjoining seigneurie, came trooping through the woods with their infants in their arms, to present them for baptism *in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost*, to one who was a preacher of the Unitarian persuasion! . . . I could picture the greetings given to the messenger of Christ by some congregations to whom his visit is a rare occurrence; or I could mention such individual cases as that of a woman who walks three miles to her church, having a river through which she must wade in her way; and of another who comes nearly four times that distance through the woods, to hear the Church Prayers and a printed sermon, at the house of a lady, who assembles the Protestants of the neighbourhood on a Sunday. . . . Between the city of Quebec and the inhabited part of the district of Gaspe, in the Gulf, a distance of more than 400 miles, there is no Protestant Minister to be found. At Matis . . . I was most affectionately received . . . The people told me, when assembled in a body, that they were about equally divided between the Churches of England and Scotland but should be but too happy to unite under a minister supplied to them by the former."

After referring to the loss of the parliamentary grant for Church purposes, and the prospect of the confiscation of the Clergy Reserves and entire withdrawal of the Government allowance for the Bishop, he concluded: "Our chief earthly resource is in the fostering benevolence and friendly interposition of the Society" [24].

The formation of Upper Canada into a separate see (Toronto) in 1839, greatly though it relieved Bishop Mountain, still left him a diocese as large as France. Writing after one of his tours in 1841, he said:—

"In all my discouragements, I often think what a wonderful blessing to the country has been afforded in the beneficence of the Society. . . . Great and lamentable as is the destitution of many parts of the diocese . . . yet sound religion has been kept alive in the land . . . and a good beginning has been made in multiplied instances which may . . . prove the best happiness of generations yet to come" [25].

A hitherto entirely neglected district, the coast of Labrador, first received the ministrations of the Church in 1840. The Rev. E. CUSACK, who then made a tour extending to Forteau in the Newfoundland Government, discovered that though the permanent settlers were few, yet in the summer some 15,000 fishermen visited the Canadian settlements alone. No provision existed for Divine worship, many of

the people were "walking in still worse than heathenish darkness," and at one place "almost all the adults had been baptized by laymen and were so utterly ignorant as to be unfit for adult baptism" [26].

"While Christian friends at home are doing much for India, little do they imagine the heathenish darkness which exists in many parts of our scattered settlements of Canada," wrote another Missionary in 1842. Of one of the settlers in the Kingsey Mission he said he could not "conceive it possible that any, except a heathen, could be in such a state" [27].

The "influence" which "presided over the Proceedings of Government" in relation to the Church in Canada appeared to the Bishop (in 1843) to have "resembled some enchantment which abuses the mind." "In broad and reproachful contrast, in every singular particular, to the institutions founded for the old colonists by the Crown of France," the British Government suffered "its own people members of the Church of the Empire, to starve and languish with reference to the supply of their spiritual wants," and left "its emigrant children to scatter themselves at random here and there over the country, upon their arrival without any digested plan to the formation of settlements, or any guide (had it not been for the Society . . .) to lead them rightly in their new trials, temptations and responsibilities. The value of the Missions and other boons received from the Society," said he,

"may be well estimated from this melancholy survey of the subject. . . . Yet on the other hand when we look at the advances which through all these difficulties and despite all these discouragements the Church has been permitted to make we have cause to lift up our hands in thankfulness and our hearts in hope. . . . When I contemplate the case of our Missionaries, and think of the effects of their labours, I look upon them as marked examples of men whose reward is not in this world. Men leading lives of toil and more or less of hardship and privation . . . the very consideration which attaches to them as clergymen of the English Church Establishment exposing them to worldly mortification, from their inability to maintain appearances consistent with any such pretension—they are yet, under the hand of God, the dispensers of present and the founders of future blessing in the land. There are many points of view in which they may be so regarded; for wherever a Church is established there is to a certain extent a focus for improvement found: but nothing is more striking than the barrier which the Church, without any adventitious sources of influence, opposes to the impetuous flood of fanaticism rushing at intervals through the newer parts of the country. . . . Nothing else can stand against it. . . . This has been remarkably the case with the preaching of Millerism . . . than which anything more fanatic can scarcely be conceived. . . . Some men have been known to say that they will burn their Bibles if these [Miller] prophecies should fail. . . . In the meantime . . . the Church . . . preserves her steady course and rides like the ark, upon the agitated flood. Her people are steadfast and cleave with the closer attachment to their own system, from witnessing the unhappy extravagance which prevails around them. Others also of a sober judgment, are wont to regard her with an eye of favour and respect. Without the check which she creates, the country round would in a manner, all run mad. . . . Loyalty is another conspicuous fruit of Church principles in a colony, Loyalty which in Canada has been proved and tried in many ways. . . . Such then is the work of the good Society among us" [28].

In his visitation this year (1843) the Bishop had to pass a night in a fisherman's hut, consisting of one room and containing a family of thirteen, and the next day, to avoid breakfasting there, he had to travel through wind and rain in "a common cart, without springs

and with part of the bottom broken out," the journey of 18½ miles (Raisseau-Jaunisse to Port Daniel) occupying nearly seven hours. At Kilkenny a church was consecrated, and 24 persons were confirmed. It was the first episcopal visit, and the people proposed to name the building the "Mountain Church," but the Bishop "called it after St. John the Baptist" "as being built for preaching in the wilderness, with which they were highly pleased." At Huntingdon was seen an example of the "deplorable effects of schism in a new country." Here, "in a spot scarcely reclaimed from the woods," and where one good spacious church might have contained all the worshippers, were "four Protestant places of worship - altar against altar—all ill appointed, all ill supported," while many ruder and more remote settlements were almost entirely neglected. In such instances "the forbearance and dignity of the Church . . . stood in most advantageous contrast with the proceedings of other parties."

Towards providing Communion plate for Sherbrooke Church a woman who was not able "to do more," had given a silver soup ladle . . . contenting herself with one of earthenware or pewter." Clarendon was another place which had been unvisited by any Bishop. "As a specimen of the state of things in the new parts of a colony," it is recorded that a settler here had gone three times to Bytown, "a distance of fifty odd miles, to be married," and was only successful on the third occasion, the clergyman having been absent on other calls. The way to Clarendon Church was by a narrow wood road.

"In places" (said the Bishop) "we had nothing for it but to fight through the younger growth and bushes, making a circuit and regaining the road. . . . Service was at three. . . . Eighty-six [persons] had received tickets from Mr. Falloon, fifty-one were confirmed; about forty other persons were present. Two of the subjects for confirmation arrived after . . . the service and were then separately confirmed: one of these, a lad . . . had travelled on foot 22 miles that day. Many of the males were in their shirt sleeves. I have detailed all these particulars because they set before the Society in their aggregate, perhaps as lively a picture of the characteristic features of new settlements as any of my travels will afford: and they are interspersed . . . with many evidences of good feeling, which one is willing to trace to an appreciation in the minds of the people of those spiritual privileges which they enjoy through the care of the Society and the Church. . . . After this statement the Society may judge what the need was of Church ministrations before the opening of this Mission only a year and a half ago, at which time the nearest Clergyman to it in the Diocese was distant fifty miles or upwards; and the blessings, present and future, may be estimated, which are procured by the expenditure of the Missionary allowance of £100 a year. There is in Clarendon alone a population of 1,017 souls, of whom between 800 and 900 belong to the Church of England" * [29].

Seven years after the visit to Kilkenny, Mr. James Irwin, a settler, wrote to the Bishop:—

"Twenty years ago . . . we might be said to be hardly one remove from the native Indian. . . . What gratitude is due . . . to Almighty God and under Him to your Lordship as well as to the blessed Society . . . who sent and supports Mr. Lockhart to be our Minister! No words of mine can sufficiently describe the improvement that already appears. Could the Society . . . see the same

* Further testimony to the value of the Society's work will be found in the Bishop's Review of the Diocese in 1844, and an Address of the Diocesan Synod to the Society in 1845 [29*a*].

people . . . now clothed and in their right minds sitting with becoming attention under our beloved pastor . . . it would be singularly gratifying to men so benevolent" [30].

The years 1847–8 furnished a sad chapter in the history of the diocese. The famine which proved so fatal to Ireland during 1846–7 drove out of that island hosts of people. Distress also prevailed in Great Britain, and during 1847, 91,892 persons, flying from starvation, arrived at the port of Quebec alone. On one vessel 100 deaths occurred at sea, and "multitudes" landed and "spread disease and death throughout the chief towns of Canada." Many Clergymen contracted fever while attending the sick emigrants, and five died. The non-Romanist ministers who served the Quarantine station at Grosse Isle, in number fifteen, were Anglican Clergymen, and all but one were Missionaries of the Society [31].

In 1850 another long-desired division of the diocese was accomplished by the erection of the See of Montreal. Originally the Society had intended to endow the new see out of property belonging to the Church in Lower Canada, but to this "valid objections were found to exist" at the time. It therefore pressed the matter upon the attention of the Colonial Bishoprics Council, with the result "that in a few months a fund deemed sufficient to constitute a permanent endowment" was raised, nearly one-half of the amount being made up by the contributions of the University of Oxford and the S.P.C.K. [32]. In 1864 about £3,000 was added from a fund appropriated to the Diocese of Quebec by the Society in 1857 [32*a*].

The new diocese comprehended many districts so completely settled "that all the romance of Missionary life" was at an end, "and the uniform, patient, every-day work of the clergyman, however important," furnished few details to interest the public. [32*b*].

Quebec remained "as poor a diocese as any throughout the Colonies," but out of its poverty it made a gift of £500 to the Society in 1851–2, when in inviting an observance of the Society's jubilee the Bishop thus addressed his Clergy:—

"To look only to these North American Colonies, we see here, as the work of the Society, our people by thousands upon thousands enjoying the blessings of an apostolic ministry, which deals out to them the bread of life, and faithfully leads them to their Saviour; who but for this Institution, the foremost of their earthly friends, would have been abandoned to ignorance and irreligion, or swept in other instances, into the bosom of Rome" [33].

The confiscation of the Clergy Reserves in 1855 [*see* pp. 161–3] was a heavy blow to both dioceses. In each case as in Upper Canada the Clergy consented to a commutation of their life interests, but this produced only a small sum * [34].

* $53,341 in the case of Quebec Diocese, but so well and prudently has the fund been administered by the Diocesan Church Society that its invested capital now (1892) amounts to $155,000. The Bishopric Fund has shown similar growth. From a balance of Clergy Reserve Revenue, the S.P.G. was entitled to recoup itself for its expenditure upon the Missions, but, instead of so doing, it set the money apart to form a Bishopric Endowment Fund. Under the management of the Diocesan Church Society this Fund had grown from $75,000 to over $100,000 in 1864, when about $14,800 was devoted to Montreal. Another instance of what can be accomplished, with wise management, even in a poor diocese, is found in the provision made for the Quebec widows and orphans of the Clergy and for incapacitated Clergy, which, it is believed, is more "satisfactory" than anywhere else in the Anglican Communion [34*a*].

Through the Diocesan Church Society of Quebec much was done to meet the loss from local sources, and by 1858 the Society (S.P.G.) was enabled to reduce its aid to some stations and in all cases to throw the whole charge of building churches and parsonages on the several congregations [35]. The Diocese of Montreal was the better able to meet the emergency as local support had been stimulated by offers of grants from the Society in aid of the purchase of glebes in the Missions. Between 1859 and 1864 the Society contributed £1,100 in this form, and in the latter year one-half of the largely increased number of Clergy* were being wholly maintained from local sources [36]. Since 1882 the Society's aid to this diocese has been limited to the payment of certain "privileged" Clergymen under a *quasi* covenant [37].†

There has been little scope for work among the Indians in Lower Canada, where their numbers are comparatively few. Among the Abenaquis a Mission begun about 1867 "owes its origin and its subsequent encouragement and support to the Society's Mission at Sorrel" [38].

In Quebec Diocese the Missions of the Society have been extended not only to Labrador but also to the Magdalen Islands, where a Missionary's life involves almost equal hardships—cut off as it is for six months in the year entirely from communication with the outer world [39]. The Labrador Mission has benefited natives (Esquimaux) as well as settlers [40]. For many years the Society has also contributed to the maintenance of a Chaplain at the Marine Hospital, Quebec, where "year after year men from all parts of the world come to be healed or die" [41].

The progress of the diocese in more recent years is summed up in an address to the Society from the Diocesan Synod in 1888. In the preceding 25 years 15 of 34 Missions "have become self-supporting parishes," and though the Society's grant "has been gradually reduced by one-half, ten new Missions have been opened." "Much progress has been made in what long seemed a hopeless task, winning to the Church the descendants of the original settlers in our eastern townships, many of whom came to Canada from the neighbouring New England States filled with prejudices, political and religious, against the Church of England. These prejudices are now fast disappearing. The permanent maintenance of the Church in the poorest and most thinly-settled parts of the country has been secured by a system of local endowments, now spread over nearly the whole diocese—an effort aided at the beginning by a liberal grant from the Society," but mainly due to local exertions, by which also the endowments of the "Church University" (Bishop's College, Lennoxville), "have been very largely increased," and "nearly all the parsonages in the diocese have been provided, and a large proportion of the churches built or rebuilt during this period." The Synod added :—

"The fact that the great body of our people are devout communicants, that an earnest willingness to help in the spiritual work of the Church is showing itself more and more among the laity, that eagerness to contribute towards Missions, both in our own North-West and in heathen lands, is growing among us, and that

* The Clergy increased from 49 in 1850 to 65 in 1864.
† Only one of these remained in May 1901.

by God's great mercy we are free from party divisions, a house religiously at unity in itself: these are among the fruits of the Spirit for which we are now offering our devout thanks to Almighty God" *[42].

This progress took place during the administration of Bishop J. W. Williams (1863–92).

(1892–1900). Under the present Bishop (Dr. A. H. Dunn, consecrated in 1892) a further advance has been made. At the Centenary of the diocese in 1893 the Synod, in order to show their "thankfulness for God's manifold blessings bestowed upon the diocese during the first hundred years of its existence," adopted a scheme for the voluntary relinquishment of the Society's aid by a graduated system of reduction, under which the aid (then £1,450 per annum) entirely ceased in December 1899 with the exception of grants for (*a*) Divinity Students at Lennoxville College (£250), (*b*) a Missionary in Southern Labrador (£150), (*c*) and the Chaplain at the Marine Hospital, Quebec (£50). It is hoped that the diocese will eventually be able to dispense entirely with the Society's aid [42*a*]. In June, 1899, the Synod in a farewell address assured the Society of their "gratitude and love, the love as of children grateful for innumerable benefits received from kind and indulgent parents," and that "the thought in the heart of every Quebec Churchman will be, 'If I forget thee, let my right hand forget her cunning'" [43 & 43*a*].

The first "Imperial Church Parade" in Canada marked an event in the history of the Empire and of the Church. Previously to their departure for South Africa the Canadian Volunteers assembled in Quebec Cathedral on Sunday, October 29, 1899, to ask God's blessing upon their efforts on behalf of Queen and Empire. Of the thousand men constituting the battalion eight hundred—that is all but the Roman Catholics—attended, and with the general congregation remained throughout the service, which deepened in intensity until (with her Majesty's representatives and the General Commanding at their head) line after line of men (800 in all) thronged, in a spirit of trust and of deep reverence, to receive the Holy Communion. At the end of the service, "O God, our help in ages past," was sung, and then "God Save the Queen" rose from the lips and hearts of men who dedicated themselves till death, if need be, for Queen and country. A former Missionary of the Society, the Rev. John Almond, accompanied the troops to South Africa as Anglican Chaplain [43*b*].

The Diocese of Montreal celebrated its Jubilee in 1900 with great enthusiasm [43*c*].

* See also the statement made by Bishop Oxenden, Metropolitan of Canada, in 1878, viz., that the Church in Canada "holds a very favourable position" with reference to other Christian bodies. Of her Clergy, he estimated that "at least one in ten has come over . . . from other Churches," and he held that the Canadian Church "is destined at no distant day to become the focus around which the scattered bodies shall be gathered" [44].

NOTE.—LABRADOR (*see* p. 151). The Quebec or Southern portion of Labrador extends from Sheldrake, on the north shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to Blanc Sablon, at the entrance to the Straits of Belle Isle, a distance of about 450 miles. The population consists of Esquimaux, English and French-speaking people, and a few Indians. The French and Indians are Roman Catholics, but the Anglican Missionary as he travels about receives a hearty welcome from all classes, French as well as English. During a visit in 1894 the Bishop of Quebec and the Missionary "were taken by an affrighted fisherman for Indians." At another place an old man "kissed the Bishop most affectionately as he set foot on shore." In the following year the Mission was extended 150 miles, partly in order to provide ministration for some Jersey families who had "remained true to the Church, although not visited by a clergyman for nearly twenty years."

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 192.)

CHAPTER XX.

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO (*continued from p.* 141).

THE circumstances under which Upper Canada was first visited by a clergyman of the Church of England are related by the Rev. JOHN OGILVIE, the Society's Missionary to the Indians in the State of New York, in a letter dated Albany, New York, Feb. 1, 1760:—

"Last summer I attended the royal American regiment upon the expedition to Niagara*; and indeed there was no other chaplain upon that Department, tho' there were three regular Regiments and the Provincial Regiment of New York. The Mohawks were all upon this Service, and almost all the Six Nations†, they amounted in the whole to 940 at the time of the siege. I officiated constantly to the Mohawks and Oneidoes who regularly attended Divine Service. . . . The Oneidoes met us at the Lake near their Castle, and as they were acquainted with my coming, they brought ten children to receive Baptism, and young women who had been previously instructed . . . came likewise to receive that holy ordinance. I baptized them in the presence of a numerous crowd of spectators, who all seemed pleased with the attention and serious behaviour of the Indians. . . . During this campaign I have had an opportunity of conversing with some of every one of the Six Nation Confederacy and their Dependants, and of every nation I find some who have been instructed by the priests of Canada, and appear zealous roman Catholics, extremely tenacious of the Ceremonies and Peculiarities of that Church: and from very good authority I am inform'd that there is not a nation bordering upon the five great Lakes, or the banks of the Ohio, the Mississippi all the way to Louisiana, but what are supplied with Priests and Schoolmasters, and have very decent Places of Worship, with every splended utensil of their Religion. How ought we to blush at our coldness and shameful Indifference in the propagation of our most excellent Religion. The Harvest truly is great but the labourers are few. The Indians themselves are not wanting in making very pertinent Reflections upon our inattention to these Points. The Possession of the important Fortification of Niagara is of the utmost consequence to the English, as it gives us the happy opportunity of commencing and cultivating a Friendship with those numerous Tribes of Indians who inhabit the borders of Lakes Erie, Huron, Michigan and even Lake Superiour: and the Fur Trade which is carried on by these Tribes, which all centers at Niagara, is so very considerable that I am told by very able judges, that the French look upon Canada, of very little Importance without the possession of this important Pass. . . . In this Fort, there is a very handsome Chapel, and the Priest, who was of the Order of St. Francis, had a commission as the King's‡ Chaplain to the garrison. He had particular instructions to use the Indians, who came to trade, with great Hospitality (for which he had a particular allowance) and to instruct them in the Principles of the Faith. The service of the Church here was performed with great Ceremony and Parade. I performed Divine Service in this Church every day during my stay here, but I am afraid it has never been used for this purpose since, as there is no minister of the Gospel there. This neglect will not give the Indians the most favourable impression of us" [1].

Throughout the campaign, which ended in the complete conquest of Canada by Great Britain, Mr. Ogilvie set an example to the Government, and "great numbers" of the Indians "attended constantly, regularly and decently," on his ministrations.

In the subsequent contest between England and the American

* [Against the French.] † [The Iroquois or Six Nation Indians.]
‡ [That is the King of France.]

Colonies the Mohawks again sided with the mother country, and "rather than swerve from their allegiance, chose rather to abandon their Dwellings and Property; and accordingly went in a body to General Burgoyne, and afterwards were obliged to take shelter in Canada." A majority of the nation fled in 1776, under the guidance of the celebrated Captain Joseph Brant, to Niagara, and eventually settled on the Grand River above Niagara. The remainder, under Captain John Deserontyon, escaped to Lower Canada, and, after a sojourn of about six years at La Chine, some of them removed, in 1782–3, to Niagara; but most of them permanently settled in 1784 on the Bay of Quinté,* forty miles above Cataraqui or Kingston, in Upper Canada [2].

The Indians were soon followed by their former pastor, the Rev. JOHN STUART, whose labours among them in New York State and in Lower Canada have been mentioned. [*See* pp. 73–4, 140.] Those settled at Quenti intended remaining there that they might "enjoy the advantages of having a Missionary, schoolmaster and church" [3].

On June 2, 1784, Mr. Stuart set out from Montreal, visiting on his way all the new settlements of Loyalists on the River and Lake, and on the 18th arrived at Niagara. On the following Sunday he preached in the garrison, and in the afternoon, "to satisfy the eager expectations of the Mohawks, he proceeded on horseback to their village, about 9 miles distant, and officiated in their church." After a short intermission they returned to the church, "when he baptized 78 infants and 5 adults, the latter having been instructed by the Indian Clerk," a man of "very sober and exemplary life," who regularly read prayers on a Sunday. The whole was concluded with "a discourse on the nature and design of baptism." "It was very affecting to Mr. Stuart to see those affectionate people, from whom he had been separated more than seven years, assembled together in a decent and commodious church, erected principally by themselves, with the greatest seeming devotion and a becoming gravity. Even the windows were crowded with those who could not find room within the walls. The concourse . . . was unusually great, owing to the circumstance of the Oneidas, Cayugas, and Onondagas being settled in the vicinity." Mr. Stuart afterwards baptized "24 children and married 6 couple." On his return journey he visited Cataraqui (Kingston) and baptized some children; also the Bay of Quenti, 42 miles distant, where, in a beautiful situation, the Mohawks were "laying the foundation of their new village named Tyonderoga," and their school-house was almost finished. The loyal exiles at Cataraqui, &c., expressed "the most anxious desire to have Clergymen sent among them," and they looked "up to the Society for assistance in their . . . distress," being then too poor to support clergymen. In this year Mr. Stuart baptized 178 persons, of whom 107 were Indians [4].

In July 1785 he removed his headquarters to Cataraqui, "chiefly on account of its vicinity to the Mohawks" [5]. Their further history will be noticed hereafter. [*See* p. 165.] At Cataraqui Mr. Stuart began to officiate in "a large room in the garrison." The "inhabitants and soldiers" regularly attended service, and he had "sanguine

* Quinté, Quenti, Kenti, or Konty.

hopes" of "a large congregation" [6]. These hopes were soon realised, though he was "obliged to teach them the first principles of religion and morality" before pressing them to "become actual members of the Church." They were, however, too poor to erect a Church until 1794, when St. George's was "finished with a Pulpit, Desk, Communion-Table, Pews, Cupola and a Bell." In August of that year the Bishop of Quebec held his visitation at Kingston. During his stay "several persons of the Church of Scotland avowed their conformity to ours and some of them were actually confirmed by the Bishop." In all 55 persons were confirmed, 24 of whom had been instructed by Mr. Stuart. In 1798 his congregation was "numerous and respectable"; nothing "but peace and harmony appeared"; and notwithstanding the ground the Methodists had gained in that country they had "not made a single convert in the town of Kingston" [7].

Many other Missions were founded by Mr. Stuart. On a visit to Quenti in 1785 he "caused the inhabitants of the different townships to collect their children at convenient places and he baptized those who were presented to him." In the second township ("16 miles distant from Cataraqui"), he met "a number of families of the Church of England," who assembled regularly on Sundays and had "the liturgy and a sermon read to them" by Captain Jephta Hawley in his own house. By the next year the "third township" had purchased a house for school and temporary church, in which "a serious discreet man" read prayers on Sundays [8].

The desire of these people for a resident Missionary was gratified in 1787 by the appointment of the Rev. JOHN LANGHORNE to the charge of Ernest and Fredericksburg, as the two townships were respectively named. In his first year Mr. Langhorne had "1,500 souls under his care," and he baptized 107 children and adults. On his first coming the people had "not been able to build either parsonage or church"; but within five years he succeeded in opening eight* places of worship in his parish. These he diligently served, besides often officiating "at distant places in private houses" [9].

The next places to receive resident Missionaries were Niagara (Rev. R. ADDISON in 1792), York, or Toronto (Rev. G. O. STUART in 1801), Cornwall (Rev. J. S. RUDD, 1801-2, and Rev. J. STRACHAN, 1803-11), all of which had been previously visited by the Rev. J. STUART, who has well earned the title of "Father of the Church in Upper Canada" [10].

The first account of York (1802) given by the Rev. G. O. STUART was that the town consisted of "about 120 houses and 70 families: but taking in the whole township there might be about 140 families." The prevailing denominations were "the Presbyterians, Episcopalians and Roman Catholics." The last were few, but there were numerous Methodists. "Notwithstanding the prejudices of those who nominally dissent from the Church of England," he had "a numerous congregation"; but the communicants were "very few" (ten). The people had subscribed to the building of a church, for the site of which six acres of land had been reserved. Pending its erection he was officiating "in the Government House" [11].

* St. Oswald's, St. Cuthbert's, St. Warburg's, St. Thomas's, St. Paul's, St. John's, St. Peter's, St. Luke's.

The Bishop of Quebec in examining Mr. STRACHAN for ordination was so well satisfied with respect to his "principles, attainments, conversation and demeanor," that he stated he would be "more than commonly disappointed" if he did not "become a very useful and respectable Minister" [12]. As will be seen hereafter, the future Bishop of Toronto more than justified the opinions formed of him. During his residence at Cornwall "he conducted a grammar school in which many of the most distinguished colonists received their education" [13]. At the time of the war which broke out between Great Britain and the United States in 1812 he was stationed at York (Toronto), and in 1814 he reported: "the enemy have twice captured the town since the spring of 1813, all the public buildings have been burnt and much loss sustained by many of the inhabitants." The Americans also took possession of Sandwich and Niagara; they burnt the churches there, carrying off from Sandwich the Church books and the Rev. R. POLLARD, who was released in 1814 on the prospect of peace. Mr. ADDISON'S house at Niagara escaped destruction, and "afforded an asylum to many unhappy sufferers" [14].

At the commencement of 1803 Upper Canada contained only four clergymen. The Rev. J. STRACHAN, who in that year "made the fifth," states that so little had been

"known of the country and the little that was published was so incorrect and unfavourable, from exaggerating accounts of the climate and the terrible privations to which its inhabitants were said to be exposed, that no Missionaries could be induced to come out. . . . It might have been expected that on the arrival of . . . the first Bishop of Quebec, the Clergy would have rapidly increased, but notwithstanding the incessant and untiring exertions of that eminent prelate, their number had not risen above five in Upper Canada so late as 1812, when it contained 70,000 inhabitants. In truth the Colony, during the wars occasioned by the French Revolution, seemed in a manner lost sight of by the public" [15].

Another cause of the lack of clergy, who in 1818 numbered only nine, was that no parishes had been erected by Government. The Society drew the attention of the authorities to this in 1807 [16], and the years 1819–20 brought with them the division of the province into parishes, the opening of six new Missions, and additional grants from the Society in aid of the erection of churches [17].

From this period the number of clergymen rapidly increased.* At the visitation of Upper Canada by Bishop Mountain of Quebec (in 1820) the Clergy, in an address to him, said:—

"Nearly thirty years have elapsed since your Lordship entered upon the arduous task of diffusing the light of the Gospel through this extensive portion of His Majesty's dominions. You saw it a wilderness with few inhabitants and only three clergymen within its bounds. Now the population is great; churches are springing up and the growing desire of the people to be taught the principles of Christianity through the medium of the Established Church, cannot fail of conveying the most delightful pleasure to your Lordship's mind" [18].

In 1822 the Society had to "congratulate" itself upon the result of its operations in Canada, "where a numerous population collected from various parts of the sister kingdom and educated in the principles of different religious sects have become united in one congregation, and having left their prejudices on the shores of their native

* From 22 in 1825 to 46 in 1833, and to 102 in 1843.

land, have continued to live in Christian charity 'endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.'"

Applications for union with the Church were "in a variety of instances" "transmitted to the Bishop of the Diocese," and would have been "still more frequent" had the financial resources of the Society allowed it "to hold out such encouragement to overtures of this nature, as they deserve." Many of the new districts occupied by the Society at this period were found to be in a "deplorable state of religion and morality." Sundays had been "no otherwise distinguished from the other days of the week, than by a superior degree of indolence and intemperance," the children had been "wholly deprived of all religious instruction; and the entire population . . . left to follow their own heedless imaginations, without a guide or minister to show them the error of their ways" [19].

As Visiting Missionary the Hon. and Rev. C. STEWART did much at this period to foster Christianity among the settlers and to found new Missions in their midst, and assisted by a private fund raised by him, the people in many places built churches "without even the promise of being soon supplied with a Clergyman." At Simco the inhabitants who had begun building a meeting-house all agreed in 1822 to make it an Episcopal house of worship [20].

In 1830 the Church was reported by Dr. (now Bishop) STEWART to be "spreading herself all over the land" [21]. Such was the respect with which she was regarded, that on the Bishop's visiting Hamilton* in this year and preaching in the New Court House on a week-day, "although the election for the county was at the time going on, the candidates unanimously consented to close the poll for two hours that no impediment to Divine Service might be offered, and the congregation was numerous and attentive" [22].

The noble self-devotion of the Church of England Clergy during the fearful visitations of cholera in Canada in 1832 and 1834 won for them increased respect and affection. Foremost in attendance on the sick and dying both in hospital and private house was Archdeacon STRACHAN,† Rector of Toronto. After the cessation of the plague he was presented by his people with a handsome token of their "affectionate remembrance of the fortitude, the energy, the unwearied perseverance and benevolence" with which he discharged his duties "when surrounded by affliction, danger and despondency." For the 200 widows and 700 orphans left desolate by the cholera a subscription of £1,320 was raised. It is significant that all but £83 of this came from members of the Church. Many orphans were adopted, and eventually all were enabled to obtain a livelihood [23].

The Church of England population in Upper Canada in 1830 formed "one moiety of the whole," and as it was impossible to supply sufficient clergymen to minister to them a body of licensed catechists was then organised to assist the Missionaries—the necessary funds being provided by the S.P.G., which also assisted in establishing a "Sunday School Society" in the country [24].

At the same time "the Society for converting and civilizing the

* Now the cathedral city of the See of Niagara.

† Appointed Archdeacon of York in 1827 [22*a*].

Indians and propagating the Gospel among the destitute Settlers in Upper Canada" was established in the Colony [25]. These local auxiliary associations, with the "Bible and Prayer Book Society" founded at Toronto in 1816, and the "Upper Canada Clergy Society"* formed in England in 1837, prepared the way for the foundation of the general "Diocesan Church Society" in 1842. [*See* pp. 160, 759.] The united efforts of the parent Society and its handmaids were, however, for a long time insufficient to meet the spiritual wants of the ever-increasing population of Upper Canada. Shortly before the death of Bishop STEWART the Society began to make provision for opening several new Missions [26], but his successor, Bishop MOUNTAIN, could still in 1838 represent to the Government that

"a lamentable proportion of the Church of England population are destitute of any provision for their religious wants, another large proportion insufficiently provided, and almost all the remainder served by a Clergy who can only meet the demands made upon them by strained efforts, which prejudice their usefulness in other points. . . . The importunate solicitations which I constantly receive from different quarters of the Province for the supply of clerical services; the overflowing warmth of feeling with which the travelling Missionaries of the Church are greeted in their visits to the destitute settlements; the marks of affection and respect towards my own office which I experienced throughout the Province; the exertions made by the people, in a great number of instances, to erect churches even without any definite prospect of a Minister, and the examples in which this has been done by individuals at their own private expense; the rapidly increasing circulation of the religious newspaper, which is called *The Church*;—these are altogether unequivocal and striking evidences of the attachment to Church principles which pervades a great body of the population. . . . I state my deliberate belief that the retention of the Province as a portion of the British empire depends more upon the means taken to provide and perpetuate a sufficient establishment of pious and well-qualified Clergymen of the Church, than upon any other measure whatever within the power of the Government. . . . Connected closely with the same interests is the measure which has for some time been in agitation for the division of the diocese and the appointment of a resident Bishop in Upper Canada. It is perfectly impossible for a Bishop resident at Quebec, and having the official duties in the Lower Province . . . to do justice to . . . the Upper. I feel this most painfully in my own experience and I greatly need relief, but apart from all personal considerations, the Church, with all that depends upon her ministrations must suffer while the existing arrangements remain."

The immediate result of this appeal was the erection of Upper Canada into a separate diocese, named Toronto, and the appointment of Archdeacon STRACHAN as its first Bishop, in 1839 [27].

Besides making provision for twenty additional Missionaries, the Society, by an advance from its General Fund and appropriations from the Clergy Reserves,† secured an income for the Bishop [28].

In 1840 Bishop Strachan commenced his first visitation of his diocese. At Niagara sixty-three persons were confirmed, "many advanced in life. . . . Of these, some pleaded want of opportunity, others that they had not till now become convinced of the salutary effects of this beautiful and attractive ordinance . . . the interesting ceremony of confirmation had drawn great attention and . . . many who had formerly thought of it with indifference, had become con-

* A short experience convinced the managers of this association of the unwisdom of maintaining an independent agency, and in 1840 it was united with the S.P.G. as a branch committee [25*a*].

† *See* pp. 161–3.

vinced that it was of apostolic appointment and therefore a duty not to be neglected.* The congregation were so much pleased that the greater number remained in church for evening prayer."

Niagara, one of the earliest congregations collected in Upper Canada, was for nearly forty years under the care of the Rev. R. ADDISON, of whom the Bishop said:—

"He was a gentleman of commanding talents and exquisite wit, whose devotedness to his sacred duties, kindliness of manners, and sweet companionship, are still sources of grateful and fond remembrance. He may justly be considered the missionary of the western part of the province. In every township we find traces of his ministrations, and endearing recollections of his affectionate visits."

The congregations at Williamsburgh and Osnabruck comprised many Dutch or German families, "formerly Lutherans," but who had "conformed to the Church." At Cornwall, where the Bishop had first commenced his ministerial labours, many whom he had baptized, now men and women, came forward to tell him they were of his children.

A spacious brick church, erected at the sole expense of the Rev. W. MACAULAY, was consecrated at Picton.

"It was supposed, before the church was built," said the Bishop, "that we had no people in the township of Halliwell. Mr. Macaulay has been nevertheless able to collect a large and respectable congregation, comprising the greater portion of the principal inhabitants of the village of Picton and its vicinity; he has likewise stations in different parts of the township where the congregations are encouraging. It has happened here, as in almost every other part of the Province, that an active, diligent, and pious Missionary, discovers and brings together great numbers of Church people, who previous to his appearance and exertions, were altogether unknown, or supposed to belong to other denominations."

After the confirmation of twenty-one persons an offering of £50, to be continued for three years, was presented by the "young ladies" of the neighbourhood towards supporting a travelling Missionary in Prince Edward district [29]. The number of persons confirmed in the diocese in 1840 was 1,790, and during the next visitation nearly 4,000. This involved toilsome journeys over woods "in many places dangerous and impracticable—a rough strong farmer's waggon" being the only vehicle that dared attempt them—the rate of progress being sometimes scarcely a mile an hour [30]. In 1841 the Bishop reported that the province, which but for the Society would have been "little better than a moral waste," had now eighty clergymen, and there was "scarcely a congregation in the Diocese that has not cause to bless the Society for reasonable and liberal assistance" [31]. [*See also* the Bishop's Charge 1841; Speech of Chief Justice Robinson of Canada at the London Mansion House Meeting, 1840; and Addresses of Bishop and Clergy, 1841, 1844, 1847 [31*a*].] On the last occasion (1847) it was stated that there were "but few" of the churches in the diocese towards the erection of which the Society had not contributed [32].†

Notwithstanding all that had been done the diocese in some parts presented what the Bishop described in 1844 as an "appalling degree of spiritual destitution." Settlers were daily met with who told "in

* A similar effect was produced by a confirmation at Burford in 1842 [28*a*].

† "The whole of the Churches . . . existing in the British Colonies of North America," in 1845, had, "with but few exceptions . . . received grants towards their erection from the funds of the Society" [32*a*].

deep sorrow" that they had "never heard Divine service since they came to the country" [33]. It was with the view of inducing "every individual member of the Church" in the diocese to do all they could "to extend to the whole population of the province that knowledge of salvation which is our most precious treasure" that the Diocesan Church Society was organised in 1842. In advocating its establishment the Bishop paid the following tribute to the Missionaries sent to Canada by the S.P.G.: "Well have these servants of God fulfilled the glorious objects of their Divine mission, by proofs, daily given, of such piety, zeal and labour, mentally and bodily, of hardship patiently endured and fortitude displayed, as render them not unworthy of the primitive ages of the Church" [34].

Within four years of its formation the Diocesan Church Society "leavened the whole Province," and was enabled to support from ten to twelve additional Missionaries. In drawing up its Constitution and Bye-Laws those of the S.P.G. were as closely as possible followed, and it speaks wonders for the growth of the Missionary spirit that in the second year of its existence the income of the daughter Society exceeded that received by the parent Society in any one year for the first ten years after its incorporation.* The advantages of an organisation uniting as well as creating new forces were shown in a striking manner in 1852, when the Canadian Legislature passed an Act divesting itself of its privilege of presenting to certain Rectories† of nominal value in Upper Canada, and placing the "embarrassing patronage" at the disposal of the Diocesan Church Society. In a disunited diocese such a gift would have led to endless bickerings, but the Church Society unanimously agreed‡ to lodge the new power in the hands of the Bishop of Toronto [35].

In the same year that the Diocesan Society was founded a Theological College was established at Cobourg, and in the following year (1843) the Church University of King's College at Toronto. On the secularisation of the latter institution the new Church University of Trinity College was organised in 1852, with the assistance of the S.P.G., and Cobourg College (also fostered by the Society) was merged in it.§ [*See* p. 778.]

As an instance of "what the Church would effect in promoting peace and loyalty, were it zealously supported by the Imperial Government instead of prisons, police and troops," the Bishop sent the Society in 1843 the following account of the Mission at Lloydtown:—

"There is something worthy of remark in regard to this Mission. Lloydtown was considered the focus of the rebellion, which broke out in this province in 1837.

* Independent of the local branch associations the Diocesan Church Society received in 1844 £1,800, besides considerable grants of land for Church endowment; in 1845, £2,735; in 1846, £3,004 [35*a*]. Compare this with the S.P.G. Table on p. 830.

† In 1836 Governor Sir John Colborne, with the advice of his Council, erected fifty-seven rectories in Upper Canada, assigning to each a glebe of 400 acres [35*b*]. The land was described in 1840 as "chiefly unproductive" [35*c*].

‡ On opening the meeting on the occasion the Bishop "could see on looking round many with their papers in their hands impatient to bring their wisdom forward." But as he "addressed the meeting with a frank and honest boldness" he "could see more than one . . . putting their plans in their pocket"; and after a long discussion the patronage was conferred on him "by acclamation" [35*d*].

§ Further assistance towards the endowment of Trinity College was rendered by the Society in 1864 (£500) and in 1884 (£100) [36].

Before that time, such was the hatred of the inhabitants of the village to the Church of England, that it was scarcely safe for one of our Missionaries to approach it. Lloydtown suffered very much from the outbreak, and during their distress, and while some troops remained in it stationary to keep order, the Rev. F. L. Osler, of Tecumpseth, ventured to visit the place. At first his ministrations were in a great measure confined to the troops, but with a kind discretion he seized upon this period of affliction to extend his services to the inhabitants generally; and it pleased God to bless his labours in the most singular manner, so that a large congregation has been gathered, an excellent-sized church built, the character of the village redeemed as to loyalty, and a complete change effected among the people in their sentiments respecting the Church of England; formerly they seemed all enemies, now the majority are steady and zealous friends. . . . On the 6th of August I held a confirmation at Lloydtown; the church was filled almost to suffocation" [37].

While the Missionaries were advancing the welfare of the State by making its subjects loyal and peaceable, the Government was seeking to deprive the Church of her rightful inheritance—an object which was at last fully accomplished. The story of the Canadian Clergy Reserves and their confiscation may be thus summarised:—

At the conquest of Canada by Great Britain the Roman Catholic Church was liberally tolerated, and left in possession of very considerable property.* At the same time it was distinctly understood in the Imperial Parliament that the Anglican Establishment was to be the National Church. In reply to an enquiry in 1785 as to what steps Government had taken since the last peace towards establishing the Church in North America, the Society was informed by Lord Sydney, with regard to Canada, that instructions had been given to the Governor of Quebec to appropriate lands for glebes and schools, that "the salaries to the four Ministers of the Church of England already established in that Province" were "paid out of His Majesty's revenue arising therein"; and on the general question it was added that the Government would co-operate with the Society "in affording to His Majesty's distressed and loyal subjects" in North America "the means of Religious Instruction, and attending the Public Worship of Almighty God," and that "the funds for the support of Ministers arise from the annual grants of Parliament or His Majesty's revenue."

In 1791, when the two distinct provinces of Upper and Lower Canada were established—the royal instructions to the Governor having previously declared the Church of England to be the established religion of the Colony—a reservation of one-seventh of all the lands in Upper Canada and of all such lands in the Lower Province as were not already occupied by the French inhabitants was made (by Act 31 George III.) for the support of a "Protestant Clergy" with a view to providing for the spiritual wants of the Protestant population of the country. While these lands remained mere waste tracts the exclusive right of the Church of England to them was not questioned, but when it was seen that they were becoming valuable other claimants arose in the Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland and various Dissenters. From 1818 to 1854 the subject of the Clergy Reserves was more or less

* The endowments "for the support of the Roman Catholic Church in Lower Canada," were valued by the Bishop of Toronto in 1840, at £4,500,000 [88]. In Upper Canada the R. C. Clergy were "but poorly provided for."

a "burning question" in Canada. It was constantly complained that the Anglican Church held large districts of unimproved land to the inconvenience and injury of the neighbouring settlers.

In 1819 the law officers of the Crown in England advised that the provisions of the Act might "be extended to the Clergy of the Church of Scotland but not to dissenting ministers." The question, being an inconvenient one for the Home Government to settle, was referred to the Provincial Legislature, to whom, however, the entire alienation of the lands and their application to the purposes of general education or a reinvestment of them in the Crown was repeatedly recommended. In 1827 the Imperial Parliament authorised the sale of one-fourth of the Reserves in quantities not exceeding 100,000 acres in any one year. On the main question, which had been left undecided, the local Legislature and Executive Council at length so far agreed as to pass an Act (in 1839) for the appropriation of one-half of the annual proceeds of the property (after payment of certain guaranteed stipends) to "the Churches of England and Scotland," and the residue "among the other religious bodies or denominations of Christians recognised by the constitution and laws of the Province, according to their respective numbers to be ascertained once in every four years." The members of the Church of England in the province "assented" to this arrangement as a "compromise, and for the sake of peace." But since "some of its enactments were in contravention of existing Acts of Parliament" the scheme was disallowed by the Home Government, and an Act of the Imperial Parliament took its place. This Act of 1840 (3 and 4 Vict. cap. 78) provided for the gradual sale of the Clergy Reserves, and for the appropriation of two-sixths of the proceeds to the Church of England, and one-sixth to "the Church of Scotland in Canada." The residue was to be applied by the Governor of Canada with the advice of his Executive Council "for purposes of public worship and religious instruction in Canada." The Church of England portion was to be expended under the authority of the S.P.G. To the Church, a final settlement, even on such terms as the loss of two-thirds of her property, had become desirable, for apart from the undeserved odium brought upon her by the dispute, the property itself was wasting away under a system of mismanagement. Even after the passing of the Act it was necessary to remonstrate against the waste, and a Select Committee of the Canadian Legislature reported in 1843: "There is really no proportion or connexion whatever between the service rendered to the fund and the charges which are imposed upon it." Under a more economical system of management it was soon possible not only to meet the sum (£7,700) guaranteed to certain clergymen during their lives, but also to provide for the extension of the Church.

Notwithstanding that the settlement of 1840 "was intended" to be "final" and "was accepted and acquiesced in by all parties as such" until 1850, the Imperial Parliament in 1853 surrendered the Clergy Reserves to the Canadian Legislature to be dealt with at its pleasure. The Society petitioned against this injustice, but in vain, and in 1855 (by Act of the Colonial Legislature, Dec. 18, 1854) the property was "alienated from the sacred purposes to which it had *hitherto* been devoted and transferred to the several municipalities

within the boundaries of which the lands were situated." The only limitation imposed by the Imperial Legislature was that the life interests of the existing Clergy should be secured. With one consent, however, the Clergy commuted the aggregate of their life interests for a capital fund to be invested for the permanent endowment of the Church. In Upper Canada the amount thus secured for ever was calculated at £222,620 currency.* This sum, it was reckoned, would produce in colonial investments £12,244 per annum, but the amount of stipends then actually payable to the Clergy was £18,643, leaving a deficiency of £6,399. No effort was spared by the diocese (Toronto) itself to meet the great and unexpected difficulties into which it had been thus thrown; but while doing all that was possible to elicit local support, the Bishop (Jan. 6, 1855) made a final appeal to the Society for assistance:—

"Bear with me in anxiously pressing upon the Society a favourable consideration of the . . . aid which we require in carrying out this scheme of commutation, and allow me to say, that it will be to the Society the most graceful release imaginable from the growing wants of this vast Diocese; for, were it fully arranged and in active operation, with attendant certainty and steady advancement, the courage it would inspire, and the excitement it would create, would doubtless enable us to shorten the period during which we should require pecuniary aid. But if we are left in the wasting condition of dying out, the Society will be compelled during the process to advance much greater help than we now pray for, and even then hope will wither.

"I would rather contemplate the Society administering her generous aid while we require it, and sending her last donation with her blessings, and prayers, and parting greetings of encouragement. It would be a most affecting separation from the greatest of her Colonial Missions, and yet turned into a most glorious triumph. She found Canada a wilderness nearly seventy years ago, but now a populous and fertile region, sprinkled throughout with congregations, churches, and clergymen, fostered by her incessant care, and now carrying the blessings of the Gospel across this immense continent to millions yet unborn."

The Society responded (July 20, 1855) by voting a sum of £7,500, spread over the three years 1856-7-8 [39].

From this time Toronto as a diocese has stood on its own resources with no other external aid than a small endowment derived from a few Crown rectories and the support rendered by the Society in aid of Missions to the Indians.†

"The best evidences of the fruits . . . realized from the judicious nursing of the . . . Church by the Society" (wrote Bishop Sweatman in 1881) are "in the growth in self-sustaining strength and the successive subdivision into flourishing dioceses of the now adult and independent offspring" [40].

The first subdivision took place in 1857, when the Diocese of Toronto, having obtained legislative powers to meet in Synod of Clergy and Laity, exercised its powers by erecting the See of Huron. The original diocese in its settled parts was able to support its Church from local resources; but the Society extended temporary assistance to the newer and more destitute settlements comprised within the new bishopric. For the "true and permanent interest" of the diocese no less than for the economical expenditure of its own funds, the Society's

* In Lower Canada the amount was small. [*See* p. 150.]

† In 1860-1 the Society authorised the conveyance of its lands in Canada West to the Diocesan Church Societies of Toronto and Huron [40*a*].

grants were accompanied with the conditions that within three years the people in each assisted mission should have taken measures for securing its independence by erecting either (1) a parsonage and glebe, (2) a church, or collecting an endowment fund equal to half the grant. Within seven years twenty missions, with sixty-three out-stations, had been established, and in every case the Church had made most "gratifying progress" [41].

With the exception of a small grant to an Indian Mission at Walpole Island, which was continued to 1885 [*see* p. 173], Huron was enabled to dispense with the Society's assistance in 1882. The diocese, which began with 41 clergymen, had now 132, and was in "a prosperous condition" [42].

A similar course was observed in the case of the Diocese of Ontario, the formation of which was promoted by a grant from the Society of £1,000 in aid of the endowment of the Bishopric [43]. Containing 152 townships, each about 100 square miles in extent, with a total population of 390,000, and fifty-five clergymen, the Diocese started in 1862 "with no resources whatever" beyond a grant from the Society. "I was thus enabled," Bishop Lewis said, "to keep up the Missions, which would otherwise have been closed." The Missionary at Almonte reported in 1863 that the Church was "progressing wonderfully." "Numbers who had lapsed to Methodism" now attended his services, and he had baptized many children of Presbyterian parents [44].

With the year 1878 the Society's aid to the diocese, which was being gradually withdrawn, entirely ceased. In that period the number of Clergy had been nearly doubled, $500,000 of invested capital been raised, 140 new churches built, and with few exceptions every clergyman supplied with a parsonage and glebe land. These results the Bishop attributed in a great measure to the organisation of a Synod of Clergy and Laity. "This created such a feeling of confidence and interest that the laity had no scruple in throwing themselves into the work and casting their alms into the treasury of the Church" [45].

It was the privilege of Bishop Strachan to witness the rapid progress towards independence of these two new dioceses which he had done so much to bring into existence. At his ordination in 1803 he made the sixth clergyman in Upper Canada; at his death in 1867 he was "one of three Bishops having together jurisdiction over 248" [46].

In 1873 Toronto was relieved of the northern portion of its territory by the erection of the Diocese of Algoma, a district then consisting principally of Indian reserves, but now comprising a population nine-tenths of which are emigrants from the mother country. Inasmuch as this diocese is the creation of the Canadian Church "as a field of Home Missionary operations," it receives "two-thirds of all unappropriated funds contributed by the laity of this ecclesiastical province in response to her annual Ascensiontide appeal" [47].

The poverty of the settlers, however, has rendered necessary more assistance than has been supplied from this source, and in 1880 and 1882 the Bishop reported there are "thousands of our members scattered throughout this vast diocese, to whom the sound of the

church-going bell is a thing of the past, thousands who are living and dying without any opportunity of participating in the means of grace." "Elsewhere the Church . . . is converting Pagans into Christians; is it not at least equally necessary to prevent Christians becoming Pagans?" [48]. The Society has done much to supply the required means [49]. It has also contributed (since 1872) £1,658 towards the endowment of the see [50].

By the formation of the See of Niagara in 1875 Upper Canada now comprises five dioceses, all of which, except Algoma, are self-supporting. As a separate *diocese* Niagara has not received aid from the Society; but the Missions contained in it were either planted by the Society or are the direct outcome of its work [50*a*]. It may be recorded here that in 1871 the Society initiated a movement for collecting and circulating among the Clergy in England reliable information (obtained from the local Clergy) as to openings for emigrants in the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario, where they could continue within the reach of Church ministrations [51].

The removal of the Mohawks from the United States to Canada, and their settlement on the Grand River and in the Bay of Quenti, has already been mentioned [*see* pp. 74, 140, 154]: it remains to tell of the Society's work among them and other Indian tribes in Upper Canada.

Immediately on the formation of the Mohawk settlement at Tyonderoga, Quenti Bay (1784), "a young Loretto Indian" (Mr. L. Vincent) was appointed Catechist and Schoolmaster there, and on the Rev. Dr. STUART'S second visit (in 1785), the Indians expressed their "thankfulness for the Society's kind care and attention to them especially in the appointment" [52]. They were also "greatly rejoiced" when the Society came forward with help for the completion of a church which they had begun. The building was so far finished in 1790 as to enable Mr. Thomas, a Mohawk, formerly clerk at the Fort Hunter Mission, New York State, to perform Divine Service in it every Sunday. A few years later this duty was performed by "a son of their principal Chief," who valued himself much "on being a godson of the Bishop of Nova Scotia"* The church was rebuilt and enlarged by General Prescot in 1798. It was furnished with a "neat altar-piece, containing the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, in the Mohawk language, surrounded by the Royal Arms of England, handsomely carved and gilt, as well as with a fine-toned bell." These were given by George the Third. The Mohawks had preserved the Communion Plate entrusted to them in 1712 "the gift" (as the inscription on it denoted) "of Her Majesty, Queen Anne, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and her Plantations in North America, Queen, to her Indian Chapel of the Mohawks." [*See* p. 70.] This service of plate, being originally intended for the nation collectively, was divided, and a part retained by their brethren on the Grand River; and such was the care of the Mohawks, that more than forty years later the Missionary of Quenti Bay wrote:—

"Although it has been confided to the care of individuals of the nation for at

* Bishop Charles Inglis, p. 852.

least one hundred and thirty years, the articles we have here in use are in an excellent state of preservation. Even 'the fair white linen cloth for the Communion table,' beautifully inwrought with devices, emblematical of the rank of the royal donor, although unfit for use, is still in such condition as to admit of these being easily traced. The grey-haired matron, a descendant of the Chief, the present guardian of these treasures, which she considers as the heirloom of her family, accounts for the mutilated state of the cloth by observing that during the revolutionary war it was buried to prevent it falling into the hands of their enemies" [53].

Visiting the Mohawks at Oswego, Grand River, in 1788, Dr. STUART found them in possession of a well-furnished wooden church. He baptized sixty-five persons, including seven adults, and was accompanied on his return as far as Niagara (about 80 miles) by Captain Brant, the Chief, and 15 other Mohawks, "who earnestly requested that he would visit them as often as possible" [54]. This he did, as well as those at Quenti, but in both instances the lack of "a resident Pastor" made itself painfully felt. The occasional visits of the Missionaries were "not sufficient to produce lasting or substantial benefit," or "to counteract the evils and temptations which on every side" predominated. The intercourse resulting from the proximity of the white settlers became "a mutual source of immorality and corruption"; and for many years the Missionaries had to complain of the relapse of the Indians into their besetting sin—drunkenness [55]. Through this time of trial the Indians often showed a desire for better things. Those at Quenti frequently went to Kingston to "receive the Sacrament and have their children baptized."

The Rev. R. ADDISON of Niagara, who with several other Missionaries ministered to the Indians of different tribes on the Grand River, reported in 1796–8 there were "about 550 belonging to the Church," and the number was increasing, as he had some "friendly serious Indians," who under his direction persuaded "the neighbouring villagers to be baptized," and taught them "the principles of Christianity as well" as they "were able." The "serious deportment and devotion" of his flock were "exemplary," and he had "18 communicants as pious and conscientious as can be found . . . in any Christian congregation." In 1810, his work among the settlers was making great progress, but he was "most satisfied with his success among the Indians: several of whom, belonging to the least cultivated tribe on the Grand River," had been lately baptized. In some years he baptized as many as 100 or 140 Indians. On one occasion a chief of the Cayuga Nation and his wife were admitted. "They had been man and wife many years, but thought it more decent and respectable to be united after the Christian Form." The Missionaries were "greatly assisted by Captain Brant, Chief of the Mohawks," in their endeavours "to bring the wandering tribes" to Christ [56].

In 1820 the Mohawks on the Grand River numbered 2,000, and those at Quenti (who had been reduced by migrations) 250. By a treaty made in this year, "20,000 acres of land in the Missisaga and 40,000 in that of the Mohawk" districts were added to Government, and Sir Peregrine Maitland expressed his readiness to appropriate the lands themselves, or the moneys arising from their sale, to the Society in

trust to provide the said Indians with Missionaries, Catechists, and Schoolmasters. The Society approved of the proposal, and requested the Bishop of Quebec to act in the matter. The Mohawks devoted a portion ($600) of the proceeds of the land sold by them to the building of a parsonage on the Grand River, and added a glebe of 200 acres [57].

A resident Missionary for them was appointed in 1823 [58]. In 1827 the Bishop of Quebec attended service in their church and preached to them, Aaron Hill, the Catechist, interpreting with "astonishing" "fluency." The Bishop was impressed with the singing of the Mohawks, who "are remarkable for their fine voices, especially the women, and for their national taste for music." The communicants "received the Sacrament with much apparent devotion." A deputation of the chiefs "expressed their sincere thanks to the Society for the interest" it had "so long taken in their welfare," especially for the recent appointment of the Rev. W. HOUGH as resident Missionary. His influence "had already produced a visible good effect upon their habits in general, and they hoped it might be lasting" [59].

Besides the Mohawks there were several Christians of the Tuscarora and Onondaga nations, and some of other tribes to whom Mr. Hough ministered. The Tuscaroras had a small house for public worship, in which the Church Service was regularly read every Sunday morning and evening. He witnessed a "great improvement in their religious condition," and they "learnt to sing their hymns almost as well as the Mohawks" [60].

On Mr. HOUGH'S resignation, in ill health, in 1827, the Bishop of Quebec availed himself of the services of the Rev. R. LUGGER as a "temporary substitute," and "permitted him to occupy the parsonage house," then unfinished, but which was completed by "the New England Company," of which he was a Missionary. The Society at first reserved the right of resuming the Mission, but the arrangement was allowed to continue. The severance "of the pastoral connection that had subsisted for more than a century with this interesting people" was not "yielded to without much reluctance on the part of the Society." But inasmuch as they would still "enjoy the services of an Episcopal Clergyman" "under the authority and control of the Bishop," it "consented to leave them under his charge" and applied the resources set at liberty to other portions of the same nation [61].

At this station in 1830 the Bishop of Quebec consecrated "the Mohawk Church, the oldest but one in the diocese," and confirmed 89 persons, of whom 80 were Indians. Arrangements were also made for providing a resident Missionary for Quenti Bay, where the Mohawks had set apart a glebe towards his support [62].

Writing of a visit there in 1840 the Bishop of Toronto said:—

"The situation of the church and parsonage looks very beautiful from the bay. The Rev. S. Givens, Missionary, came on board in a small boat, rowed by six young Indians. The parsonage is very comfortable; and Mrs. Givens seems an amiable person, highly educated, and well-bred, and a suitable companion for a Missionary living in the woods, with no society but the aborigines of the country. The church was crowded. Many of the white settlers had come to attend on an occasion so solemn. The congregation, however, consisted chiefly of Indians. The worthy

Missionary brought forward forty-one candidates for confirmation, some rather aged. I addressed them through an interpreter, and, I trust in God, with some effect, as it seemed from their appearance. We all felt it to be a blessed time, and the psalm of praise offered up was overpowering from its sweetness and pathos. The voices of the Indian women are peculiarly sweet and affecting; and there was such an earnest solemnity evinced in their worship, as could not fail to strike all who were present" [63].

From 1810 the office of Catechist at Quenti had been filled by John Hill, a Mohawk. "Sincere and faithful in the discharge of his duties," he was enabled "during thirty years to witness a good confession before his brethren," and at his death in 1841 the white settlers in the neighbourhood united with the Indians in showing respect to departed worth [64].

While the work at Quenti and on the Grand River was progressing satisfactorily, Indian Missions had been opened in other quarters. Reporting to Government on the state of the Church in Canada in 1838, Bishop G. J. MOUNTAIN (of Montreal) said:—

"I cannot forbear . . . from introducing some mention . . . of the labours of our clergy among the native Indians. There are two clergymen stationed among the Six Nations on the Grand River. . . . A Missionary has been sent to the Manatoulin Islands and another to the Sault St. Marie. . . . These four are engaged exclusively in the charge of the Indians. There are two other clergymen who combine this charge with that of congregations of Whites; one in the Bay of Quinté, where a branch of the Mohawk tribe is established, and one who resides in Carodoc, and devotes part of his time to the Mounsees and Bear Creek Chippewas in his neighbourhood. I have never seen more orderly, and to all appearance, devout worshippers than among some of these Indian congregations which I visited, and I have the fullest reason to believe that the Ministry of the Clergy among them has been attended with very happy effects" [65].

The Sault St. Marie Ojibway Mission was begun between 1831-3 by the Rev. W. M'MURRAY. "The principal chief, with his two daughters," soon "abandoned idolatry," and many others were baptized.

"It is truly astonishing" (wrote Mr. M'Murray) "to see the thirst there is for Scriptural knowledge. The Indians, like the men of Macedonia, are calling for help—for Missionaries—from all quarters. . . . Two bands of Indians came to me, from a distance of more than four hundred and fifty miles, for the express purpose of being instructed in the Great Spirit's Book, as they call the Bible, and being baptized. They stated that they had long heard of this Mission, and had now come to see 'the black coat,' their usual designation of the Clergyman, and to hear him speak the good news, of which they had heard a little. I hope to see the time, ere long, when Missionaries will go in search of these poor sheep instead of seeing them travel so far in search of Missionaries."

A church was built by Government, but on Mr. M'Murray's departure they returned to their old settlement at Garden River. The Rev. F. A. O'MEARA carried on the work from 1839 to 1841, when he was removed to Manitoulin Island. Though deserted, the Indians retained an attachment to the Church of England, resisting sectarian and Romanist efforts to draw them away [66].

To the Rev. G. A. ANDERSON, who in 1848 was sent to re-establish a Mission among them, they said:—

"We were left a second time without a Black Coat—no one to read the Great Spirit's book to us. We were determined, however, notwithstanding the dark prospect before us, to attend to the words of our first Black Coat and keep together.

We accordingly assembled every Sunday, and prayed to the great Spirit to look with an eye of pity upon us, and send some one to instruct us in the Good Book our Black Coats used to speak to us about. . . . Now we thank the Great Black Coat that he hath sent you to us" [67].

The Mission at Manatoulin (Indian "Mahneetooahneng") Island arose out of a plan originated by Captain Anderson in connection with the Canadian Government, with a view to collecting all the Indians in the province on one of the islands on the north shore of Lake Huron. The people for whose benefit the Mission was set on foot were Ottahwahs and Ojibwas (or Chippewahs), two tribes of the Algonquin nation, speaking the same language with a variation of dialect. The Ottahwahs having been brought up on the rich lands of Michigan were more adapted for farming than the Ojibwas of Lakes Superior and Huron, accustomed to a life of wandering. "The superstitions of both tribes . . . are essentially the same, consisting in little more than a worship of terror paid to evil spirits, whom they think able to inflict terrible misfortunes on them if neglected." They were extensively acquainted with the most virulent vegetable poisons, the smoking of which would cause blindness.

In May 1836 Captain Anderson, with the Rev. A. ELLIOT and a schoolmaster, began the formation of a Mission settlement on Manatoulin Island, and the scheme promised well until August, when Sir F. B. Head, who had succeeded Sir J. Colborne as Governor of the Province, "ordered" the Missionaries "to leave the work." "The Mission buildings" "were left uncompleted, the school which had been gathered with much pains, broken up, the self-denying labours of the Missionary rendered to all human appearance, abortive; and what was worst of all, an impression was left on the minds of the Indians . . . that both the Superintendent and the Missionary had grossly deceived them." In the following year Captain Anderson was allowed to complete the buildings, and on Sir George Arthur becoming Governor, a second Missionary staff was organised with the aid of Archdeacon Strachan. The party (Captain Anderson, the Rev. C. C. BROUGH, a surgeon, and a schoolmaster) arrived at the station on Oct. 30, 1837, in a snowstorm, to find the Mission-house in flames, and they were obliged to winter at Penetangweshne. Worse than the loss of the buildings was the loss of confidence caused by the sudden breaking-up of the establishment in the previous year, and the suspicions of the Indians were worked on to no good purpose by the emissaries of Rome. To drive away false impressions the Missionary visited the Indians all round the northern shore of the lake, "showing them, by the privations he was willing to endure in their cause, that he sought not theirs, but them."

"It is impossible" (wrote Mr. O'Meara) "for any one who has not undertaken those Missionary journeys to have an adequate idea of what has to be endured in them. It is not the intensity of the cold, or the snow-drifts . . . that forms the worst part of them; it is when these are passed and the Missionary is about to seat himself on the ground by the wigwam fire that the worst part of the expedition has to be encountered. The filth and vermin by which he sees and feels himself surrounded are quite sufficient to make him long for the morrow's journey even though it be but a repetition of the biting winds and blinding drifts which he has already experienced. Still happy would he be, and soon would he forget even these inconveniences, if in most cases, he were received as a welcome guest, and

his message listened to with any degree of attention. . . . This is a very inadequate description of what had to be endured by that servant of God who preceded me in this Mission but they did not prevent him from persevering in his labour of love. With all his exertions however not nearly a tithe of those who at the time of the first settlement at this place gave in their adhesion to the plan, consented to receive his instructions."

After nearly four years' labour Mr. BROUGH removed to London, Canada, and the Rev. F. A. O'MEARA took up the work [68]. Visiting the Mission in 1842, the Bishop of Toronto reported:—

"On the first night of our encampment I discovered that one of our canoes was manned by converted Indians from our Mission at the Manatoulin. Before going to rest they assembled together, and read some prayers which had been translated for their use from the Liturgy. There was something indescribably touching in the service of praise to God upon those inhospitable rocks; the stillness, wildness, and darkness, combined with the sweet and plaintive voices, all contributed to add to the solemn and deep interest of the scene. I felt much affected with this simple worship, and assisted in conducting it every evening, until we reached the Manatoulin Island."

There a whole week was spent in

"preparing the candidates for confirmation and endeavouring to convert some of the heathen. . . . For this purpose besides private conferences, there was service every afternoon. . . . I administered the rite of confirmation to forty-four Indians and five whites. . . . The service . . . was long but it was solemn and interesting; and no person of a right mind could have witnessed it and heard the plaintive and beautiful singing of the sons and daughters of the forest, without being deeply affected. . . . I was nearly overcome by the bright promise of this day's service, and I felt with becoming gratitude to God, that the miserable condition of the long neglected Indians of this country would now be ameliorated through the medium of our Holy Catholic Church."

On the occasion of the Bishop's visit over 6,000 Indians were assembled at Manatoulin Island from various parts to receive the clothing and provisions annually dealt out to them by the British Government. Although the number was so great, "nothing could exceed the peace and good order which universally prevailed. No liquors were allowed them. There was no violent excitement of any sort; and while alive to their own importance they were exceedingly civil, quiet and docile" [69].

The work of Mr. O'MEARA was richly blessed. Within two years the Indians had "acquired more correct ideas concerning marriage—a strong desire to have their children educated like the whites—a disposition to raise the condition of their women—to abjure idolatry, their prophets, and the medicine bag—and a growing sense of the sinfulness of murder, drunkenness, implacable enmity and revenge" [70].

In acknowledging contributions from England towards the erection of a Mission Church, they wrote in 1846:—

"Since we came to hear the good word from the lips of him who first told us of the Great Spirit and his Son Jesus Christ, we know that the red man and the white are brethren, the children of the same father and mother, made by the same Great Spirit and redeemed by the same Saviour. . . . We rejoice to know that you regard us as brethren; for why else should you inquire after us and why else should you give your money for building us an house of prayer? . . . Brethren we thank you for the money . . . by means of which we will now see our house of prayer going on to be built" [71.]

At a Confirmation in 1848 the church was filled with the aborigines, and "to the mere spectator all appeared devout worshippers—the heathen as well as the Christian Indians." Thirty were confirmed, many of them being very aged. Afterwards the Holy Communion was administered to fifty-seven persons, chiefly Indians. Dr. O'MEARA'S services to the Church in his different translations of portions of the Prayer Book and the Bible, with his untiring labours among the Indians, received very "high commendation" from the Bishop of Toronto [72].

Constant Scriptural instruction furnished Mr. O'MEARA'S flock with "a powerful defence from the errors of Romanism," and "an effectual antidote to the fanaticism" with which they were invaded by Dissenting teachers from the United States [73].

The Rev. P. Jacobs was appointed an Assistant Missionary in 1856 [74]; and at the expiration of twenty-five years from the time they had received the Gospel an annual Missionary meeting and collection had become a recognised institution among the Indians of Manatoulin Island [75].

Previous to the opening of the Society's Missions at Delaware and Caradoc most of the Indians were "sunk in all the midnight darkness of paganism." Some years after, the Missionary, the Rev. R. FLOOD, could add: "They have now, through grace from on high, with but few exceptions, long since cast their idols to the moles and the bats, and embraced the Gospel." The majority of these Indians were Munsees, a branch of the Delaware nation, who came into Canada to assist the British against the Americans (U.S.), but Mr. Flood's ministrations extended also to the Pottowatomies, Oneidas, and Ojibways in the neighbourhood. The first convert was the leading chief of the Munsees, Captain Snake, who was baptized in 1838 [76.] At a visit of the Bishop of Toronto in 1842 the great Chippawa chief, Cunatuny, was baptized and confirmed. There were then still several pagan Indians in the two villages, and yet they, as well as the converted, were accustomed to attend the Church services. While they continued pagans they painted their faces and refused to kneel. When some doubts were expressed as to the Bishop's coming, the Indians exclaimed: "What, is he not the chief of the Church?—he can never have two words—he is sure to come." The school house, though large and commodious, could scarcely contain half the number assembled, and those that could not get in, stood in groups about the door and windows. The chief was baptized and then confirmed with four others. "His admission into the Church by the sacrament of baptism, and his public profession of the faith in coming forward for confirmation had been with him, for years, matters of deep and solemn consideration" [77].

By 1845 one hundred had been admitted to baptism and forty-five had become communicants. Speaking of a visit to them in 1854, the Bishop said:—

"When we arrived we found them practising their singing, just as might have been the case in a country Church in England. They sing in harmony, the men leading the air and taking the bass and counter-tenor and a few of the women singing somewhat analogous to the tenor. The effect is very agreeable. They have a Prayer Book in their own language, which is an abridgement of the English Prayer Book. . . . There were a fair number confirmed, of whom two were women

above forty. After the service according to their custom they all came forward to shake hands with the Bishop and those who accompanied him" [78].

In 1847 Mr. FLOOD established a new station at a village of the Oneidas, about six miles from Munceytown. This branch of the tribe—one of the Six Nation Indians—attached themselves to the Republican side during the American Revolution, and at the close of the war were located on the Oneida Lake in New York State. There they enjoyed the Church's ministrations until about 1826, when their Missionaries recommended them to dispose of their reserve of land in consequence of the encroachments of white squatters, and retire to Green Bay, Michigan, where the United States Government offered them lands on favourable terms. One half of the tribe did so, the others remained until about 1840, when they removed to the neighbourhood of the Ojibway and Muncey tribes on the River Thames, Canada. In the meantime, having been neglected by the Church in the United States, "some ran into dissent, others relapsed into heathenism." In their new home they were sought out by Mr. Flood, who "took every opportunity that presented itself to bring before them the all-important concerns of the one thing needful, as well as to remind them of the Church of their fathers, with its distinctive character; and blessed be God," said he, "with the most beneficial results, as we have now ranged on the side of the Church a majority of the chiefs and people, and thereby an influence will be given, which under the Divine blessing, cannot fail in bringing back to the fold of Christ those who have 'erred and strayed from His ways like lost sheep'" [79].

Mr. Flood also assisted in opening a Mission at Walpole Island for the Indians there, consisting of the Ojibway (mainly), Ottawa, and Pottowatomie tribes. A previous attempt had, "owing to the misconduct of the interpreter and other causes," not succeeded as was hoped. In Aug. 1842 the Chief visited the Bishop of Toronto at Sutherland, and expressed the readiness of the Indians "to receive a missionary kindly" [80].

Accordingly in 1843 the Rev. R. FLOOD, accompanied by the Rev. J. CAREY, visited Walpole Island, where they were met by "the Chiefs of the Walpole, Sable, and Port Sarnia Indians with most of their war chiefs," to the number of eighty. Mr. Flood addressed them on our Lord's commission to the Apostles to preach the Gospel, and the Apostolic succession, and explained the Gospel. "The Indians listened with deep interest," and when it was proposed to rent a house for the Missionary (Mr. Carey) the Chief said, "I want no rent, but I want the Minister to be near me and to teach me what is the good way" [81].

None of these Indians had as yet embraced Christianity, and the Rev. A. JAMIESON, who succeeded Mr. Carey in 1845, found their condition wretched in the extreme, their lazy habits fully verifying the Indian maxim: "It is better to walk than to run; it is better to stand than to walk; it is better to sit than to stand; and it is better to lie than to sit."

"My congregation during the first year was small indeed," he continued. "Sometimes . . . I would enter the Church, remain an hour or two and leave

without having any congregation at all. . . . Instead of going to Church and waiting for a congregation that never came, I went about amongst the Indians, on Sundays as at other times, and endeavoured to gain their attention to the claims of Christianity . . . in the course of a few months two or three Indians visited me once or twice a week, to ask questions about the Christian religion. . . . And one year after the commencement of my labours I was cheered by being able to baptize two Indians " [82].

From this time progress was more assured: the Indians were gradually reclaimed, and in 1854 thirty-two were confirmed [83].

By 1861 paganism had so declined that "the majority of the Indians" were "on the side of Christianity." They were hardly to be recognised as the same people, so great had been the change. "Under the benign influences of the Gospel, the improvident" had been made careful; the drunkard, sober; the impure, chaste; and the revengeful, meek and forgiving" [84].

In 1862 an epidemic swept over the island and made great ravages among the Indians. Mr. Jamieson and his wife were left alone "in the midst of a fatal and loathsome disease" (small-pox). The medical man in the neighbourhood declined to assist, "alleging that if he did so he would displease his patrons. The white men kept aloof . . . as if the island had been stricken with the plague." But the Missionary put his trust in God, and did his duty. In his efforts he was nobly seconded by Mrs. Jamieson, who "with her own hands vaccinated 280" of the Indians [85].

Large numbers were confirmed from time to time by the Bishop of Huron, who also, about 1864, ordained an Indian* to act as assistant to Mr. Jamieson, and to evangelise along the southern shore of Lake Huron [86].

In 1878 the congregation elected and sent two delegates to the Diocesan Synod, and paid their expenses. The native delegates were much impressed by the large gathering of clergy and laity, and the services and proceedings. They witnessed the ordination of eighteen candidates, and partook of the Holy Communion side by side with many of their fellow Churchmen—members of the same household of faith [87].

That the Walpole Island Indians were worthy to be represented in this Christian Council will appear from the following incident: "A number of Indians being at a distance from home were asked by some whites to get up a war-dance, and go through some of their pagan ceremonies. They quietly declined, and though bribed by the offer of whisky—no trifling temptation to the average red man—they steadily refused, saying that they had given up these things when they embraced Christianity "[88].

In reviewing the results of the Society's work in Huron Diocese, Bishop Hellmuth wrote in 1882: "No more satisfactory or successful Missionary work has ever come under my notice, for the 38 years I have been on this side of the Atlantic, than that accomplished by Mr. Jamieson on Walpole Island. . . . Your Society may congratulate itself that its funds have been so wisely and beneficially employed" [89].

On the death of Mr. Jamieson in 1885 the diocese ceased to look to

* The Rev. H. P. Chase

the way of return to your venerable
received from it during so many years."
l. "the first-fruits of a large offering
t cause of Foreign Missions," adding
at we may have our own Missionaries
heathen world; when we shall cease
Almoner of our gifts" [92].
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" [93], which in 1884 resolved :—

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butions to the Foreign Missions be divided
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d that these amounts be applied to the work
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ONTARIO* (1892-1900).

y others, but, though their Missionary
financial arrangement has proved

*der references 97–105 concern not only this Pro-
Dominion of Canada. To prevent misunder-
d that the term "Canadian Church" or "Church
as limited to the Church in "the Ecclesiastical
lly Eastern Canada—until the consolidation of
f Canada in 1893, and that this limitation still
re referred to.*

the Society for aid in carrying on its Indian Missions, and from that year Algoma has been the only diocese in Upper Canada aided by the Society.

Although the diocesan authorities (of Algoma) now regard the settlers as having a primary claim on the Society's grant,* the Society has assisted in providing and maintaining a Mission ship† by means of which the Bishop is enabled to visit the Indians as well as the settlers, and some of its Missionaries are still directly or indirectly engaged in native work. That the earlier Missions‡ of the Society have borne good fruit will be seen from a report of Bishop Sullivan in 1882:—

"The Indians number from 8,000 to 10,000, all belonging to the Ojibewa tribe, speaking therefore only one language. Since my consecration, I have had a great many means and opportunities of measuring the need and capacity for social and religious improvement. I have preached to them—prayed with them—sung the songs of Zion with them round the camp-fire—sat with them at their tables—rowed and paddled with them in their canoes—listened to their speeches at several 'pow-wows'—and, as the result of it all, I herewith avow myself the Indians' friend and stand ready to do what in me lies for their social and religious elevation. . . .

"'But,' it will be asked, 'are they *capable* of elevation?' I answer, most unhesitatingly, yes. The experiment has been tried, and has succeeded. Despite the all but insurmountable difficulties arising, in the case of adults, from the force of the confirmed habits of a lifetime, hundreds of these once degraded and ignorant pagans have been reclaimed from savagery, and are now settled down in their substantially built homes, with the comforts of an advancing civilisation round them—pictures hang on their walls—habits of cleanliness pervade their dwellings—the social and domestic virtues are honoured and respected, and the New Testament lies on their table, not by any means neglected. I could to-morrow take the most prejudiced anti-Indian to homes where he could see all this and would be compelled to acknowledge that . . . after all, the aborigines are as capable, when rightly dealt with, of social and religious elevation as any other race of men" [90].

His predecessor, Bishop Fauquier, while visiting the diocese in 1878, discovered a band of pagan Indians who had been "waiting for thirty years for an English Missionary to come to them." About 1848 their old chief was promised a teacher of the English Church by "a great white chief." The old man "lived twenty years and died in the faith of that promise, every year looking but in vain for the teacher to come." His last words to his people were that they should "not join any other religion but wait for the English Black Coat to come and teach them"; and this they had been doing ten years longer. By the establishment of a Mission at Lake Neepigon a great change for the better was effected among the Indians, both in temporal and spiritual matters, in the course of the next four years [91].

The time seems distant when this diocese will be able to dispense with outside help; still, satisfactory progress towards self-support has been shown, and some return has been made to the Society for past assistance [91*a*].

From the older Canadian dioceses the Society has long been accustomed to receive an annual token of sympathy in its work in heathen lands. In 1881 the Bishop of Toronto pledged his

* *See* p. 165. † The *Evangeline*.

‡ The Missions at Sault Ste. Marie, Garden River, and Manatoulin Island [*see* pp. 168–71] are now in the Diocese of Algoma.

diocese "to do something in the way of return to your venerable Society for all the fostering care received from it during so many years." Subsequently he forwarded £71, "the first-fruits of a large offering for the future . . . for the great cause of Foreign Missions," adding that his "aim is eventually that we may have our own Missionaries planted in every quarter of the heathen world; when we shall cease troubling the Society to be the Almoner of our gifts" [92].

The Canadian dioceses already enumerated form the *Ecclesiastical* Province of Canada [*see* p. 763]. The Provincial Synod in 1883 organised "The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada" [93], which in 1884 resolved:—

"That this Board recognising the great obligations of the Church in this country to the S.P.G., the contributions to the Foreign Missions be divided between the S.P.G. and the C.M.S. in the proportion of ⅔ds to the former and ⅓d to the latter, the sums specially appropriated by the contributors being taken into account in making such division, and that these amounts be applied to the work of [the] said Societies among the heathen" [94].

At the desire of the Board, the Bishops of the Province attending the Lambeth Conference in 1888 took counsel with the Society with a view to the Canadian Church "undertaking direct work in the foreign field."

The Canadian Board were advised not to enter upon the foreign field "until they are morally certain of a revenue for the purpose of at least $15,000 or £3,000 sterling per annum," but "as a temporary arrangement" it would "most effectively conduce to the attainment of the objects desired in common by the Church in Canada and by the S.P.G. that meanwhile the S.P.G. should receive any moneys entrusted to it by the Church in Canada for Missionary work among the heathen, on the understanding that the Society will be prepared to receive and place upon its list and pay out of the funds so contributed from Canada any well-qualified candidates who may be presented to it by the Canadian Church for work in India, Japan, and other heathen countries."

The Society is unable "to guarantee any grant in perpetuity," but the Canadian dioceses were "assured that the Society will not allow them to suffer so far as aid from England is concerned in the event of the Board . . . entering directly upon the Foreign Field instead of sending their contributions through the Society for that purpose" [95].

The advice of the Society has been accepted, and in 1890 the Canadian Board sent out its first Missionary, the Rev. J. G. WALLER, the field selected being Japan [96].

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO* (1892–1900).

Mr. Waller was followed by others, but, though their Missionary work has been fruitful, the financial arrangement has proved

* *N.B.—The matters dealt with under references* 97–105 *concern not only this Province but the Church generally in the Dominion of Canada. To prevent misunderstanding, it is necessary to bear in mind that the term "Canadian Church" or "Church in Canada," as hereinafter quoted, was limited to the Church in "the Ecclesiastical Province of Canada,"—i.e., practically Eastern Canada—until the consolidation of the Church in the whole Dominion of Canada in* 1893, *and that this limitation still applies to the Board of Missions here referred to.*

unsatisfactory to all parties. While large contributions have been diverted from its General Fund, the Society has been appealed to for assistance in carrying on the foreign work of the Canadian Board [97]. An explanation of this appeal is to be found in the fact that the system of a Board of Missions has not met with general acceptance in Canada [98]. While in theory every member of the Church in the Province of "Canada" is a member of the Board and should support it [98*a*], in reality a large proportion of the united contributions is given to a local branch of the Church Missionary Society [99]. When, therefore, in 1899 it was represented that the Canadian Board appears to be "simply the S.P.G. in Canada," while the Canadian C.M.S. is "the C.M.S. in Canada," and that if the Canadian Board paid its Missionaries direct, and not through the S.P.G., it would be able to show that the Board is "the Canadian Church* in her Missionary aspect," the Society (ever ready to promote Church order) agreed to cancel the arrangement of 1888 (page 175), so that the Canadian Church might from the year 1900 "deal directly with its agents in the foreign field in financial as well as other matters" [100]. After ten years' trial the entrance of the "Canadian Church" * on *direct* foreign Mission work in 1888 was pronounced by one of its Bishops to have been "a great mistake" [101]. In reality that work has been carried on at the cost of starving the "Domestic Missions," especially those in Manitoba and North-West Canada, where the Bishops have been embarrassed and disheartened by the small assistance received from Eastern Canada, even since the consolidation of the Church. By this event, which took place in 1893 [102], the two existing Ecclesiastical Provinces known as "Canada" and "Rupert's Land," together with two of the three existing dioceses of British Columbia, were welded into one great Church, embracing all the dioceses of the Dominion except Caledonia, and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The first General Synod for the whole Dominion was organised at Toronto in September 1893 [103]. The Society felt that the poorer dioceses of Canada had now "a claim on the richer far stronger than was the case before the consolidation of the Ecclesiastical Provinces, and much more urgent than they have on the Society." Accordingly the Society reduced its grants to Canada for 1897 by ten per cent., excepting in the case of the dioceses of New Westminster and Caledonia. In reaffirming this policy in 1898 and again in 1900† the Society expressed its readiness "to meet special needs by special single sum grants according to the urgency of the case and the funds at the Society's disposal." Indeed, the dioceses principally affected have already received substantial aid in this form [104]. In the opinion of the Society, the richer and older parts of Canada "have not only the obligation of supporting the poorer, but might well rejoice in having the opportunity of doing so" [105]. (*See* also page 180*b*.)

* The Canadian annual contribution to the Society's General Fund diminished by about five-sixths in the course of a few years [97*a*].

† On the latter occasion the Society had before it a memorial from the Ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land against the reduction policy, addressed to the President and Episcopal Vice-Presidents (of the Society) in England [104*a*].

Algoma Diocese (*see* p. 174).—The illness of Bishop Sullivan, first contracted from exposure on a Missionary tour in 1893, led to his resignation of the Bishopric in 1896* [106]. His last reports showed that the Church in Algoma occupies a strong and abiding position in many neighbourhoods, where but for the Society's assistance it must have died out, and that its proportionate growth is in advance of that of any other diocese in the Dominion, but, excepting at one or two points, the diocese, owing to its poverty, could "never be self-supporting" [107]. The Bishop had established a Clergy Widows' and Orphans' Fund, the Bishopric Endowment Fund, and the nucleus of a Clergy Pension Fund [108], but he longed in vain for a partial Endowment Scheme or Sustentation Fund, which, while leaving room for the offerings of Churchmen, would at the same time protect the clergyman from the risks created by entire dependence on them, *e.g.* :—

"Some lay (or lady) pope, whose name figures largely on the subscription list, is offended by something the clergyman is alleged to have said or done, or, perhaps, failed to say or do. Personal pride and vanity are deeply wounded, but revenge is sweet, and, lo! the annual subscription is withdrawn, and, it may be, other parishioners are induced to follow suit, the whole parish being embarrassed by the action of two or three families. Such are some of the advantages (?) of the voluntary principle on which we are left wholly dependent for local support" [109].

The successor of Bishop Sullivan, Dr. G. Thorneloe (consecrated in 1897), who bears testimony to the "splendid work" accomplished by Bishop Sullivan, is energetically developing the principle of self-support, and his efforts have been encouraged by special aid from the Society for the Clergy Sustentation Fund [110], and for Church and School buildings†[111]. At the present time (1900) the material prospects of the country are brightening; but the gains of the Church will be counterbalanced by the fresh demands for ministrations as new settlements are created and by the growing competition on the part of other Christian bodies. In the diocese, which is "at least as large as all the English dioceses put together," the work of the Society's missionaries is, in most cases, quiet, monotonous, and uneventful—work which lacks the stimulus of excitement and adventure met with in heathen lands. For this reason it is often harder than more adventurous work, and lays under heavier contribution the missionaries' powers of heart and mind and will [112].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 192.)

* He then became Rector of St. James' Cathedral, Toronto, a post which he held till his death, which took p'ace at Mentone on January 6, 1899.

† Including £250 voted in 1897 from the Marriott bequest, towards the erection of buildings for the Wawanosh Home at Sault Ste. Marie for training Indian girls.

THE MOST REV. ROBERT MACHRAY, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L., ARCHBISHOP OF RUPERT'S LAND.

(The first Archbishop of the English-Colonial Church.)

Primate of All Canada, Prelate of the Order of St. Michael and St. George.

[*See* p. 180c.]

CHAPTER XXI.

MANITOBA AND THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES (formerly RUPERTSLAND).

THE country was discovered by Hudson in 1610, and in 1670 assigned by Charles II. to Prince Rupert and others—a corporate body commonly known as the Hudson's Bay Company. The original colony of "Rupertsland" comprised "all the Lands and Territories upon the countries, coasts, and confines of the Seas, Bays, Lakes, Rivers, Creeks, and Sounds, in whatsoever latitude they shall be that lie within the entrance of the Straits commonly called Hudson's Straits that were not actually possessed or granted to any of his subjects or possessed by the subjects of any other Christian Prince or State." On the surrender of the Company's Charter to the Crown, "Rupertsland" was incorporated in the Dominion of Canada, and representative institutions were granted (1870) to the province of Manitoba then erected. The North-West Territories were formed into a distinct Government in 1876; in 1882 the organised Territories were divided into four provisional districts—Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Athabasca; and in 1895 the unorganised and unnamed Territories were divided into the provisional districts of Ungava, Franklin, Yukon, and Mackenzie, and the boundaries of Athabasca were extended. In 1897 the Yukon district was constituted a separate territory. Under the Earl of Selkirk an agricultural settlement was formed on the banks of the Red River in 1811. When Governor Semple was sent out from England in 1815 he was required to ascertain if any trace existed of either temple of worship or idol, and whether it would be practicable to gather the children together for education and industrial training. In his report he said: "I have trodden the burnt ruins of houses, barns, a mill, a fort and sharpened stockades; but none of a Place of Worship, even upon the smallest scale. I blush to say that, over the whole extent of the Hudson's Bay Territories, no such building exists." Ere this "foul reproach" was removed "from among men belonging to a Christian nation" the Governor was slain in an incursion of the natives. The Hudson's Bay Company had not been entirely unmindful of their religious duties: the chief factor at each post being required to read the Church Service to their employés every Sunday. In 1820 they sent out the Rev. J. West as Chaplain to the settlement. Desirous of benefiting the heathen also, he offered his services to the Church Missionary Society, with the view of establishing schools for the Indians, and that Society provided him with £100 to make a trial. In 1822 the Company solicited the aid of the S.P.G. in "furnishing them with a Missionary or in a donation for the erection of a Church at the settlement on the Red River," but no help could be spared [1]. Mr. West opened a school, and in 1823 a church was built near the spot where Governor Semple fell; and the Rev. D. T. Jones was sent out by the C.M.S. to form a regular Mission under Mr. West, who, however, returned to England the same year. In 1825 Mr. Jones was joined by the Rev. W. Cockran (C.M.S.) Up to this time the labours of the Missionaries had been directed chiefly to the European settlers and their descendants of

mixed blood. Owing to the wandering habits of the Indians no systematic effort had been made on their behalf, with the exception of the Indian School; but Mr. Cockran formed an industrial settlement in 1832, and in 1834 baptized 20 Indians—10 being adults. Under his management such progress was made that when in 1844* Bishop G. J. Mountain of Quebec visited the settlement he found four churches attended by 1,700 persons, and nine schools with 485 scholars. Including half-breeds and Europeans 846 persons were confirmed. The number of communicants was 454; but in two of the churches there was "no Communion table and no place reserved for it." The "necessity of establishing a Bishop in those territories" was so powerfully urged by Dr. Mountain that in 1849 Rupertsland was erected into a diocese and the Rev. David Anderson consecrated its first Bishop [*see* p. 704].

In 1850 the Society responded to a request of the Bishop to enter the field [1*a*]. Its first Missionary, the Rev. W. H. Taylor (of Newfoundland), who was placed in charge of the district of Assiniboia in 1851, thus describes his arrival in the diocese in 1850:—

"We had been six weeks or more journeying over the extensive prairies which lie between the United States and this country. We had been in the wilderness exposed to the savage hordes of Indians . . . and the wild beasts, scarcely less fearful . . . and the sight of neat and quiet dwellings with their apparent safety and comfort was most pleasing. . . . As we travelled down the Assiniboine to the settlement on the Red River, we could see the little farms on the river's side and the banks filled with stacks of corn and fodder, with vast herds grazing at large in the plains. . . . Then the French Church, the fort . . and in the distance the English Church and the Bishop's house, told us that we were again in a land where the true God was known and worshipped" [2].

Mr. Taylor's charge embraced a district about 30 miles in extent, containing a scattered population of European, French-Canadian, mixed (half-breeds) and Indian races. Service was held at first in a schoolroom in the centre of the settlement, 3½ miles above Fort Garry. Near the rendezvous of the Indians who visited the settlement in the summer, and within sight "of the scalps suspended over the graves of the poor dark departed ones," and "on the spot where for years . . . the heathen revels have been performed," was built in due time (with the Society's aid) "a temple to the living God." In May 1852, before either church or parsonage was finished, a mighty flood swept over the surrounding district, and the parsonage and glebe became "a place of safety for a homeless, houseless, population" including the Bishop and his family [3]. In their battles with the elements the early settlers were often worsted. Thus in one winter Mr. Taylor wrote of the "freezing of the ink in the pen while filling up the marriage register. Immediately the pen came in contact with the air in the church the ink became solid . . . though a great fire was burning in the stove" [4]. In 1855 the Mission became the organised parish of St. James, Assiniboine, with a consecrated church,† calculated to raise the tone of public worship in the Diocese [5]. The district for many miles round continued to benefit from Mr. Taylor's labours until 1867, when illness obliged him to remove to England [6].

In 1852 the Society made provision for stationing a clergyman at York Fort in response to an appeal which the Bishop forwarded from the Indians there. They had had "occasional visits from Protestant ministers," and were endeavouring, so far as their knowledge went, to worship God "in spirit and in truth," reading the books printed in their own tongue, praying night and morning, and observing the

* The total population of the Red River Settlement was then 5,143—of whom 2,798 were Roman Catholics.

† Consecrated May 29. 1855.

Sabbath. But they felt "like a flock of sheep without a shepherd." "Long have we cried for help" (they concluded); "will you not take pity upon us, our ignorant wives, our helpless children, many of whom are still unbaptized, and some of us too?" [7].

The Bishop's selection of the Rev. R. McDonald for this post was approved by the Society, but it was deemed advisable to send a clergyman of greater experience, and such an one could not be obtained until 1854, when the Mission was undertaken by the C.M.S. [8].

From 1854 to 1859 the Society supported the Rev. T. Cochrane at St. John's, Red River, who was entrusted with the charge of the Collegiate School for the training (among others) of candidates for the ministry [9].

The next Mission of the Society was formed at Fort Ellice, or Beaver Creek, 240 miles to the westward of the Assiniboine River, where the Rev. T. Cook was appointed in 1862 to minister to the Indians, half-breeds, and the few English of the district. Being "native born" Mr. Cook was "equally familiar with both languages," and at Bishop Machray's first ordination he "preached in the Cree language for the benefit of the Indians present" [10]. The new Bishop (who succeeded Dr. Anderson in 1865) was much impressed by "the great good going on" in the diocese, and "the great difference between Indians in a heathen state and those even but nominally under the softening and yet elevating influences of the Gospel" [11].

The Bishop doubted whether the Society had "another Heathen station so removed from the conveniences of life as Fort Ellice; above 700 miles from any market with a people in the very lowest condition . . . and, alas! for many a long day, no hope of improvement in temporal things." The few things the Indians possessed—huts and blankets or coats—were generally deeply pledged for skins [12].

The wandering habits of the Indians added to the task of their conversion. The half-breeds could be regularly assembled for service and instruction at Fort Ellice, but to win the pure natives it was necessary to follow them in their wanderings over hill and plain, and instruct them in wilderness and wigwam. Fort Pelly, Touchwood Hill, Qu'Appelle Lake, and other places were visited, and among the pure natives ministered to were the Saulteaux, Crees, Assiniboines, and Sioux. Since buffalo-hunting could no longer be depended upon for obtaining a subsistence Mr. Cook sought to teach the Indians ploughing and to induce them to settle and farm for themselves. In this he met with little success, but as a Missionary he was generally acceptable, and his useful labours were continued for twelve years [13].

Previously to 1870 the Church Missions in Rupertsland had been carried on in days of "hopeless isolation," when no increase of the white population could even be expected except from the servants sent out from Great Britain by the Hudson's Bay Company [14].

Direct intercourse with England was maintained by way of Hudson's Bay, which was navigable only about four months in a year. Annually in the autumn a ship came to York Factory, but goods had to be carried inland nearly 800 miles. Even in 1865, the year of Bishop Machray's arrival, "there was a complete wilderness of 400 miles in width still separating Manitoba from the nearest weak white settlements" [15].

The union of the country with the Dominion of Canada (in 1870) was followed by a magnificent development. In 1871 the Bishop wrote: "I am anxious that the Society . . should seriously consider the extraordinary circumstances of the south of my diocese. I do not suppose that a doubt is anywhere entertained of the fertility of the province of Manitoba, and of a large section of country to the west of that province for a thousand miles to the Rocky Mountains. . The rapidity with which this rich country is being made accessible is marvellous and unexampled. . Language could not too strongly represent the extraordinary result to be anticipated within the next ten years" [16].

The opportunity of "taking the initiative in the great work of evangelisation for the people that are coming here" was urged with force by Lieut.-Governor Archibald at a meeting held at Winnipeg in 1872, when the Society was appealed to for increased aid [17]. At the time these appeals were made, Winnipeg had just "started as a village of a few hundred people" (300 in 1871). By 1880 its population had reached 10,000, which number was more than doubled in the next six years [18].

The Society has made and is still making great efforts to provide for the spiritual wants of the settlers. The Bishop of Rupertsland stated (in 1884–1888) that it came forward to help the Church in the most generous and sympathising manner, and with surpassing kindness and consideration:—

"These are not words of flattery for the ears of the Society but words of sober heartfelt truth from our own hearts. The Society had assisted us in some measure for many years but as the work of settlements grew it continuously increased and extended its aid, so that the position we hold in the vast tract of settlement between this and the Rocky Mountains is almost entirely owing to this noble Society. . . . It has given grants to bishoprics and colleges . . . furnished part of the salaries of Bishops till endowments were secured, given studentships for candidates for orders, and above all given large and generous grants for the support of Missions" * [19].

At this period the original diocese of Rupert's Land had been subdivided into four, viz.: Rupert's Land, founded 1849; Moosonee, 1872; Saskatchewan, 1874; Athabasca, 1874; and since then five more dioceses have been founded, viz.: Mackenzie River, 1883; Qu'Appelle, 1883; Calgary, 1887; Selkirk, 1890; and Keewatin, 1899 [20]. These dioceses form the ecclesiastical Province of Rupert's Land, and those which have been assisted by the Society it will now be convenient to take separately:—

Rupert's Land (with Keewatin) (1892–1900).

The formation of the diocese of Keewatin† will relieve Rupert's Land of the part of it in the Province of Ontario and make the diocese almost conterminous with the Province of Manitoba. Till the past four

* The annual grants for the support of the Bishops referred to have extended in the case of Saskatchewan from 1874 to 1886, and in that of Qu'Appelle from 1884 to 1891, in addition to which the Society (up to May 1901) has contributed towards the endowment of the Bishoprics of Saskatchewan (£2,092), Qu'Appelle (£3,868), and Calgary (£1,804); and to Clergy endowment: £3,500 for Rupertsland, £1,000 for Qu'Appelle, £250 for Saskatchewan, and £250 for Calgary; and £1,500 for College endowment in the Diocese of Rupertsland [19*a*].

† Keewatin diocese relieves Moosonee of its western half as well as Rupert's Land of *its eastern half, and starts* with 11 Clergy [20*a*].

years Northern Manitoba was mainly in its original wild condition, having only a few isolated settlers; but the rapid extension of railways in the western section of it has entirely changed this, and a large extent of fertile land is being rapidly settled on. The eastern part of North Manitoba remains in a wild condition, being largely taken up by lakes and swamps. In Southern Manitoba the provision of railways in advance of settlement has led to the scattering of the population, numbering only about 200,000, over an area as large as England, and the difficulties of ministering to them are enormous. Throughout the whole area are settlements set apart for French, Belgian, German, Scandinavian, Icelandic, Scotch crofter, or Russian Mennonite colonists, in which (as yet) there are practically no Churchpeople. Generally, throughout Manitoba the Presbyterian body is strongest, both in numbers and means [21]. The Anglican Church is the largest body in Winnipeg, and though its membership for the whole Province is only about one-fifth of the English and Indian population, the progress of the diocese will be found to be remarkable, and in the matter of self-support far in advance of most colonial dioceses. In 1879, when the colonial life of Rupert's Land began, there were but two clergymen among the new settlers. In 1897, though fourteen parishes had become self-supporting, and were liberally contributing to Mission funds, fifty-five Missions for settlers were being supported, and there was "not a Mission in the diocese with a village in it having 200 Churchpeople, including men, women, and children," which was "not self-supporting" and helping the Missions of the diocese [22]. In 1900 there were 21 self-supporting parishes, with (altogether) 27 clergy.*

Though still receiving large help from outside, the diocese now depends mainly on the voluntary support of its members.

In 1893 the Diocesan Synod resolved, "as a venture of faith," on the policy of establishing a Mission wherever a district of new settlements guaranteed £60 or upwards towards the salary of a clergyman. For a year or two the Church advanced "with leaps and bounds," and twenty new Missions were started; but further extension on this scale was beyond the power of the diocese, which had reckoned (but in vain, as it proved) on substantial support from the Church in Eastern Canada. (It is still, however, attempted where the people can raise £80, and in the case of large new Missions even £60 for a year or two in hopes of £80 being then raised) [23].

Far different was the position of the Presbyterians and Methodists, who, owing to the unstinted aid from their central bodies in Eastern Canada, were enabled to place two or three ministers in the new districts to the Church's one. In 1899 one-third of the Churchpeople in Manitoba were reported to be "outside the services of our clergy" [24] and over 120 congregations were without churches, almost all the Mission districts being larger than the English diocese of Sodor and Man [24*a*].

Failing to obtain due sympathy and support from Eastern Canada,

* As an example of the growth of settlement and of the Church may be mentioned Dauphin, on the Canadian Northern Railway. Four years ago it was a wheat-field. At the end of 1900 it was a town of 1,000 souls, and was entirely supporting its clergyman, the Rev. C. N. F. Jeffery [24*a*].

the Church in Manitoba and North-West Canada naturally appealed to the Society. The Society, however, felt that the wisest policy would be to take such steps as would lead to the Church in Eastern Canada undertaking its duties and responsibilities, instead of being relieved of them. It therefore, in 1896, decided to reduce its grants to the Canadian dioceses by 10 per cent. annually [25 & 26]. (*See* page 176.)

The reductions have been mitigated by special gifts from the Society, including liberal grants from the Marriott bequest, for church building. These building grants have drawn out a fine spirit of generosity and self-help [27]. Gratifying as this is, it is only right to record that, as yet (1900), the response from Eastern Canada has been miserably inadequate, and urgent appeals against the reduction policy have been received by the Society from the dioceses affected in Manitoba and North-West Canada [27*a*].

Amid all the pressure of Mission work, other institutions needed for the healthy existence, life, and growth of the Church have not been forgotten. In laying his plans for founding a cathedral establishment in 1874, Bishop Machray made provision for a body of Cathedral Clergy, who, besides being Clergy of the Cathedral Church and parish, should be Professors in Divinity and Lecturers in Arts in St. John's College, and also be more or less free to make themselves generally useful in the work of the whole diocese. The system has proved of inestimable value, and in St. John's Cathedral is to be seen an institution serving as the nucleus for most helpful work, not only in Winnipeg itself, but also for outlying districts, where, for fifteen years, services have been maintained by the staff with the aid of the Society, and Missions have been organised and supervised [28].

St. John's College, Winnipeg, in the University of Manitoba, is an institution entirely under Church government, in which students study arts as well as theology, and in both respects it has done a noble service for the country. It still provides "the only important boarding school for boys between Toronto and the Pacific coast." For some years Archbishop Machray, the founder of the College in its present form, and Warden from 1874 to the present time, himself undertook the teaching of the higher mathematics to the students—a duty now performed by the Machray Fellow. The Divinity students constitute a band of willing and valuable missionaries, working in outlying districts in connection with the "College and Cathedral Mission," both during "term" and vacation. Besides helping to endow the College, the Society has provided additional scholarships by annual grants. In 1893 the Institution had more students than any Church University in Canada had when Dr. Machray first arrived in the diocese [29]. "But for its existence" (he wrote) "a very different history would have had to be written of our Church in this country" [29*a*].

As it is, that history shows a wonderful growth. The province which Dr. Machray found "simply an Indian hunting field—valuable chiefly for fur," has been divided into nine dioceses, with some 190 clergy, and the increase of clergy has been tenfold in his own diocese [30].

While Dr. Machray says that "the obligation of the Church in this field as a body . . . to the S.P.G. . . . cannot be over-

estimated" [30*a*], it must not be forgotten that the real instigator and promoter of all this Church activity has been the Bishop himself [30*b*]. His services were recognised by the late Queen,* while the esteem in which he is held in Canada has been shown by his appointment as President of the Board of Education for Manitoba and the first Chancellor of the University of the Colony [31] and by his election as "Primate of all Canada." This election took place on September 19, 1893, on the occasion of the consolidation of "the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada," when, according to the constitution adopted by the General Synod, he became, as Primate, "Archbishop" of Rupert's Land. Afterwards the General Synod passed a resolution conferring the title of Archbishop on the Metropolitans of Provinces. This was the first instance† in which the English-Colonial Church adopted the title of Archbishop [32].

Rupert's Land has been fixed on by the Provincial Synod as for ever the Metropolitical See of the Province, and the Diocese of Rupert's Land has been given "a main influence in the election of the Archbishop and Metropolitan," as in ancient times the metropolitical dioceses had [32*b*].

Saskatchewan and Calgary Dioceses (1874-1900).

The diocese of "Saskatchewan" (so named from the river Saskatchewan = "rapid running stream"), formed out of Rupert's Land in 1874, originally embraced a territory stretching some 700 miles eastwards from the Rocky Mountains, and containing the provisional district of Alberta and portions of Saskatchewan, Athabasca, and Assiniboia. To this was added in 1883 that part of the then diocese of Rupert's Land in the rest of the district of Saskatchewan lying north of the Province of Manitoba, but in the same year relief came by the formation of the diocese of Assiniboia or Qu'Appelle, and in 1887 the district of Alberta was formed into a separate diocese, named Calgary. The combined area of the two dioceses, viz., Saskatchewan 200,000 square miles, and Calgary 100,000 square miles, with the part of Assiniboia formerly included, is less than that credited to the original diocese—viz., 490,000 square miles, but an overestimate of the size of the territory may be excused in view of the enormous difficulties encountered in planting the Church in the field. For at its formation the diocese of Saskatchewan had "no endowments," "no missionaries," excepting one at Stanley and another at Nepowewin, and "no churches—everything had to be begun as far as the Church of England was concerned," and this in a vast area containing over 10,000 heathen Indians and a few scattered settlements of white people, but no roads, public conveyances, or hotels. For

* In 1893 Queen Victoria conferred on him the dignity of "Prelate of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George," in succession to the late Bishop Austin of Guiana [30*c*].

† The example has been followed by the Churches in the West Indies, South Africa, and Australia [32*a*].

travelling, men, horses, and vehicles had to be hired at great expense in the summer, and Indian guides and travelling dogs, at still higher cost, in the winter. On the winter journeys travellers had to sleep on a bed of buffalo hides spread over pine branches.

From a spiritual point of view the field was an important one, and one in which the Church was imperatively called to labour, not only on account of the heathen Indians, but also because of the neglected Church settlers, English and half-breeds, some of whom, it was afterwards found, had temporarily joined Nonconformist bodies out of "necessity," not of choice, and were "yearning after old times and the self-sacrificing love of their former pastors." Happily the duty of bringing the claims of the district before the Church of England fell upon one who was well qualified by his knowledge of the country and the energy of his character to procure a favourable hearing, viz., the Ven. John McLean, D.D., D.C.L., Archdeacon of Manitoba, who was consecrated at Lambeth Church on May 3, 1874, as first Bishop of Saskatchewan. Before his consecration he began to raise an endowment for the Bishopric, and, though advised by a prominent banker in London to abandon the effort for the time, he persevered, and when he left England £6,200 had been actually invested for the fund. The Society aided the endowment (by grants amounting to £2,092), and supplemented the Bishop's income from it by an annual allowance up to the year 1886, when the fund was completed.

Leaving England in August, 1874, the Bishop engaged two clergymen in Canada, the Revs. Dr. Newton and J. Barr [1], and on January 28, 1875, he himself set out from the Red River for his diocese, travelling over the snow by the lakes route in a cariole drawn by dogs. The distance was 800 miles to the nearest Mission station in Saskatchewan, and the cold often 35° to 50° below zero. On the way through Rupert's Land he held visitations and confirmations for the Bishop of that diocese. At Birch Island he passed into his own diocese, and soon after met a party of Indian hunters, to whom, after evening prayer, in which they joined, he "preached a sermon on the love of God in Christ Jesus." They were very attentive, and left with many expressions of kindly feeling [2]. At Prince Albert, which he made his headquarters, the Bishop found a population of about 500. At least three-fourths of them were Churchpeople, but, having no clergyman, they had been attending Presbyterian services. For a month the Bishop himself held services for them in two large rooms, and on Easter Day there was a confirmation. One of the settlers (Mr. Beads) gave a site, and others contributed material and labour, and on Christmas Day, 1875, a church was opened and named St. Mary's. In this year the Rev. J. Barr resigned, being unable to sustain the burden of this remote station, and the Bishop undertook the duty until another clergyman could be found.

In May, 1876, a confirmation was held in St. Mary's Church, parents and even grandparents being confirmed with their children.

Tokens of increased earnestness at Prince Albert were now apparent, not only in the large gatherings at Church services, but also in the practice of family prayer, the Bishop having gone from house to house urging this duty, and supplying a form taken from the Prayer-book [3].

In 1877 a second church was opened some miles from St. Mary's,

and during the next five years Missions were established at several settlements in Prince Albert district—St. James', St. Catherine's (Pocha), St. Andrew's (Halcrow), and St. Alban's, the last-named being selected as the site for the future pro-cathedral of the diocese (which it became in 1894) and a native training college was founded.

In 1880 in no part of Canada was the Church stronger relatively to the population than it was in Prince Albert, and this was attributed by the Bishop to the wise and steady support given by the Society in those early days of struggle and difficulty [4].

At this time the nearest railway station was still 500 miles distant from Prince Albert, and an idea of the episcopal work could be gained by imagining "a bishop living on the south coast of England with Missions to visit at the extreme points of the north of Scotland, with no roads, no bridges, and no house for one or two hundred miles at a stretch in some parts, with a necessity of carrying provisions, tents, and taking his own vehicles and horses" [5].

Nevertheless, Missions had already been organised at several other centres—for Indians as well as settlers. At Edmonton, the second district in the diocese occupied by the Society, the Wesleyans had, in the absence of all Church ministrations, gained over the whole English speaking population. Nearly all of these had been brought up in the Church in various parts of Rupert's Land [6].

In the next two stations established for the white settlers—viz., Battleford in 1877 (on its becoming the new seat* of the North-West Government transferred from Rupert's Land), and Fort McLeod in 1878, Church ministrations were also extended to the Mounted Police—a body from whom the Society has received a substantial proof of gratitude [7].

By 1882 there were twenty-nine Mission stations in the diocese, and the number of clergy had risen to sixteen, six having been trained at Emmanuel College, and eight being connected with the C.M.S.

At the first meeting of the Diocesan Synod held in 1882 the Bishop stated that the S P.G. had "from the outset of the history of the diocese encouraged and sustained its work in every possible way . . . in the formation of the Bishopric fund," the support of missionaries both for settlers and Indians, and of the Training College, while towards himself "they have acted with a considerate kindness and courtesy that form one of the brightest memories I retain" [8].

Visiting England in 1883, the Bishop returned in 1884 "with his see adequately endowed," the Divinity Professorship in his College endowed to the extent of $10,000, and "with little anxiety about money for the work of his diocese" [9].

Already, however, new settlements had been rapidly forming in advance of the approaching railway, the population in Prince Albert district alone having risen from 800 to nearly 5,000 in the two years 1881–2, and during the remainder of Bishop McLean's episcopate several new Missions were opened [10].

The "Riel Rebellion" in 1885 subjected the Bishop and clergy to much inconvenience and not a little peril. The rising of the French half-breeds would have been comparatively a small matter by itself,

* Battleford later on ceased to occupy that position [7a].

but the heathen Indians throughout the districts of Alberta and Saskatchewan grew restless, and in two places they rose and committed great depredations, including several murders. On the outbreak of the rebellion on March 19 Riel established himself at Batoche's Crossing, about fifty miles from Prince Albert, cutting off communication with Winnipeg. The town of Prince Albert was crowded with refugees, some occupying the Mission chapel in the town, and during the two months in which the people were "in great danger" of their lives Church services were held in the open air and in houses and stores. Six of the clergy took refuge in Prince Albert; another, the Rev. George McKay, joined the loyal forces as chaplain and interpreter, and voluntarily performed "the dangerous task of alone seeking Big Bear's camp, with a hope of tracing the unfortunate ladies in captivity." The ladies had, however, been previously liberated.

In the opinion of the Bishop of Rupert's Land the rebellion of the half-breeds was due to the "procrastination of the Government in settling squatting and other claims," and the rising of the Indians was "simply owing to their starving and wretched condition," and this notwithstanding the great help afforded them by Government. The buffalo had gone, and the Indians were "inexperienced in farming, and do not take to it."

Some progress in industrial training had, however, been made in the diocese of Saskatchewan, and more vigorous efforts were advocated by Bishop McLean, who felt that "it is only the Gospel of Christ that will make them safe neighbours, to take even the lowest view of the subject" [11].

Enormous as were the demands of this vast diocese, they were but so many opportunities for the exercise of the marvellous energy and spirit of Bishop McLean.

For several years after his arrival he travelled over 1,000 miles every winter by dog cariole on the snow and ice, sleeping at night in the open air with the thermometer ranging from 20 to 40 degrees below zero, the journey at times taking him through "an untrodden and almost unknown wilderness." Then, when the railway came, if no regular passenger train were available, the Bishop and Mrs. McLean would take their passage "in a common freight train."

In 1886, while on visitation, an accident caused him to be thrown from the waggon in which he was travelling. Returning to Edmonton, he there lay for three weeks amid miserable surroundings, frequently delirious, and without proper attendance. The winter was coming on, he could not endure the shaking of any carriage, and only by the river that would soon be frozen over could he hope to reach his home. For twenty-two days and nights he lay on a mattress under a rude shelter erected at the end of an open boat, his son, a lad of fifteen, his only companion, and he reached home at last saying, "This journey has given me my death." For eighteen more days he lingered in pain and fever, but the hardships he had endured aggravated a long-standing complaint, and he died on November 7, 1886, and was laid to rest in St. Mary's, Prince Albert, "the first church he had built and held service in in his diocese" [12].

His successor, the Ven. William Cyprian Pinkham, Archdeacon of

Manitoba, was the third student of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, to be raised to the episcopate. Going to Rupert's Land in 1868 as a missionary of the Society, he contributed, in several positions of usefulness and dignity, to the development of the Church in that diocese. As Superintendent of Education for "the Protestant Public Schools of Manitoba" from 1871 to 1885, it fell to his lot to organise the public school system of that province.

He was consecrated in Holy Trinity Church, Winnipeg, on August 7, 1887 [13], and three days later the Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land decided to form the civil Province of Alberta into a separate diocese under the name of Calgary, as it was impossible for the clergy and lay delegates of the diocese to combine in synodal action owing to the great distance between them. It was, however, arranged that Calgary should remain in charge of the Bishop of Saskatchewan until suitable provision were made for a second Bishop [14]. The need for this has become very pressing, and the Society has promoted the object by contributing to the formation of an endowment fund* and by consenting to the transfer to it of a portion (£3,240) of the Saskatchewan Bishopric Endowment Fund. When each fund is provided with £12,000, Bishop Pinkham proposes to retire from the See of Saskatchewan [15].

The improved organisation led to a great growth of Church work, the number of clergy in the combined jurisdiction having more than doubled in the next eight years.

But though in both dioceses the Church of England was in 1892 "the strongest religious body," the number of clergy has been inadequate to cope with the tide of immigration which has since been rapidly flowing into the country—especially into Calgary diocese.†

The immigrants into this diocese include British, French, Americans, Russians,‡ Scandinavians, Germans, Galicians, Roumanians, Ruthenians, Bulgarians, Cilecians or Silesians, Pomeranians, and Icelanders. While some of these profess a definite religious faith, others appear to be ignorant of the most elementary principles of faith and morality [16 & 16*a*].

While at present the Mission work generally of the diocese "could not exist, still less be developed," without the Society's aid, every effort has been made by Bishop Pinkham from the outset to make the Church self-supporting, and his administration has met with marked success [17].

Thus the Mission of Calgary became self-supporting in three years (1884–7), Lethbridge in 1890, Edmonton in 1894, and Macleod, Pincher Creek, and Strathcona in 1900.§ The work in these parishes is wholly supported by the freewill offerings of the people, there being no endowments, and the transfer of the Society's help

* £800 was granted in 1898, but this having lapsed a fresh grant of £500 was voted in 1900, and a further sum of £1,000 in May, 1901.

† One of the clergy in 1899 was working single-handed in a district in which the Roman Catholics had four missionaries, and six Nonconformist bodies had in all fifteen [15*a*].

‡ Over 5,000 Doukhobortsi from Russia arrived in Winnipeg in 1899, some settling in Manitoba and some in North-West Canada.

§ A striking contrast to some of the Missions in Eastern Canada, whose dependence on the Society extended over 100 years.

to needier Missions has been of the greatest value in extending Church work among settlers. The returns for 1899 showed that Church-people in the diocese were contributing at the rate of $13.60 a family for all Church purposes. Two Archdeaconries were formed in the diocese in 1895, that of "Calgary" embracing all work among the settlers, and "Macleod" for all the Indian work. Three honorary Canonries have also been constituted, the holders of which are to promote, respectively, the study of Church History, Mission work, and the study of the Book of Common Prayer. Generally speaking, the work in the diocese suffers for want of men and means, but it is worthy of note that "there never have been any pew-rented churches in either diocese."

Calgary, which had no existence in 1882, and in five years had become the chief town in Alberta, was selected by Bishop Pinkham as his residence. The first clergyman placed here, the Rev. E. Paske Smith, worked to such purpose that the "Church of the Redeemer," erected by the people, was opened on August 3, 1884, that is, within a few months of his arrival. This church was made the Pro-Cathedral of the diocese of Calgary in 1888. It has been enlarged, but a new building has become necessary [18 & 18*a*].

In 1897 it was reported that "almost all the 'half-breeds'" in Saskatchewan were "staunch Churchpeople," and that in both dioceses the Indian Missions had made encouraging progress [19]*. It now remains to notice more particularly the Society's share in this work. Among the half-breeds it has been a considerable one, and it dates from the arrival of Bishop McLean in the diocese. Many proofs have been given of their attachment to the Church.† Some of the half-breeds are as dark as full-blooded Indians, of whom we now speak.

At the time of its formation the original diocese of Saskatchewan afforded by far the most important field for Missions to pagan Indians that the North-West Territories of Canada, or Rupert's Land, could supply. It contained all the "Blackfoot Indians" owing allegiance to Great Britain, and most of the Plain Crees, to which were temporarily added (soon after) the whole of the refugee American Sioux under Sitting Bull, some 10,000 in number, making a total of about 25,000 heathen Indians.‡

Bishop McLean's first act on entering his diocese was to preach to

* N.B.—1900. Nearly all the half-breeds in Saskatchewan either lived first of all in Manitoba, where they were Churchpeople, or else were born in Saskatchewan; though they certainly attend church well, it is difficult to get them to support the Church.

† At the Lopstick settlement a Methodist minister who sought to intrude on them was told that he was "breaking the tenth commandment," as they were, and desired to remain, "Church of England people." In another instance a half-breed drove 240 miles in the bitter winter weather in order to have his sick child baptised, and on the journey kept praying to the Good Spirit to keep the little one alive till the praying man should get to the house.

‡ By the disappearance of the buffalo, their chief means of sustenance, most of the Indians had been reduced to a state of starvation, but gradually the Government collected them into reserves of land and organised an excellent system of instruction to train them to agriculture and the arts and habits of civilised life; the same paternal body also (by the agency of the Mounted Police, introduced in 1874) suppressed the iniquitous liquor traffic carried on by American traders, which was bringing ruin on the Indians, who would part with their all in order to obtain the "fire-water."

the Indians (*see* page 180*d*), and throughout his episcopate he never ceased in his efforts for their conversion [20].

In 1877 a Mission was opened at South Branch among a band of Christian Indians who had migrated from Prince Albert and guaranteed a large plot of land for the Mission and help in building a church, their chief, "a most attached member of the Church," undertaking part of the service in Cree. In the reserve granted them under the Indian treaty they took their place "as law-abiding citizens of the Empire, making their living by ordinary industry, and conforming not only to the ordinances of Christianity, but to the habits and customs of civilised life" [21].

In Prince Albert itself the Bishop established in 1879 a College, with the primary object of training native missionaries and teachers for work among the various tribes. For the purposes of the College 112 acres of land were given by Mr. Jacob Beads to the Bishop, and the building was placed in the midst of encampments of painted Indians, the noise of whose heathen dances could be heard at all hours of the night. The opening of the institution, which was named Emmanuel College, took place on November 1, 1879, it then being "the finest building in the North-West Territories." Several of the clergy received their training there, and many teachers. The College still continues its useful work, being at present wholly devoted to the teaching and training of Indian children* [22].

At the time the College was founded there were "several very thriving Missions among the Crees," and another was opened at the Pocha settlement in 1882, but hitherto "nothing" had been "done towards evangelising the Sioux and Blackfeet" [23]. The former were specially to be commiserated, being exiles and dependent on the charity of strangers. Their name "Dakota," or "Sioux," means "leagued" or "allied," and they spoke of themselves as "Ocete Sakowin," or the "Seven Council Fires." The band which under Sitting Bull, and after many fierce battles with the United States troops, had been driven to seek refuge on British soil, was the Titonwans. Each man had his own particular god—a spiritual existence inhabiting some animal with which he believes himself to be in direct communion. They had several ceremonial feasts—the principal being one at which "a white dog" was offered as "a propitiatory sacrifice." Of the One Perfect and Sufficient Sacrifice the first successful effort that was made to teach them was the Mission opened in 1880 at Prince Albert, which continued until they left the diocese [24].

In the Fort Macleod district a work among the Piegan Indians, begun in 1878, "resulted in a marked improvement among them," and the head chief ("Eagle with the spread tail, sitting on a rock," or "Sitting Eagle") expressed to Bishop McLean his thankfulness for the religious instruction given to them. More intelligent than the Blackfeet or Bloods, the Piegans soon acquired industrial habits, and by 1883 they had settled down to cultivating farms [25].

In the Edmonton district ministrations were extended to the Indians in 1879, and in 1880 the Rev. R. Inkster, a half-breed, speaking the Cree language, was stationed at Saddle Lake, 125 miles distant, among

* *See* page 780.

a large band of Crees, who had earnestly pleaded for a missionary. "We are poor and ignorant," they said, and "we know nothing. Nobody takes any heed of us—what can we do? We wish to know how to live as civilised and Christian men."

In 1886 Mr. Inkster was transferred to Fish Creek, about ten miles from Calgary, in order to assist in opening a Mission among the Sarcees, a branch of the Blackfoot nation, but with a distinct language. He won their respect, but, as he preferred to be among his own people, he was succeeded in 1888 by the Rev. H. W. G. Stocken. Mr. Stocken found the Sarcees "quite content as they were," and possessed with a hatred for the whites "because of the moral mischief which they had wrought among them." Eventually the Chief—"Bull's Head"—sent his child to school, and the adults attended service, the Chief himself acknowledging that the white man's religion can give "the laughing heart" [26].

At the request of the Bishop of the diocese this Mission was in 1893 transferred to the Church Missionary Society, which had received a large bequest for Indian work, and the S.P.G. money thus set free was transferred to a new Mission for settlers [26*a*].

On the whole it appears that the Indians "are well looked after by the Church."

A report on the Missions generally in the Diocese of Calgary in 1888 stated that the work "is growing rapidly," and that "in all the reserves prejudice against Christian Missions and schools is dying out."

Since the formation of the diocese Church boarding schools for Indian boys and girls have been established on all the four reserves where the Church is at work, and (in 1896) a Church Indian Industrial School at Calgary, under the Rev. G. H. Hogbin. These boarding schools are largely, and the Industrial School is wholly, supported by the Government. Christianity is now making rapid strides among the Blackfeet, Piegans, and Sarcees. "The Indian Churchpeople are, in Synod and in all other matters, treated as fully the equals of the whites" [27 & 28].

Qu'Appelle Diocese (1882–1900).

The great tide of immigration flowing into North-West Canada in 1882–3 created a corresponding spiritual want, "the most pressing" or "striking necessity" being in the Territory of Assiniboia, which was then included in the dioceses of Rupert's Land and Saskatchewan. For those two dioceses and Algoma the Society voted in the two years in question a sum total of £14,290 [1]. Pioneering work was most ably done by the Rev. J. P. Sargent (in 1883–4), and the Rev. W. H. Cooper (in 1883) [2], the Rev. A. Osborne having been previously stationed at Regina, arriving there on December 13, 1882. At that time the only other settled clergyman in Assiniboia was a C.M.S. missionary at Touchwood Hills. Three months before Mr. Osborne arrived at Regina there was "not a soul at the place," but the location of the seat of Government of the North-West Territories had already attracted a population of 1,100, and around it, for many miles, villages and settlements were springing up. The first three Church services were held in "a canvas hotel," and subsequent ones in a hall, from December 31 to April 1883, when a temporary wooden church, erected

by the people on a site given by the Duke of Manchester's Company, was opened. The Church members (at this time numbering eighty-seven) also provided a parsonage, and showed such a disposition to establish the Church that within four years the Mission became self-supporting [3].

The second Mission founded by the Society was at Fort Qu'Appelle, where the Rev. D. Lewis arrived on October 20, 1883. Some of the settlers had not been to a place of worship for years, and there was "a great danger" of regular churchgoers becoming "white heathen," but the services which Mr. Lewis held there (in a hall) and at Indian Head, twenty miles distant, were gladly attended by all the people, Presbyterians included, and the Nonconformists expected to be visited like the Churchpeople, and appreciated it [4].

The third Mission ranks first in order of merit. Situated 400 miles from Winnipeg, Moose Jaw when first settled was "the most distant town of any importance in the far West."

Among the earliest settlers were "a few godly laymen, staunch Churchmen." They at once organised a Church service, taking it in turn to read the prayers and a sermon every Sunday. They gathered a little congregation, formed a choir, and built a church, all by their own unaided efforts and before any clergyman of the Church visited the place, which indeed had been in existence only a few months. The church was opened on St. John the Baptist's Day, 1883, by the travelling missionary, the Rev. W. H. Cooper.

In the next year Moose Jaw was made a regular Mission of the Society. It is now a self-supporting parish or rectory [5].

Mr. Cooper, who organised Church Committees and held the first Church services in many other places in Assiniboia, had been moved to offer himself for this work by the story of the growing spiritual needs of North-West Canada as made known by the Society [5*a*].

In the same way the Hon. and Rev. Canon Adelbert John Robert Anson, Rector of Woolwich, was led (in 1883) to give up his valuable and important living, and to dedicate himself to the Mission work of the Church in the North-West field.

In 1883 the Provincial Synod of Rupert's Land formed "Assiniboia" (area 96,000 square miles) into a separate diocese, and on June 24, 1884, Canon Anson was consecrated in Lambeth Parish Church first Bishop of "Assiniboia"—the name of the diocese being altered to Qu'Appelle in 1884. Previously he had been acting as Commissary for the Bishop of Rupert's Land, and his selection for the new office was the act of the Archbishop of Canterbury as the then "Primate of Rupert's Land" [6].

For the support of the new Bishop the Society had begun to raise an endowment fund,* and had promised £400 a year for his income till the fund had been completed [7], and it provided funds for the maintenance of additional clergymen and (£500) for the erection of churches, &c. The Bishop arrived at Regina on July 25, 1884, accompanied by some clergymen and laymen, and these, with others who joined in the following year (bringing the total Clergy in the diocese up to thirteen), came "without stipends, receiving only out of

* To this the Society contributed £3,363.

the common fund " what was " necessary for their maintenance and for carrying on the work " [8].

Chiefly by the generosity of two donors in England the Bishop was enabled to erect a " College for Agricultural and Theological Students " (opened on October 28, 1886), near Qu'Appelle, where he also removed his residence (his house at Regina having been destroyed by fire). Though the College founded with " such noble aims " ceased to exist in 1893, " some of the best workers in the diocese were trained there during its short life " [9].

By a census published in 1886 the population of Assiniboia, which had been greatly overestimated, proved to be just 22,000, of whom 5,500 were Indians and half-breeds. The colonists were not only scattered over a vast area but many were constantly moving their homes. Some, owing to the " want of care of many of the English clergy " in not giving them letters of introduction on leaving England, were lost to the Church, which generally had only one missionary where the Nonconformists had four or five. Nevertheless the Church in 1886 was in the majority, having 5,722 members, and her services were being held at fifty-one places [10].

It was thus that " the characteristic of our Church . . . that she has the instinct of a mother in caring for the few scattered abroad," found " its expression here."

These were the words of Bishop Burn, the successor of Bishop Anson. The latter, having laid the foundations of the Church, both among the settlers and Indians, resigned in 1893, though against the unanimous wish of his diocese [11].

The new Bishop (Dr. W. J. Burn), who was consecrated in Westminster Abbey on the Feast of the Annunciation, 1893, found that the diocese had " really been made by the S.P.G.; none but those working here," he added, " can realise the debt the Colonial Church owes to the Society in the years of struggle and difficulty through which they must pass to a life of independence " [12].

The duty of self-support in regard to spiritual things had been advocated by Bishop Anson from the very first and in the strongest possible terms; *e.g.*, in his pastoral of 1885 he said:

" *Moral wrong is done by anyone who depends on the charity of others, even in spiritual matters, more than is absolutely necessary* "; and in the case of the Society's help, which is largely drawn from the poorer classes, he considered that undue dependence would amount to " *defrauding the poor* " [13].

The same policy was observed by Bishop Burn, and in each case the results have been encouraging [14], both Bishops having found the need of clergy as great as that of English funds—sometimes greater [15], though probably financial difficulties pressed more heavily on Bishop Burn, partly in consequence of a loss of funds caused by a diocesan treasurer. In this case the Society's help saved the work of the Church from being crippled [16].

For three years Bishop Burn lived in great discomfort in a house not fit for human habitation in the severe climate. In 1895 he removed to Indian Head, where Lord Brassey had munificently provided an episcopal residence and a church and other buildings,

but the Bishop's death took place on June 18 in the following year, and he was buried in the cemetery one mile and a quarter from Qu'Appelle Station, his clergy carrying the coffin that distance on their shoulders. His record was that of "a prelate of singular beauty of character, of great devotion and learning," and (in the words of the late Archbishop Benson) "a very holy man, who was moving on good lines for the people" [17].

The feeling of his successor, Bishop Grisdale, was one of "great obligation to" those who preceded him, and "did such splendid work in the pioneer days." Bishop Grisdale, whose missionary career had commenced in India, and for the past twenty-three years had been spent in Rupert's Land—latterly as Dean of Rupert's Land—was consecrated in Winnipeg on August 30, 1896, and, after he had travelled 4,400 miles in visiting his diocese in 1897, he expressed himself as "lost in admiration at the self-sacrificing devotion of the clergy." The population of the diocese was now 40,000 (8,000 being Anglicans, 8,000 Presbyterians, 5,500 Methodists, and 4,000 Romanists).

A year later he reported, as no small cause for thanksgiving and rejoicing, that, although only fourteen years had passed since the first bishop was consecrated, already the See Endowment had been completed, "a Clergy Endowment begun, nearly forty churches built, parishes formed, Church work organised, and the whole country, in a rough sort of way, mapped out into districts."

The value of the Society's aid had been "incalculable," and in order to meet its gradual reduction he is raising a Clergy Sustentation Fund. Towards this object the Society has contributed* [18].

Work among Indians and Half-breeds.

When the diocese was founded in 1884 the Indians were said to number 5,000, nearly all being pagans. Ten years later there were 8,494, of whom 1,509 were nominal Christians.

Great as the needs of the settlers were, the Indians received a share of the Society's attention from the first, and in 1886 a Mission was opened for them and the half-breeds at Fort Pelly, where the Indian Reserve had been divided into three parts, assigned to the Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Presbyterian Missions respectively. Most of the half-breeds there were already Christians. Many were prepared for confirmation in that year.

The Indians, who had been "injured and demoralised by contact with Europeans," were reported in 1894 to be decreasing in number[19].

In appealing for the establishment of an Indian School at Fort Pelly, the Rev. Owen Owens, in 1897, gave some valuable information regarding the Swampy Cree Indians and the half-breeds.†

At Touchwood Hills the Hudson's Bay Company opened a trading

* The capital invested for the fund was over £3,000 in 1900. The Society gave £500 in 1899 and £500 in 1901.

† The following is worthy of record as applying not only to his district, but also to Manitoba and North-West Canada generally. The Swampy Crees are found on the lake and river districts of Manitoba and North-West Canada. Their dialect is not very different from the Plain Cree. On the advent of traders the Swampy Crees naturally became their boatmen and carriers, and some were constantly in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company as guides, interpreters, pilots and boatmen. At the trading posts the Indians received their first impressions of the white man and his religion,

post in 1537, and in 1867 the C.M.S. began a Mission, which it left thirty years later, since which time it has been in the hands of the S.P.G. Work was begun in February 1886 by the opening of a day school, with "a wild-looking set of pupils," speaking Cree or English or Saulteaux. At first most of the heathens would not let their children attend, but by the end of 1887 all the children of the band had been enrolled. A boarding department was added in 1889, and on several occasions "Gordon School" has taken the Government prize "as the best Indian School in the Territories." There have been many baptisms, and the work is full of hope for the children.

Of the religion of the heathen parents, the Rev. Owen Owens, who has had charge of the Mission since 1886, says: "There is no word of love or mercy in their faith at all. 'The soul that sinneth it shall die' is their creed." The prospect of the conversion of the old Indians is remote, but one man on consenting to the baptism of his two daughters said, "Let me and my two wives alone, don't make us come. I believe that we will have all to come some day, but not yet" [20].

During his connection with Touchwood Hills in 1891–3 the Rev. L. Dawson was enabled to break new ground in the northern part of the district, and to touch tribes whom neither Christianity nor civilisation had previously reached. The Mission now included the two Saulteaux Reserves at Fishing and Nut Lakes, but work at these two reserves has recently been suspended for want of funds [21].

On the Moose Mountain Reserve an attempt in 1886 to establish a school failed, the Indians not being prepared for it [22].

At Medicine Hat, a boarding school for Indian children (begun by the Rev. E. F. Wilson, of Sault Ste. Marie) was, by the aid of the Society and its missionary, the Rev. W. Nicolls, completed in 1898, but, owing chiefly to lack of funds, the building has not yet (1900) been used as an Indian School [23].

Selkirk Diocese (1892–1900).

This, the most remote of all the Canadian dioceses, is a sub-division (area 200,000 sq. miles) of the diocese of Mackenzie River, and when formed in 1891 it was a wild waste occupied by a scanty Indian population and by a few hundred miners.

In 1892 the Society was appealed to by the Bishop (Dr. Bompas) to provide a clergyman for the miners who were "liable to corrupt" the "Indian converts" as well as themselves. The Society represented the matter to the Church Missionary Society (which had made the Indians its sole care) and pointed out the injury which the Mission cause sustained by the neglect of the miners. But, while admitting this, the C.M.S. regarded such work as beyond its scope [1].

With the opening of the Klondyke goldfields came an offer to the Society from the Rev. W. G. Lyon to devote himself to the work of

which were favourable on the whole. It is wrong to regard the presence of the large number of half-breeds in the country as a proof that immorality was rampant in the early days, as they are "the children of men legally married—if not religiously—to Indian women." Though the attitude of the traders towards the Indians' religion was generally one of non-interference, they were "the first to ask the Church to send missionaries to the Indians," and they gave them "a vast amount of support in their work." On their arrival the missionaries found a certain number of Indians ready to hear them, and some embraced Christianity almost at once. Of the half-breeds "almost all became Christians," and they "played a very prominent part in spreading Christianity among the Indians," some becoming ordained missionaries and others catechists [19a].

ministering to the miners who were being attracted there by thousands. Regarding this as a work for the Canadian Church, the Society voted £200 "to assist and stimulate" it "in sending a Mission to Klondyke and supporting the same without further aid from the Society." Starting from Dawson City, Mr. Lyon, in May 1898, safely reached the Chilcott Pass, on the summit of which, camped on thirty feet of snow, he ministered to the Canadian Mounted Police, but on June 24 he was drowned in Lake le Barge with his servant—a man named Montegazza—while endeavouring to save their supplies which had been upset in the lake. His body was recovered (by the Mounted Police) and buried on the banks of the lake. Mr. Lyon's kind actions to those whom he had met on the journey had won him golden opinions, and hundreds of men and women in Dawson City grieved for his loss [2].

In view of the provision made by other Societies for Klondyke itself, the Society's aid to Selkirk diocese has not been renewed except in connection with a Mission undertaken in 1899 by the Bishop and staff of Caledonia (*see* page 191*b*) [3].

Pop. Stringer 1905

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 192.)

CHAPTER XXII.

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

The islands lying off the North Pacific Coast were discovered by Vancouver in 1762, and the largest of them took his name. In 1843 it was leased by the Crown to the Hudson's Bay Company, and in 1849 constituted a Crown colony. The adjacent mainland was included in the lease, but remained comparatively unknown until 1858, when the discovery of gold there brought a large number of immigrants, and it also was made a Crown colony, viz., British Columbia. The two colonies were united in 1866, and incorporated in the Dominion of Canada in 1871.

Under the old system of colonisation, settlements appealed in vain to the mother country for a Bishop for more than a century; but British Columbia was no sooner proclaimed a colony than it became a diocese of the English Church. An endowment having been provided by Miss (now the Baroness) Burdett-Coutts,* Bishop Hills was consecrated to the see in 1859 [1]

In response to applications made by the Rev. Mr. Bayley in 1854 and the Bishop of Rupertsland in 1857, the Society in the latter year set apart funds for establishing a "Mission to the Heathen" in Vancouver's Island [2].

Its first Missionary, the Rev. R. Dowson, arrived on Feb. 2, 1859 At that time Victoria (V. I.), the capital of the colony, was "a strange assemblage of wooden houses, with a mixed population of every nation numbering about 1,500." Mr. Dowson found but one small village of Indians near Victoria, and the men were "idle and diseased" [3]. He therefore started "on a voyage of discovery to the north of the island, and so on to Fort Simpson upon the mainland." He sailed in a vessel of the Hudson's Bay Company, and for his "long and tedious journey" was well repaid by the knowledge he gained of the island and of "Indian life in its wildest and most natural aspect." Nanaimo, the next white settlement north of Victoria, had a population of about 160 whites and half-castes, with a few hundred Indians camped round. The "village or town" was "a most miserable affair, simply the wood cleared away and . . . small wooden houses . . .

* The endowment given by this lady included provision for two Archdeacons also [1a].

sprinkled . . . amongst the mud and stumps." The Hudson's Bay Company maintained a school there for the white and half-caste children, and Mr. Dowson held service in the building—"the room being quite full and the people exceedingly attentive." Previously the place had been only twice visited by a clergyman—chaplains from Victoria and a passing steamer. The Indians there were chiefly wanderers, "coming for a short time . . . to work at the coal mines and earn a few blankets and then taking themselves off again." Some distance to the south were numbers of Cowitchins, amongst whom a Roman Catholic missionary tried to live, "but as soon as he had no more blankets, calico, &c., to give them they drove him away." "Nearly all the different tribes" hated "each other." At Fort Rupert, 200 miles further north, there were about six whites—employés of the Hudson's Bay Company. Outside the fort were encamped a thousand Ouackolls, "the most bloodthirsty of all the Indian tribes on the North-West Coast." "Plenty of heads and other human remains" lay on the beach; "one body of a woman . . . fastened to a tree, partly in the water, and . . . eaten away by the fish." A short time before some canoes came in from a war expedition and landed a prisoner, "when all the other Indians rushed down in a flock from their houses and ate the poor wretch alive."

At Fort Simpson, on the mainland, there were about 20 whites, surrounded by the Chimpsian tribe numbering 4,000, of whom several had been taught to read a little English by a C.M.S. schoolmaster. In contrast to the dirty houses of the Ouackolls, those of the Chimpsians were "the best and cleanest" Mr. Dowson had seen. The houses of both tribes were "ornamented with grotesque carvings on the outside," . . . but they did not "seem to regard any of the figures as objects of reverence." Indeed, these Indians appeared to be "as totally without religion of any sort as it is possible for human beings to be." "Their only idea of the future" was "annihilation."

The Indians on the North-West Coast burnt their dead; those in the South placed the bodies in boxes on the surface of some small island. The Northern Indians were "very clever at carving," and "ingenious at almost any handicraft work," but frequently destroyed their property to obtain popularity. Among the Ouackolls it was not uncommon for a man to "kill four or five slaves at once, to show his contempt for his property," and they were "almost invariably eaten." All the Indians on the coast treated their slaves "very cruelly, and generally cut some of the sinews of their legs so as to lame them and prevent them from running away." The costume of the tribes generally varied little, "consisting of a blanket," and "red paint for the face" when they could afford it. The manner of inducting a medicine man into his office was also "much the same among all the tribes." The man went alone into the bush, without food, and remained several days; the longer the more honourable for him, as showing greater powers of endurance; he then returned to the village, and rushing into the houses bit pieces out of the people till he was completely gorged. Then he slept for a day or two, and came out a "duly accredited medicine man." But the medical profession was not a safe one, the death of the patient being "not unfrequently followed by the shooting of *the medicine* man." These Indians had "little knowledge of the

healing" art. When a man was sick they laid him in a corner of the house, stuck several poles around him, and hung them over with feathers stained red. The medicine man then came with a large rattle, made of a hollow piece of wood filled with pebbles, and generally carved in the shape of a hideous head, which he rattled incessantly over the patient's head, howling meanwhile, the supposed effect being "to drive away bad spirits." In their natural state the natives were "subject to very few diseases," but those which the white man had "introduced among them" were "destroying some of the tribes very rapidly" [4].

On his return from his expedition to the North Mr. Dowson took up his quarters temporarily "in a little dilapidated school-house belonging to the colony," about four miles from Victoria, and made preparations for establishing himself in one of the Indian villages. He tried in vain to find any European who was both able and willing to teach him anything of the native language. As a rule the only means of communication between the Indians and whites was Chinhook—a jargon of "little use except as a trading language: it consists nearly altogether of substantives, and has no words to express thoughts except the most material and animal wants." Chinhook acquired, the Missionary began the study of Cowitchin by having a native to live with him. The first he tried soon went away without notice, and a few days afterwards was glorying "in all his original dignity of paint and feathers." A yet greater discouragement than this was the "utter indifference, if not something worse, of the white settlers towards the welfare of the natives." Personal kindness Mr. Dowson received abundantly, but it was "to the English stranger and not to the Indian Missionary." Almost everyone laughed at the "idea" of his "teaching Indians," saying there was "no good in them and no gratitude"; and frequently it was remarked that "they ought to be rooted out like tree-stumps" [5]. In this respect the Americans were the worst offenders, and the feeling was reciprocated. The Indian freely imitated "the white man's vices." In his first report to the Society Bishop Hills wrote:—

"I saw an Indian running round and round in a circle. He was intoxicated and almost a maniac. I listened to the sounds he was shouting. They were the words of a blasphemous and obscene oath in English! It is a common thing for Indians, even children, to utter oaths in English. Thus far they have come in close contact only with our vices. We have yet to bring amongst them the leavening blessing of the Gospel of Christ" [6].

Owing to the illness of his wife the first Missionary was obliged to return to England in 1860, but during his short stay Mr. Dowson had succeeded in gaining the confidence of the Indians around him, and proving that they were capable of receiving good as well as bad impressions. "You teach savage good—savage's heart good to you," was the expression of an Indian on experiencing, probably for the first time in his life, Christian sympathy and love. A knowledge of medicine was of great assistance to the Missionary, and his reputation for doing good reached the Saanechs, whose three principal chiefs came to invite him to live among them, promising to give gratis, "plenty of good land to build a house upon, and that . . . not one of them would steal or do any wrong."

Mr. Dowson was able to be of some use to the white settlers also. Though "nearly all Scotch Presbyterians," they attended regularly, to the number of forty, some from a considerable distance, and joined "very heartily" in the "Church service" held in the schoolroom [7].

The second S.P.G. Missionary to British Columbia was the Rev. J. GAMMAGE, who was appointed to minister to the gold diggers [8]. When he arrived in April 1859 the gold-mining district was confined to the mainland, and extended 400 miles from Hope, on the lower Fraser, to the Quesnel River, in the north. The population consisted "for the most part of emigrants from California, a strange mixture of all nations, most difficult to reach" [9]. Everywhere in the colony a primitive style of life prevailed. Gentlemen cleaned their own boots, cut their own firewood, ladies were "their own cooks, housemaids, dressmakers, and almost everything else"; there were "no servants"; "even the Governor" had "no female servant in his establishment." The expense of living was great. In Victoria, water for drinking cost 6*d.* a bucket. The washing of clothes cost, in many cases, "more than the price of articles when new." No copper coin was in circulation; sixpence was the "smallest coin in use," and "no distinction" was made "between half-crowns and two-shilling pieces" [10]. In Douglas the population consisted of 8 Chinese, 7 coloured men (Africans), 14 Mexicans, 3 French, 8 Germans, 15 British subjects, 56 citizens of the United States—total 109 males and two females—besides the surrounding Indians. Mr. Gammage's ministrations were chiefly among the British and Americans, and the moving mining population. Generally they were men of the world, "very keen for gain . . . in many cases educated" in "secular knowledge," but "very ignorant . . . even of the principles or elements of Christianity." Few possessed a Bible, most of them did not know whether they had been baptized or not. Some had not attended any place of worship for ten years, and had "no idea of reverence." The blasphemous expressions freely used were "truly shocking." By gentle remonstrance this evil was checked, and the messenger, if not the message, was generally well received. A small room was opened for service, and on Sundays Mr. Gammage passed through the streets, bell in hand, calling the people from the worship of Mammon to the worship of the true God. Thirst of gold had in many instances absorbed "every moral quality that ennobles or dignifies humanity, leaving nothing but a dry and barren stock, which the spirit of God alone can vivify."

The Americans were "exceedingly bitter against the English"; very seldom could "even one of them" be prevailed upon to join in Divine worship. They, however, contributed towards the building of a church which was consecrated in March 1862. In it he "ministered for three years and proved with . . . his wife a great blessing to a township which without a Minister of God would have necessarily fallen into open licentiousness." He also did what was possible for the Indians, amongst whom prevailed great sickness and mortality, partly caused by "vices introduced by the white man." At a service held in 1861 the Bishop addressed 120 Indians in Chinhook, a native girl interpreting [11].

Between 1860 and 1865 twelve Missionaries were added to the

diocese, and the following centres were occupied:—Victoria 1860, Hope 1860, New Westminster 1861, Nanaimo 1861, Alberni 1864, Saanich 1864, Lilloet 1864, Sapperton 1865, Esquimalt 1865, Leech 1865 [12].

In regard to "that very difficult circumstance" arising from "the mixture of race," the Bishop reported in December 1860 that even in this respect there was "encouragement and a foreshadowing of the gathering in of all nations to the fold of Christ by the way in which we are helped in our work by those who are not of our nation." In one place service was held first "in the upper room of the store of a Frenchman," and afterwards "at a German's," and a Swede joined the Committee for building a church. "In another place a Swede offered the land for a church." In a third "two Norwegians joined with three others in presenting" a parsonage house. "A Chinese merchant gave £15 to two churches, and twelve Jewish boys" attended "the Collegiate school" [13].

Writing in 1862 Archdeacon Wright said:—

"The more I can grasp the state of things, the more do I feel the importance of a Bishop heading missionary labour in a new colony. Our dear friend has, under God, done already a great work. There is scarcely a single township which has not its Missionary Clergyman and Parsonage, and attention is being turned to education. . . . In Victoria there are two crowded churches, with services conducted as well as those of the best-managed parishes at home; and in New Westminster we are, thank God, equal to our brethren over the water, as regards church, rector, choir, and all that is necessary for decency and order" [14]. In summarising the work on the mainland the Archdeacon wrote in 1865:—

"How has the Gospel been presented to the Colony of British Columbia, in which four of the Society's Missionaries have been steadily engaged? I answer, it has been offered liberally, most liberally, to the household of faith. In every place where men have gathered, there a house of God has been erected, and a resident clergyman stationed. At Langley, Hope, Yale, Douglas, Lillouet, Cariboo, Sapperton, and in New Westminster, houses of God have been built. . . . Five of those churches have been served by resident ministers, whose work it has been to deal with souls gathered together from various nations of the earth, of all creeds, and no creed. Many who once had a creed and a love of God, by long wandering have lost their faith and forgotten their God. . . . The general influence of the Church upon the white man has been great, and with the red man not a little has been effected" [15].

Among the Indians in Vancouver's Island the Rev. A. C. GARRET* organised a Mission at Victoria in 1860. His greatest difficulty was the contaminating influence of the white man, who carried on a traffic "in poisonous compounds under the name of whisky," whereby the Indians died in numbers and the survivors fought "like things inhuman." Now and then a vendor was caught and "fined or caged," but another filled his place and the trade proceeded. At times the camp was "so completely saturated with this stuff that a sober Indian was a rare exception." The women were worse than the men, and girls from ten to fourteen little better than their elder sisters. The Mission comprised a small resident tribe (about 200) of "Songes or Tsau-miss, belonging to the great family of the Cowitchins." These

* Now Bishop of Northern Texas, U.S. [*See* p. 882.]

Indians were a "most besotted, wretched race." Their language was soon acquired, but besides these there were "Bill Bellas," "Cogholds," "Hydahs," "Tsimsheans," and "Stickeens" constantly coming and going for the purposes of trade and work; and as six different languages were spoken the Missionary was obliged to use Chinhook, into which he translated portions of the Liturgy. Mr. Garret's labours at this station were successful beyond expectation. In one year nearly 600 Indians, men and children, received some instruction in his school [16]. He also founded a Mission in the Cowichan district both among the whites and Indians. The Indians there were ready to receive the Church "with open arms." "They prayed, they entreated" Mr. Garret "to come at once . . . and build a house on *their* land." But while having confidence in the Missionary they were cautious in welcoming the white settlers.

> "If we go and take your blankets or your cows," they said, "you will lock us up in gaol; why then, do you come and take our land and our deer? Don't *steal* our land; *buy* it, and then come and our hearts will be very happy. But do not think us fools. We are not very poor. See, we have plenty of boxes filled with blankets. Hence if you want our land, give us a 'little big price' for it. We will not steal your pigs or your asses, but don't you steal our land" [17].

The Church at least dealt honestly with the natives. Land was purchased and a Mission organised with a resident Missionary (the Rev. W. S. Reece) in 1866 [18].

Of Nanaimo (also on Vancouver's Island), where the Rev. J. B. Good was stationed in 1861, the Bishop reported in January 1863: "There is now a church, parsonage and school for the whole population and a school-chapel for the Indians, through his zealous exertions. I have, several times been present at interesting services at the latter, and have reason to think that a deep impression has been made upon the Indian mind" [19]. But so great were the demoralising influences produced by contact with the Europeans that the Indians were "apt to suppose the white men are all alike children of the devil in morals, however great they may be in other respects." It was therefore "something to be instrumental, under God, in pointing out to them a better way . . . to afford this ill-fated race examples of sober and godly living," which might "atone in their eyes to some extent for the bad and evil lives of those who call themselves a superior people." Mr. Good visited the Indians from house to house, worked for days in the Reserve, cutting roads and encouraging them to improve their dwellings and mode of living. He instructed their children, and every Sunday preached to the adults—at first in one of the Chief's houses and afterwards in a beautiful Mission chapel—to crowded congregations. The sick and dying were also cared for, and in one year he vaccinated hundreds of the natives: his treatment having "surprisingly good effects in the majority of instances" [20].

In 1866 Mr. Good was transferred to the mainland at Yale (on the Fraser River), where he had the care of a small English congregation and the neighbouring Indians. In 1867 he received an invitation from the Thompson River Indians, a tribe numbering 1,500. They had, after applying in vain for teachers of our Church, received occasional visits from Romish Missionaries. But "though they conformed *outwardly* to some of the rites of Roman Christianity," they "had a

superstitious dread" of the Priests, and "were, for the most part, heathens at heart." Many of them had visited Yale and had become interested in the Society's Mission there. One afternoon in the winter of 1867 a large body of them was seen approaching from the Lytton Road. "On they came, walking in single file, according to their custom, and headed by Sashiatan, a chief of great repute and influence —once a warrior noted for his prowess and cruelty. Gathering round the Church steps with heads uncovered, they stated their desire to be taught a better way than they had yet known. The deputation was followed by two others of similar character. Mr. Good thus gained some acquaintance with their language, and with the aid of an interpreter he translated a portion of the Litany into Nitlakapamuk and chanted it to them, telling them also of the love of God to man. While Mr. Good was awaiting the arrival of an assistant, Mr. HOLMES, to leave at Yale, the Indians sent him a message by telegraph urging him to "make haste and come." A few days after he met 600 of them at Lytton, who besought him "to come amongst them and to be their father, teacher and guide."

Pledges "to be true and obedient" were given on behalf of themselves and absent friends, who outnumbered those present. As the Missionary passed the encampments along the Thompson River, occasionally the aged and blind Indians were led out to him, so that he might give them his hand [21].

In May 1868 the Bishop visited the Indians. At Yale he preached to 380, under the care of Mr. Holmes, who already had obtained a surprising influence over them. On the way to Lytton, where Mr. Good had removed, the Bishop was met by the Missionary and sixty mounted Indians, "representatives of many tribes and all catechumens in the Mission. . . . The chiefs were decked in every colour and grotesque array." To some of them the Bishop had often in former times spoken about God and the Saviour; but he "never hoped to behold this scene, for its remarkable feature was that they had all now accepted the teaching of the Minister of Christ and had put away the prominent sins of heathenism. Men whose histories were written in blood and sorceries had become humble and teachable disciples of the Lord Jesus." On entering Lytton the Bishop had to shake hands with 700 Indians, "who were all adherents of the Mission and many had come . . . even 100 miles" to meet him. The Church was thronged by hundreds, old and young. After one of the services four catechumens were received, one of whom had been "a notorious sorcerer steeped in crimes. He was grey-headed, and on his knees, in the presence of the people," he "confessed his deeds, renounced his errors and expressed penitence." As each catechumen was received the whole congregation rose and sang in their own tongue the Gloria Patri. At an evening meeting of catechumens there were 250 present, mostly men. The subject of the Missionary's instruction was duty to God. After the Bishop had finished examining some of the catechumens, Spintlum, the chief, rose to speak.

"He said the people had not answered well. They knew much more. He would speak for them and tell . . . what they knew. He then, with real eloquence and expressive and graceful gesture, told the sacred story of religion. He began with the Fall, mentioned some leading facts of the Old Testament; spoke of the

great love of God in sending His only Son, and then gave a description of the life of Christ, who had sent His apostles to preach the Gospel to all nations. Then addressing the Missionaries, he said: 'You all are come to us because God has sent you. You have brought us the knowledge of the truth. We have had others among us, and listened to them, but we cannot follow them, for they do not teach us right. They only brought us little crosses, but you have brought us the Holy Bible, the Word of God. We earnestly pray you continue to teach us. We shall never be weary of hearing God's Word."

During his visitation the Bishop met twenty-two chiefs, nearly all of whom were catechumens. In all there were 580 accepted catechumens at Lytton, and 180 at Yale—"representing . . . about 1,500 declared adherents of the Church of England." Baptism was preceded by probations varying "from two years and upwards." "Magistrates, Hudson's Bay Company officials, settlers and traders," as well as the Clergy, bore testimony to the beneficial influence of the Missions, under which "whole tribes and families" were seen "giving up evil practices and heathen customs . . . and seeking instruction in the Will of God." Many of the converts regularly attended Sunday service from distances extending from ten to fifty miles; and gambling, "an inveterate practice, in which relatives have been deliberately sold into slavery, . . . almost ceased" [22].

In 1871 the Bishop laid the foundation of a new church at Lytton, dedicated to St. Paul (by which name the Mission has since been known), and in the next year he baptized twenty-six Indians, after "a searching examination and investigation of character." A proof of the sincerity of the tribe was that whereas in times past they had "lived wild, lawless lives, and were continually being brought before the magistrates for wrong doing," in 1872 there was "a total absence of crime amongst them" [23]. The Indian converts indeed, by their consistent Christian lives, were frequently a rebuke to the Europeans. Thus from Yale Mr. Holmes reported in 1871 "that while Good Friday was religiously observed by the Indians," who crowded the church, "the Christian whites . . . seemed too eager after the things of this life to cast a look toward the great event of that day" [24].

During two episcopal visits to Lytton in 1873–4, 245 Indians (of whom 206 were adults) received baptism, most of them at the hands of the Bishop. On the second occasion 116 were confirmed. Meanwhile (in 1873) Mr. Holmes was transferred to Cowichan and Yale was united to St. Paul's Mission [25]. This addition to a district already extending over 100 square miles [25*a*] added greatly to the task of seeking out the remaining heathen, but the pastoral work itself proved a powerful evangelising agency, and many who at first held aloof were by it drawn into the fold. At Lytton in 1877, after an address by the Bishop,

"two sorcerers . . . came forward confessing their sins and desiring baptism. One of them declared that . . . during the past 12 years he had seen first the Clergy, then the Word of God, then the House of Prayer, then Sacraments and he could no longer resist; he had long been convinced of the weakness and inferiority of heathenism, and now he declared his conviction before his assembled brethren" [26].

In 1879 the mainland of British Columbia was formed into two new dioceses—New Westminster in the south and Caledonia in the north—and the original See of British Columbia limited to Vancouver's Island and the adjacent isles. As far back as 1867 Bishop *Hills* testified that the Society's aid had "been productive of vast

benefits to the inhabitants" of the colony, and without it, "humanly speaking, we could have accomplished but little indeed" [27]. On the division of the diocese it was thought wise—considering the more pressing calls from other quarters—to withdraw assistance from Vancouver's Island, where for more than twenty years the Society had laboured to plant Missions amongst the natives and settlers. Since December 1881 the Diocese of British Columbia has therefore not received any financial help from the Society other than that afforded by two grants of £300 each in 1889 and 1891 towards a Clergy Endowment Fund* [28]. In the Diocese of New Westminster, which the Society assisted to establish by guaranteeing the maintenance of the Bishop until an endowment had been provided,† Bishop Sillitoe found, as "the fruits of the Society's work," that the Church had been "planted," and had "taken root, in four districts, each of them as extensive as an English diocese, and in every instance" he believed the plant was "a healthy one," which with cultivation would "grow into a productive tree." The Indian Mission at Lytton and Yale numbered a "Church body" of "600 souls and 135 communicants." [29]. The reorganisation of the Mission under two Missionaries in 1884 led to corresponding results, and by 1889 the number of Christians had more than doubled. Much of this progress is due to the labours of the Rev. R. SMALL [30].

Besides its work among the Indians and the colonists the Society sought to establish a Mission specially for the Chinese in British Columbia, but the difficulty of obtaining Chinese-speaking teachers prevented much being done for these people previous to the appointment of the Rev. H. H. Gowen in 1892 [31].

An instance of the respect with which the Church of England is regarded was afforded by the arrival at Yale in 1880 of a Chinese family, who "brought with them strict injunctions from the Chief Pastor of a German Mission" in Hong Kong, "to ally themselves with no Christian body but that of the Church of England. This injunction they faithfully observed by putting themselves under the charge of the Church Mission" [32].

To the Diocese of Caledonia the Society, on the invitation of Bishop Ridley, extended its aid in 1880 by providing funds for the support of a Missionary to work among the gold miners [33]. But the grant was not made use of until 1884, when a beginning was made (by the Rev. H. SHELDON) at Cassiar, the headquarters of the Mission being soon removed to Port Essington [34]. Mr. Sheldon's duties often took him into danger, and his self-denial kept him "as bare of anything approaching a home, or the comforts of a home, as gold fever can the most enterprising of miners" [35].

In his first year Mr. Sheldon secured the building of a church, "the first place of worship of any kind ever erected for the white men on the coast." They had "now got into the way of attending church most regularly," on Saints' Days as well as Sundays. The district under his charge embraced "the whole of that part of the diocese situated on the mainland of British Columbia." He found the mining

* *See* addition on p. 191*e*.

† For the first nine years Bishop Sillitoe was partly supported by an annual grant from the Society, which has also contributed £1,032 to the episcopal endowment [29*a*].

camps "more or less, a scene of wickedness . . . gambling, blasphemy, drinking and prostitution" being carried on "to a fearful extent." Such was the state of Lorne on his visiting it in 1885; but his "own people" rallied round him, "and by the second Sunday the place was reduced to something like order, and on an average twenty men attended the services" [36].

No wonder the Missionary had to contend with infidelity and indifference, when, "from the first establishment of the Missions on this coast in 1859, the white people" had been "carefully left to themselves and until the Bishop's arrival . . . in 1879 *there had never been a service held for them by any Missionary on the coast*" [37].

On this subject the Bishop added in 1886 that "this summer, for the first time, a clergyman of our Church" (Mr. Sheldon) "has ministered to the scattered groups of our countrymen from the coast to the Rocky Mountains." An idea of the travel involved could only be formed by sending a Missioner from London to Durham, thence to Carlisle, Inverness, and Aberdeen. "He must go on foot, avoid roads, bridges, everything of human construction, see no living soul between the points" named, "carry his own kit, have a foreigner to carry his food for the way and be pestered by mosquitoes night and day" [38].

Mr. Sheldon appears to have been the only qualified medical man available for most of the population, and the knowledge of medicine was "a great power" for doing good. Besides his ministrations to the whites he had "a considerable amount of Indian work," conducted in the Zimshean language; and in the services held by him were to be seen the whites and Indians kneeling "side by side at God's altar." This union in worship is great gain to the Indians, because "the example of the whites is a power among them" [39]. The Missionary's sojourn in the mining camps proved a great check to wicked practices. Marriage began to take the place of concubinage, and sobriety to gain ground among those whose drinking habits formerly knew "no restraint." "I rejoice to see this improvement among these early settlers" (wrote the Bishop from Metlakatla in 1886), "for it is laying a good foundation for the future. Among the white population the Society's grant is proving a potent factor in promoting their well being and religious life" [40].

After two more years of zealous and faithful labour Mr. Sheldon was called to lay down his life. On February 20, 1888, he embarked at Port Essington in a canoe, intending to minister to the sick settlers some 40 miles distant. With him were four Indians. When nearly half way to Fort Simpson the canoe was struck, split, and capsized by a squall. All were drowned except an Indian lad. He says that though Mr. Sheldon's flesh was torn from his fingers (while clinging to the canoe), he "did not cry out. He only prayed for us boys. He asked the God of heaven to save us" [41].

His successor, the Rev. M. Browne, reported in 1889 that Mr. Sheldon "began a work which is to day a star of grandeur always assuming larger dimensions as we travel for thousands of miles through Cassiar and Babiu regions. No pen can describe his matchless worth, and no tongue tell the tale of woe which his death effected. As a parish priest his walk of life was a silent sermon daily to his people,

and his medical ability bestowed consolation and health where for years no one appeared to protect either body or soul." The work of the Mission is "grand, noble and dangerous," and Mr. Browne had narrow escapes on the water, and on two occasions "had to remain for three days and two cold nights without food or shelter under heavy rain." In answer to appeals from him and the Bishop for a suitable boat, which would prevent "unnecessary sacrifice of life," and for additional workers, a lady in England has supplied the means (£80) for meeting the former want, and the Society has provided for the employment of a second Missionary [42].

Already (in 1889) the church and parsonage at Port Essington have been enlarged, and a school-house and teachers' residence have been provided; and there are "overflowing congregations" and "good Sunday schools and day school well attended." Many of the poor people "sold their trinkets to contribute to . . . Church expenses." One old woman offered a ring, and an Indian "his best blanket" [43].

Caledonia Diocese (1892-1900).

Notwithstanding frequent interruptions from changes in the staff (1890-94), the work in the Port Essington Mission has continued to grow. In 1892 there were six branches besides a new centre at Gardner's Inlet, some 120 miles distant; while at Port Essington itself every white man, excepting two, had by 1894 been brought to attend church [44–47].

By the labours of the Rev. B. Appleyard and his wife the work has since been greatly strengthened and extended. The former at once won the respect of the whites and Indians, while Mrs. Appleyard, a trained nurse, and acquainted with the native language, is to the Indians his "interpreter and curate"; to the Chinaman and Japanese, while attending to their bodies, a messenger of God; to the white people she is rector's wife; to the sick, often doctor and nurse; and friend to all." In the winter the population is small, but in the summer Port Essington becomes the centre for a conglomeration of races engaged in the salmon fishery business—Europeans, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, half-breeds, &c. "Spiritually the Indians are the life of this country" (wrote Mr. Appleyard in 1897), "the whites, as a class, are lukewarm" [48]*.

While Mr. Appleyard was acquiring the language of the Indians, he seldom read the lessons or preached to them in church, having native lay-helpers for this work. The preacher was instructed in a sermon which he presented in Indian style. As a proof of the abiding effect of the teaching given in the Mission, the Bishop of Caledonia related

* A sailor who had "tasted of every sensual vice, and who had a conscience rendered almost nerveless and dead," went to the missionary for instruction and help with a view to baptism. When asked where he had obtained these desires for a new life it was found that they had come from the evangelistic work of the Indians [49].

in 1896 how three Indians sought his sanction and advice for the formation of a branch of the Diocesan Church Army, an institution which has done much good in reviving the hearts of the slow and reclaiming the backsliders. In their interview they thus introduced their subject:—

"Chief, Bishop, the work of God is no light thing. All parts are weighty. Small things are parts of great things. Little things differ not from large in things of God. He makes no distinction; therefore we may not. If otherwise, thou wilt explain. In our ignorance so we think, and therefore so we speak. But if we err, thou hast seen more winters than we have, and knowest all the wisdom of the ancients, and wilt instruct us. Whatever thou sayest we will do. Now Chief! Bishop! listen!

"Why should souls die? Why should they be shut out from God? He opens the door—why should the devil close it? We will go against him; we will cry out to souls; we will weep; we will fall low for them to walk over us. Why should walls shut in good news? May not men standing on the streets hear it? Where Jesus walked let us walk. He spoke with the sun looking down, with the gale roaring, when the stars gave their brightness, when His disciples saw the waves filling their canoe" [50].

It is questionable whether any Bishop mixes with the Indians more, with a view to raising them, than Bishop Ridley does. He tells of a wonderful transformation wrought at one place in his diocese where "a missionary fresh from an English parish asked in plaintive tones if those were the people he had to work among," and on being told that they were "the raw material," added, "then I may as well go home again."

Another noteworthy transformation occurred in 1898, when hearing that an Indian lad was to be killed by a tribe of heathen Tahltans, for supposed witchcraft, Mr. Appleyard, taking a British flag, went boldly to the encampment, and for an hour pleaded for the life of the lad. On the one side hung the ingrained superstition of generations, intensified, if not justified, by the right of revenge; on the other side the law of the intruding white man, and of an almost unknown God. In the end, after all had spoken, the chief addressed the council, and then turning to the missionary he said: "Your words are good, take him away, he is yours." The lad was placed under Christian training, and it is hoped that he will some day become a missionary to his countrymen [51].

The Bishop asserted, in 1897, that "the Christian Indians" in his diocese are "morally better than the gold miners." He has spoken this repeatedly without reproach* or contradiction before men who once held the opinion that "only dead Indians are good." The most reasonable objection the working white man can bring against the Christian Indian is that the once despised savage is now his equal in the chief industry in the diocese. The Bishop adds: "As the power of Christ's story arrested the minds of these interesting people, crime diminished; instead of a race hatred that threatened the civil power,

* The Bishop's regard for, and labours among, the white miners prove that he is far from being prejudiced against them, and he urges "the weight of responsibility of Englishmen abroad among subject and inferior races in trying to be their true friends in all peace and purity" [52a].

unfeigned loyalty has sprung up, so that the Christian Indian may be relied on should public peril arise" [52].

Besides the permanent Mission stations in Caledonia Diocese, there are districts which are visited by the missionaries in the summer for the purpose of ministering to the miners. At Dease Lake, in the Glenora district, a log church was built by the Rev. H. Sheldon, probably about 1886. Glenora, which is on the Stickine river, some 150 miles from the coast, was formerly an Indian trading post.

In 1898, when the Stickine river was becoming the favourite route to Klondyke, the Rev. B. Appleyard and the Bishop of Caledonia spent some months in ministering to the miners at Glenora. For the lack of such work, Wrangel, an American town on the route, had become "quite unfit for a lady to enter," though before the white man came a woman could have walked unprotected through "heathen" Wrangel without being insulted. In the case of Glenora the Church was first in the field, with nothing lacking to meet all the religious needs of the floating population, and the work rallied the Church people, and drew the majority of the other religiously-disposed persons to the services. One man, who, believing "the Church of England was dead in this country," had gone for a walk, was surprised half an hour later to find "a Bishop and a priest holding church in our midst." Another, seeing the same, immediately ran to his friends, calling them to come quickly. A third, an African mineowner, said, "Well! well! how is it we cannot get away from the old Church?" and two young men, hearing of a celebration for the Sunday morning, walked thirteen miles on the Saturday in order to be present at Holy Communion. So highly were Mr. Appleyard's services appreciated, that over forty men, from various parts of the world, joined in sending an address of thanks to the Society for the privileges which they had enjoyed [53].

Similar work was begun in 1899 on the new goldfields in the Lake Atlin and Lake Bennett districts, by the Rev. B. Appleyard and the Rev. F. Stephenson. A part of the Lake Bennett field is in the Diocese of Selkirk, but for the sake of convenience the whole of the work is under the superintendence of the Bishop of Caledonia, who celebrated his sixty-fifth birthday by taking part in opening the Mission.

The cost of living at Atlin is great, and in order to maintain himself and family Mr. Stephenson, who had kept his difficulties to himself, was driven in 1900 to work as a carpenter three days a week, at $6 a day, for about a month, when his congregation relieved him of further necessity [54].

Fort Simpson (formerly visited by the Rev. H. Sheldon) received a resident missionary in 1892, the Rev. T. C. P. Pyemont. Under the Rev. F. Stephenson (1894–99) and the Rev. W. Hogan (1899–1900) the work has been greatly strengthened and extended, the district including representatives of many nations, even Russians, Patagonians, Japanese, and negroes [55].

The native Indian members of the congregation have at times been "disturbed by the Salvation Army work" [56].

In 1897 the Society contributed £200 from the Marriott bequest

towards the erection of a hospital at Claxton for the reception of the sick from among the Indian, Japanese, Chinese, and white population [57]. The institution was erected as a memorial to Mrs. Ridley, the Bishop's wife, who died on December 6, 1896, leaving a record of missionary spirit and devotion rarely equalled. On one occasion a clergyman and his wife, placed in a remote Mission on the Skeena river, recoiled from the horrors of savage life and suddenly left for England. To save the work from collapsing (no one else being available) Mrs. Ridley, taking a year's provisions, went herself—a dismal journey of fifteen days, camping and sleeping on the snow being but the least of the discomforts—and for a year dwelt among the Indians and miners, the only white woman within 170 miles, her entire household consisting of two Indian schoolboys. Such was her isolation that the Bishop visited England and returned—travelling 14,000 miles without her knowing it. When she left, "the miners said she was the best parson they ever had," and the Indians called her "mother" to the day of her death* [58].

The only efforts for the evangelisation of the Japanese in British Columbia as yet reported to the Society are (1) visits to a Japanese settlement about nine miles from Fort Simpson (begun by the Rev. F. Stephenson about 1894); (2) the teaching of a young Japanese named "Ennyu," employed as cook by the Rev. B. Appleyard, of Essington. Ennyu's conversion, in May 1898, was reported by Mr. Appleyard as the "first fruits in the diocese" (Caledonia) from among the Japanese, and it is hoped that he will become a missionary to his countrymen; (3) classes held for the Japanese at Sapperton, in New Westminster Diocese, by the Rev. J. H. Davis, 1899–1900 [59].

New Westminster Diocese (1892–1900).

After helping the diocese through a financial crisis by accepting (in 1896) the Archdeaconry of "Columbia," in New Westminster Diocese, the Ven. R. Small resigned that position in 1897, in order to again devote himself exclusively to the Indian work, and was appointed Archdeacon of Yale, with jurisdiction over the Indian Missions generally in the diocese. The Indians under his care occupy both banks (1) of the Fraser river from Chilliwhack to Lillooet (140 miles), and (2) of the Thompson river from Lytton to Ashcroft (48 miles), and (3) of the

* In memory of Mrs. Ridley a Mission to the Indians has been started at Tahltan, on the Stickine river; at present it is not maintained by any Society, but some friends of the Bishop contribute to it, and the Rev. F. M. T. Palgrave has worked for over two years at his own expense [58*a*].

In support of the view that "Missions are the miracle of the century," Bishop Ridley states that in places in his diocese where at one period missionary labour appeared to be fruitless there are now no heathen. Not long ago was witnessed the "miracle" of converted heathen standing round and praying while their unconverted brethren destroyed their church by fire. The conduct of the converts had a tremendous influence on the heathen, and the very man who fired the church was led to join the Bishop in measuring out a site for a new church [58*b*].

Nicola river from Spence's Bridge to Nicola (60 miles), making in all a distance of 248 miles to be visited. Lytton remains the central station, and the establishment there of a Cottage Hospital and a Boys' Industrial School, and of a Girls' School at Yale (which is under the "Sisters of All Hallows"), completed the organisations so far as institutions are concerned.

The influence of thoughtless and vicious whites has had a lowering effect on the Indians, but the native Church members furnish examples of devotion and reverence, and they will still travel long distances in order to be present at the services. In August 1898 the Indians who were fishing on the coast were gathered together by Archdeacon Small for a Sunday morning service and celebration of the Holy Communion in the Cathedral at New Westminster [60].

"Foreign Missions" have been brought to the very door of the Church in British Columbia by the immigration of Chinese, who are scattered all over the Province. They come from the southern part of China, chiefly Canton Province, and most of them speak Pun-ti, and a few Hak-ka. They belong generally to the low coolie class. In the winter most of them are in the towns; in the summer they will be at the canneries, or the mines, or the sawmills. In religion, from external signs, they seem to worship Mammon and little besides; to quote from a report in 1893:—

> "For the most part, with much superstition, the Chinaman has little religion. He fears devils, tosses his lucksticks, burns red paper to scare the evil spirits away, feasts at the graves of his friends, but he seeks no bond of fellowship with any higher Power as a relief to the grinding toil of this earthly life. Thus the call of Christ, 'Come unto Me, all ye that are weary and heavy laden,' comes, when it is heard, as a new and wonderful revelation" [61].

How to bring home to them effectively this loving invitation was a problem which had engaged the Society's attention for some time, but until 1892 the efforts made in the Diocese of New Westminster had been confined to somewhat spasmodic exertion in the parishes of Christ Church, Vancouver, and Holy Trinity, New Westminster, where night classes for secular instruction were held, those under the Rev. H. B. Hobson (Vancouver) being specially successful [62].

In 1892 the work was organised as a Diocesan Mission to the Chinese, and placed under the charge of the Rev. H. H. Gowen, an experienced and zealous Missionary from Honolulu. To assist unity of feeling, and unity and economy of effort, a Diocesan Chinese Mission Aid Association was formed for promoting fellowship of prayer, almsgiving, and work among all interested in the evangelisation of the Chinese, and it is hoped that the work begun in New Westminster and Vancouver may spread throughout the diocese, which, in 1900, contained about 9,000 Chinamen. The formation of properly organised congregations will be a work of time, not only on account of the slow fruition expected, but also because the migratory habits of the Chinese scatter the converts almost as soon as they are made. Out of five Chinamen baptized in one year, four soon moved to other parts of the world, of course taking with them strength for other Mission fields, but delaying the building up of a congregation in the place they had left [63].

While the Indian and Chinese* work was being developed, the Church under Bishop Sillitoe's rule was making great efforts to provide also for the spiritual needs of the white settlers attracted by the mines and various industries opening up in the Colony. The severity of the work at length proved too much for one who was zealous and unsparing in his labours, and the Bishop died at his post on June 9, 1894, after fifteen years' devoted service, the immediate cause of death being pneumonia [64].

His successor, the Rev. J. Dart, D.C.L., was consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral, on St. Peter's Day, 1895 [65]. He arrived in his diocese at a time when the Episcopal income was practically *nil*, and the nineteen clergy were dispirited and divided. The Bishop (who brought with him experience gained in Colombo and Nova Scotia as well as in England) met all his difficulties with unflinching courage and unceasing work. He could not, however, have retained his position but for the Society's help given to tide over the period of non-productiveness of the Bishopric endowment, a period shortened by a fire in the city of New Westminster in September 1898, by which some unprofitable house property, representing a portion of the endowment, was exchanged for insurance money [66].

The first four years of Bishop Dart's episcopate witnessed a great extension of the Church among the settlers, and in 1899 East and West Kootenay and the Okanagan Valley were formed into a separate diocese, called Kootenay, which is to remain under the Bishop of New Westminster until provision has been made for a second Bishop. The new diocese, the See city of which is Nelson (with St. Saviour's Church as pro-Cathedral), began with seventeen clergy and sixty-four congregations, and its first Synod met on May 31, 1900 [67].

A most satisfactory feature of this progress has been the growth in self-support. In 1893 it was found that the Society's grant to Kamloops could secure the maintenance of four clergymen instead of one, and the policy of stimulating local efforts has been continued by Bishop Dart with excellent results, there being nine self-supporting churches in the diocese in 1898 [68].

One of these—Rossland—is mainly due to the self-denying labours of the Rev. H. Irwin, who gave up his living in Ireland in order to plant the Church among the rough miners there [69].

The diocese owes much also to the great energies and capacity of Archdeacon Pentreath, who succeeded to the Archdeaconry of "Columbia" in 1897, and in 1899 (during the absence of the Bishop for the purpose of raising funds for Missions) took charge of the diocese as Commissary-General [70].

* Although the Chinese work in the city of New Westminster had to be discontinued for some years through stress of circumstances (the departure of Mr. Gowen, &c.), it has been lately revived by Bishop Dart with encouraging prospects. The Bishop says that it would be difficult to find in the whole field of Heathen Missions a more favourable opportunity than is to be found among the Chinese of British Columbia.

British Columbia Diocese (1892–1900).

The Society's aid to this diocese, which had been discontinued in 1891, was renewed in 1898 in the form of a grant for the establishment of a Mission to the Chinese, of whom there are some 5,000 in the diocese. Under the Rev. J. Grundy (of 17 years' experience in China), the Mission has been well begun, and it is hoped to connect it with the Diocese of New Westminster and Caledonia, with a view to the organisation of the Chinese work in the whole Province of British Columbia [71].

Bishop Hills,* the pioneer of British Columbia, who resigned in 1892, was succeeded by Dr. W. W. Perrin (consecrated in Westminster Abbey on the Feast of the Annunciation, 1893). The diocese still retains its original name of "British Columbia," legal difficulties standing in the way of a change of a title which is now a misnomer [72].

* Bishop Hills died in England in 1895.

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 192.)

(1) The Field and Period	(2) Races and Tribes ministered to	(3) Languages used by the Missionaries	(4) No. of ordained Missionaries employed (European and colonial)
NEWFOUNDLAND (WITH NORTHERN LABRADOR) 1703-5, 1726-1900	Colonists (Christian and Non-Christian) ..	English Irish	210
	Esquimaux (Christian and Heathen)	English	
THE BERMUDAS 1822-70	Negroes (Heathen and Christian)	English	12
	Mixed or coloured races (Heathen and Christian)	English	
	Colonists (Christian)	English	
NOVA SCOTIA, 1728-43, 1749-1900; CAPE BRETON, 1785-1900; AND PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, 1819-1900	Colonists (Christian and Non-Christian) ..	English, German, French, Erse, Gaelic	268
	Indians:		
	Micmacks, &c. (Heathen and Christian) ..	Micmack	
	Negroes (Christian and Heathen)	English	
NEW BRUNSWICK 1783-1900	Colonists (Christian and Non-Christian)	English & Danish	227
	Indians: Micmacks, Marashites, Carabous, &c. (Christian and Heathen)	Mohawk Micmack	
	Negroes and Half-castes (Christian and Heathen)	English	
LOWER OR EASTERN CANADA, QUEBEC PROVINCE (WITH SOUTHERN LABRADOR) 1759-64, 1777-1900	Colonists (Christian and Non-Christian)	English German	312
	Indians: Esquimaux, Abenaguis — Heathen and Christian		
UPPER OR WESTERN CANADA, ONTARIO PROVINCE 1784-1900	Colonists (Christian and Non-Christian)	English	389
	Iroquois or Six Nation Indians: Mohawks, Tuscaroras, Onondages, &c. (Christian and Heathen)	Mohawk	
	Ojibways, Ottahwahs, Pottawottamies (Heathen and Christian)	Ojibway	
	Munsees or Munceys, Missasauguas (Heathen and Christian)		
	Negroes (Christian and Heathen)	English	
MANITOBA AND NORTH-WEST TERRITORIES, CANADA 1850-1900	Colonists:		202
	British (Christian)	English	
	Russo-Germans " ..	Russian and German	
	Germans and Hungarians "	German	
	Danes and Swedes "	Danish	
	French "	French	
	Poles "	Russian	
	Bohemians "	Russian	
	Icelanders "		
	Galicians "	English	
	Half-breeds (Christian and Heathen)	English	
	Indians: Plain Crees, Swampy Crees, Sioux, Blackfoot, Peigans, Assiniboinee, Saulteaux, Sarcees (Heathen and Christian)	Cree, English, Saulteaux	
BRITISH COLUMBIA .. 1859-1900	Colonists (Christian)	English	67
	Indians (Heathen and Christian):		
	Thompson and Spuzzum	Nitlakapamuk	
	Cowichan (or Cowitchen)	Cowichan and Chinhook*	
	Songes (or Tsau-miss)	Tsamus and Chinhook*	
	Bill Bellas, Cogholds, Hydahs, Stickeens ..	Chinhook*	
	Shee Shats (or Shee Shaks)	Shee Shak and Chinhook*	
	Zimshians	Zimshian	
	Glatikshans	Glatikshan	
	Tinne	Tinne	
	Half-breeds		
	Chinese (Heathen and Christian)	Chinese	
	Japanese (Heathen and Christian)	Japanese	
TOTAL§	12 European Colonial races, 31 Indian tribes, also Negroes, mixed races, Chinese, and Japanese	20	1,597§

* *Chinhook is a jargon* used as a common medium of communication among the Indians.
§ *After allowing for repetitions* and transfers.

(5) No. of Central Stations assisted	(6) Society's Expenditure	(7) Comparative Statement of the Anglican Church generally							
		1701				1900			
		Church Members	Clergy	Dioceses	Local Missionary Effort	Church Members	Clergy	Dioceses	Local Missionary Effort
73	£1,891,154	*500	1	—		69,824	58 (40 S.P.G.)	1	Domestic Missions among the Colonists, and the Indians and Chinese in Canada, direct Foreign Mission Work in Japan, and support of the S.P.G. and C.M.S. Missions in Asia and Africa
9		—	? 1	—		10,627	10 (1 S.P.G.)	—	
99		—	—	—		77,702	125 (8 S.P.G.)	1	
111		—	—	—		46,768	77 (21 S.P.G.)	1	
166		—	—	—		70,429	201 (4 S.P.G.)	2	
294		—	—	—		297,825	575 (13 S.P.G.)	6	
128		—	—	—		70,000	187 (64 S.P.G.)	9	
41		—	—	—		23,000	77 (18 S.P.G.)	4	
921	£1,891,154	*500	[?]2	—		666,175	1,310 (169 S.P.G.)	†24	

* *Approximate estimate.*

† See pp. 763–4.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE WEST INDIES, CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA (INTRODUCTION).

THE Society found the West Indies generally in possession of a Church Establishment which, though insufficient, yet for a long period afforded better provision for the ordinances of religion than existed in other parts of the Mission field. There were, however, certain calls and claims from this quarter which could not be disregarded. Beginning by aiding clergymen with books or passage money, between 1703 and 1710, the Society in the latter year became permanently connected with the West Indies by accepting the Trusteeship of the Codrington Estates in Barbados. The exercise of this trust was quoted by the Bishop of Barbados in 1861 as "a noble exception" at a time (extending over a century) "when the African race" (in the West Indies) "were even by members of the Church, almost entirely neglected" [1]. Extensions were made by the Society to the Bahamas in 1731 and to the Mosquito Shore in 1748. As early as 1715 the Society also sought to establish two Bishoprics in the West Indies, but its representations on the subject were not successful until 1824, when the Sees of Jamaica and Barbados were founded. [*See* pp. 201, 229, 744, 752.]

In urging this measure and the appointment of two Archdeacons in the previous year the Society laid stress on the claims of the slaves, which were obtaining some recognition in the House of Commons, and at the invitation of the Government it recommended "a further supply of not less than forty Clergymen . . . with an adequate body of Catechists and Schoolmasters," as "the smallest number that might produce any beneficial results" among "the negro population of more than 800,000 souls" [2].

By the abolition of slavery, which was accomplished during the next ten years, an immense field for Missions was opened in the West Indies and Guiana. Statements received by the Society in the autumn of 1834 showed "that an increased desire for religious instruction had been manifested by the emancipated negroes; that additional facilities for satisfying that desire were loudly called for; that the spiritual necessities of the people were already pressing heavily upon the means which the Clergy had at their command, and that those means were utterly insufficient to enable them to take advantage of the disposition which existed both among the proprietors and the working people, to receive from them the benefit of a Christian education for their children."

Under these circumstances, "a great and immediate effort" was made in behalf of the coloured population in the West Indies, &c. A negro education fund was opened, and between 1835–50 the Society, aided by a King's Letter, Parliamentary grants, the S.P.C.K., the

Society for the Conversion of the Negroes [or the Christian Faith Society], and liberal contributions from persons connected with the West Indies, expended £171,777 on the erection of churches and schools, and the maintenance of clergymen, schoolmasters, and catechists.

STATEMENT OF THE NEGRO EDUCATION FUND.

Year	RECEIPTS			PAYMENTS				
	Donations	Parliamentary Grant	Total	Expenses	Missionaries	Churches and Schools	Teachers	Total
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1836	12,684 6 0	7,500 0 0	20,184 6 0	532 3 11	672 10 0	3,658 0 0	263 0 0	5,125 13 11
1846	6,042 1 11	7,160 0 0	13,202 1 11	66 11 6	2,252 14 4	5,851 5 9	2,096 18 3	10,267 9 10
1837	736 16 0	6,000 0 0	6,736 16 0	..	3,704 7 1	9,079 7 0	2,440 8 3	15,224 2 4
1838	..	7,000 0 0	7,000 0 0	..	3,974 16 8	13,890 8 0	3,194 8 4	21,059 13 0
1839	..	7,000 0 0	7,000 0 0	..	3,941 2 0	7,538 11 11	4,828 18 1	16,308 12 0
1840	..	7,000 0 0	7,000 0 0	..	3,452 5 9	5,685 19 2	7,216 14 11	16,354 19 10
1841	5,000 0 0	7,000 0 0	12,000 0 0	..	3,795 12 8	5,699 13 4	8,314 2 4	17,700 8 4
1842	..	5,500 0 0	5,500 0 0	..	3,577 12 1	4,223 6 8	9,291 0 1	17,091 18 10
1843	..	4,125 0 0	4,125 0 0	..	3,671 11 10	1,626 13 1	7,696 8 7	12,994 13 6
1844	..	2,736 14 0	2,736 14 0	..	4,072 18 9	1,916 13 4	5,701 16 1	11,691 8 2
1845	..	1,363 7 0	1,363 7 0	..	4,092 11 0	316 13 4	4,746 8 4	9,155 12 8
1846	..	..	..	..	3,733 7 6	335 0 0	1,737 11 1	5,805 18 7
1847	..	..	..	..	3,762 14 5	150 0 0	..	3,912 14 5
1848	..	..	..	..	3,057 0 0	35 0 0	..	3,092 10 0
1849	..	..	..	..	2,909 3 7	..	212 10 0	3,121 13 7
1850	..	..	..	..	2,348 15 0	..	512 10 0	2,861 5 0
	24,463 3 11	62,385 1 0	86,848 4 11	598 15 5	53,019 2 8	60,006 11 7	58,152 14 4	171,777 14 0
Add Grants from General Fund			84,929 9 1					
Grand Total . . .			171,777 14 0					

With the exception of £7,282 allotted to Mauritius and the Seychelles, this sum of £171,777 (less £598 expenses) was applied for the benefit of the coloured population in the West Indies,* Guiana,* and Bermuda.*

The assistance thus rendered drew out a vast amount of local support, it being a condition that at least one-half of the salaries of the Missionaries and lay teachers should from the first be provided from other sources, and that eventually the entire charge should be undertaken by the Colonies [3].

Few Missionary efforts have produced such great results in so short a time as were effected by this movement. From some of the Colonies it was possible for the Society to withdraw all assistance at an early date, without injury to the work; in others it has been necessary to continue and renew aid from time to time, both in order to sustain Churches which otherwise must have sunk under disendow-

* Exclusive of Codrington Estates (£61,624) the total expenditure of the Society in these fields during the years 1835–50 was £172,053, which was distributed as follows:— Windward Islands (Barbados, £29,291; Tobago, £4,925; the other islands, £9,389) = £49,605; Leeward Islands, £20,262; Jamaica, £49,918; Bahamas, £8,153; Trinidad, £9,100; British Guiana, £33,609; Bermuda, £7,411. [For details *see* R. 1836-51, Statements of Account.]

ment,"* or rather the withdrawal of State aid, and to extend Missions among the native races, including the coolie immigrants from China and India [4]. The dioceses referred to in this section were in 1883 formed into the ecclesiastical "Province of the West Indies" [5].

Though the work of the Church of England in these islands and continents began before the formation of the several Sees—the local legislatures helping in some cases, but "the main and most continuous assistance" coming from the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K.—yet, speaking generally, the period of organisation and development of the Church commenced with the establishment and later extension of the episcopate, and with the abolition of the slave trade and slavery. The last sixty years (1840–1900) as regards the work of the Church in this Province have been "a period of extension, crisis, anxiety, change, reorganisation, and then further growth under new conditions" [6].

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE WINDWARD ISLANDS.

THE WINDWARD ISLANDS embrace the southern group of the West Indies, viz., Barbados (which was made a distinct Government in 1885), St. Lucia, St. Vincent, the Grenadines, and Grenada. Tobago, formerly reckoned as one of the group, has since January 1889 been united with the Government of Trinidad.

BARBADOS (area, 166 square miles).—Some doubt exists as to when this island was discovered. The Portuguese are credited with being the first visitors, but their connection with "Los Barbados" as they called it (from its bearded fig-trees) was little more than nominal. In 1605 the crew of the *Olive* took possession of it in the name of "James King of England"; but the island continued, as they found it, almost uninhabited until 1625, when a settlement was formed by Sir W. Courteen, a London merchant, acting under the Earl of Marlborough, to whom James had granted it. The first chaplain was the Rev. Nicholas Leverton, of Exeter College, Oxford, but the discord and profligacy of the settlers moved him to throw up his charge in despair. The granting of all the Caribbee Islands to the Earl of Carlisle by Charles I. in 1627 led to the Earl of Marlborough relinquishing his claims for a consideration, and in 1628 a second party of colonists settled in Barbados. In the patent to the Earl of Carlisle the first ground assigned for the grant is "a laudable and pious design" on his part "of propagating the Christian religion" as well as "of enlarging his Majesty's dominions." By 1629 six parishes had been established; five more were added in 1645; and strict conformity with the Church of England was enjoined, neglect of family prayer or of attendance at church being made punishable by fines. Again, in 1661 an Act was passed "for the encouragement of all faithful ministers in the Pastoral Charge within the Island." All these provisions were to a great extent neutralised by the misgovernment of the Parochial Vestries. So tyrannical was their control that in 1680 only five clergymen remained in the island. Baptisms, marriages, churchings, and burials were "either totally omitted or else performed by the overseers, in a kind of prophane merriment, and derision . . . of the ordinances." By endeavouring to instruct the negroes the Clergy themselves were exposed to "most barbarous usuage" and the slaves to worse treatment than before.†

ST. LUCIA (area, 243 square miles) was discovered by Columbus in 1502, when it was inhabited by Caribs, in whose possession it continued till 1635, when the King of France granted it to two of his subjects. The first English settlement, formed in 1639, was totally destroyed by the Caribs in 1640; the second lasted from 1664–7. Since that date, excepting for its neutrality 1723–44 and 1748–56, the island repeatedly changed hands between the French and English—the latter holding it for short periods only (1722–3, 1762–3, 1782–3, 1794–1801) until June 22, 1803, when it became permanently a British possession.

* The policy of disestablishment and disendowment was introduced into the West Indies at the end of 1869; but it has not extended to the island of Barbados.

† See *The Negro's and Indian's Advocate suing for their Admission into the Church*, &c. by the Rev. Morgan Godwyn, 1680

ST. VINCENT area, 140 square miles, was discovered by Columbus in 1498. Nominal possession was assumed by the English in 1627, but in reality the island was left solely in the hands of the native inhabitants—the Caribs—till the next century, sometimes by arrangement with the French. It was assigned to the Duke of Montague by George I. in 1722, declared neutral in 1748, taken by the English in 1762, to whom it was ceded in 1763, and again in 1783, having been surrendered to the French in 1779. During the French Revolution the Caribs, excited by the French, revolted, and after ravaging the colony were removed in 1797, to the number of 5,060, to the Island of Ratan, in the Bay of Honduras.

GRENADA (area, 133 square miles) was discovered by Columbus in 1498, it being then inhabited by Caribs. The French, who began to colonise it about 1650, extirpated the natives. The island was surrendered to the English in 1762, recovered by the French 1779, and restored to Great Britain in 1783.

THE GRENADINES are small islands lying between Grenada and St. Vincent, the chief being Carriacou and Bequia.

WITHIN two years of its establishment the Society was nominally brought into connection with Barbados by the will of General Codrington, dated Feb. 22. 1703, of which the following is a verbatim extract, now published for the first time by the Society:—

"I Christopher Codrington of Dodington in the County of Gloucester Esq. and Chief Governor of her Majesty's Leeward Islands in America do make and declare this to be my last Will and Testament. I recommend my Soul to the good God who gave it, hopeing for salvation thro' his mercy, and the merits of his Son: my worldly Estate I thus dispose of. . . .

. . . . . .

"I give and bequeath my two plantations in the Island of Barbadoes to the Society for the Propagation of the Christian Religion in Foreign Parts erected and established by my late good Master King William the third and my desire is to have the plantations continued intire and 300 negroes at least always kept thereon, and a convenient number of Professors and scholars maintained there all of them to be under vows of poverty and chastity and obedience who shall be obliged to study and practise Phisick and Chirurgery as well as Divinity, that by the apparent usefulness of the former to all mankind they may both endear themselves to the people and have the better opportunities of doing good to men's souls whilst they are taking care of their bodys, but the particulars of the constitutions I leave to the Society composed of wise and good men" [1].

In addition to these two estates, called "Consett's and Codrington's," a part of his estate in the Island of Barbuda was bequeathed to the Society. [*See* p. 212.] General Codrington died in Barbados on Good Friday, April 7, 1710. His body rested in St. Michael's Church in that island until 1716, when it was removed to the Chapel of All Souls College, Oxford, of which college he had been Fellow, and to which he bequeathed his books and a considerable sum of money [2]. According to the Rev. W. Gordon of Barbados, who was selected to preach the funeral sermon, which was dedicated to the Society,

"The Design of the Bequest was the maintenance of Monks and Missionarys to be employed in the Conversion of Negroes and Indians, which design he took from his conversation with a Learned Jesuite of St. Christophers, between whom and him, there passed several Letters about the antiquity, usefulness and excellency of a monastic life: but these with some other Rule and Directions of his which he communicated to me whilst alive are not now to be found. Of the Missionarys he proposed that there shou'd be constantly kept about three Visitors, who shou'd be obliged to travel from Colony to Colony, and from country to country, to transmit to the Society a large Historical Account of the State of Christianity, in each country, of the genius of the people, and what means were most probable to advance religion and piety" [3]. [L., Rev. W. Gordon, 25 July 1710.]

The will was announced on Aug. 15, 1710, but the Society "laboured under some uncommon difficulties in obtaining possession of

their right in the two Plantations," the value of which, or of the yearly crops, was then estimated "to amount to upwards of £2,000 per annum clear of all charges" [4].

The "difficulties," which arose from the claims of the executor, Lieut.-Colonel William Codrington, were aggravated by the injudicious zeal of the Governor of Barbados. The Society's attorneys had been in treaty with Colonel Codrington, and were in hopes of getting possession of the estates, but in August 1711, on waiting on him,

"they found him in custody by a writ of *Ne exeat* Insulam, contrary to their or any of their Council's knowledge; which greatly exasperated the Colonel: upon which they applyed to the Governor who told 'em that he had heard the Society's pretensions slighted and ridiculed before his face by some of the Colonel's friends and that he look't on all his offers to be meer amuzements and therefore he had taken that method and would answer the same to the Society."

In so doing (Aug. 20, 1711), Governor Lowther stated that but for the writ the Colonel would "have gone off the Island and kept the Society long out of possession," a statement not borne out by subsequent events. While complaining to the Society, Colonel Codrington promised not to retaliate, but to "contribute everything towards the preservation of" the estate [5].

An amicable settlement was effected by which the Society obtained actual possession of the estates on Feb. 22, 1712, and Colonel Codrington was afterwards described by the Society as, next to his kinsman, "our prime benefactor" [6].

It is due to Governor Lowther to say that in 1711 Queen Anne had been moved to send him a letter in the Society's interests. It is no less due to Colonel Codrington to record that in 1720 the Society

"order'd that Robert Lowther Esq. late Governour of Barbados be dismist from being a Member of the Society upon the Account of his having in a most notorious manner vilified the Society, and having never paid any part of his annual subscription to the Society, and being under censure of the Government for great misbehaviours in his late publick station of Governour of Barbados" [7].

In 1713 the Society "resolved forthwith to begin the building a College in Barbados pursuant to the directions and for the purposes mentioned" by General Codrington, but owing to the lack of requisite funds it was not possible to complete and open a building for educational purposes until 1745 [8]. An account of the institution is given on p. 782.

A "dreadful hurricane" in 1780 did so much damage in the island that it was judged "proper to assist the Barbados Estates in their . . . distress from the General Fund of the Society." This help proved insufficient, and "as the best measure" that could be adopted "to prevent an absolute bankruptcy" a lease was granted in 1788 to Mr. John Brathwaite, who undertook "the care of the Estates upon the most liberal and disinterested principle, at a certain rent of £500 a year, but with a design to expend whatever further produce" might arise "by a more successful management, to the discharge of the debts," and to the benefit of the trust property [9].

By the new management the Society benefited in the next ten years to the amount of £12,769, 19*s*. 8½*d*. currency, exclusive of the annual rent, amounting to £5,000 sterling. "Bound in the strongest sense of gratitude to express their obligations" for this "large sum," which they regarded "in the light of a benefaction," Mr. Brathwaite

was "desired to accept a piece of plate of one hundred guineas value, as a more permanent and public mark of the Society's gratitude and esteem" [10]. Subsequently through Mr. Forster Clarke, to whom was "consigned, for many years the direction of the plantations," the Society became "indebted for the continued improvement, not only of the resources of the trust, but of the condition and increase of the negro population" [11].

The estates being prosperous and the College expenditure being then on a small scale, the trust funds by 1829 were increased to £34,000 Three per Cent. Consols; but the cost of preparing the College for the reception of academical students and repairing damage caused by a hurricane in 1831 reduced this sum to £19,000 in 1833 and £17,000 in 1836. On the abolition of slavery £8,823. 8*s.* 9*d.* was received in 1836 as compensation money for the slaves on the estates [12]; but in the next few years expenditure so exceeded income that the funded capital in 1846 amounted to only £14,725 [13]. The experiment of leasing the estates, again tried for certain periods [14], proved so unsatisfactory that in March 1876 negotiations for their sale were authorised; but a few months later the "unsettled state of the island" induced the Society to retain the estates "for the present," and work them by means of an agent [15]. Since 1876, under the management of an able attorney, Mr. G. A. Sealy, the property has been considerably improved, in spite of periods of great commercial depression in the West Indies [15*a*]. Although the erection of the collegiate buildings was long delayed, the Society had no sooner obtained possession of the estates than it began a Mission to the negroes thereon. The Report for 1712 says:—

"The Society, in discharge of this trust, have sought out this year for a suitable Missionary, and made choice, of the Reverend Mr. *Joseph Holt*, who being well approv'd of, as to life and morals, and appearing with due testimonials of his skill in *Physic* and *Surgery*, has been dispatch'd to *Barbados* as *Chaplain* and *Catechist*; under which denominations, besides the ordinary duties of a Missionary, he is to instruct in the Christian religion, the *Negroes*, and their children, within the Society's Plantations in *Barbados*, and to supervise the sick and maimed *Negroes* and Servants, . . . a chest of medicines . . . to the value of £30" being supplied him [16].

The preacher of the Anniversary Sermon in 1711, Bishop Fleetwood of St. Asaph, laid it down "that if all the slaves in America, and every Island in those seas, were to continue infidels for ever, yet ours alone must needs be Christians"; and the Society acted on this principle by directing the agents in Barbados that the negroes should "particularly have a liberty on Saturdays in the afternoon to work for themselves; and that they may have time to attend instructions on the Lord's Day" [17]. Mr. HOLT returned to England in 1714, but a succession of Missionaries* was maintained, and the Report for 1740 records that through their labours "some hundreds of negroes have been brought to our Holy Religion; and there are now not less than seventy Christian negroes on those Plantations." In that year the training of some of them as schoolmasters was ordered [18]. It was

* Mostly clergymen, but called "catechists" up to 1818. From 1743 the office was generally united with that of usher at the Grammar School on the estates.

the "earnest desire" of the Society "that particular care" should be taken "in the management and treatment of the Negroes, both adult and children, and more especially with regard to their religious instruction"; and it gave the Society "very great satisfaction" to be assured, as it was repeatedly, that the slaves were "treated with the greatest humanity and tenderness in all respects" [19].

In 1797 directions were also given "that two white women should be hired, and maintained in the College to take care of and to teach the young negroes to read as preparatory to, and essentially connected with, religious instruction" [20].

The appointment of the Rev. J. H. PINDER as Estates Chaplain in 1818 led to a reorganisation of the Mission. His reception by the negroes and the subsequent progress of the work he thus described:—

"There was a very numerous assemblage of them in the College hall, which was prepared for divine service, the chapel being under repair, and the scholars on the foundation being absent for the Christmas vacation. They were very attentive during the prayers and sermon. After service they collected around me on the green in front, and bade me welcome amongst them as their minister in a warm and encouraging manner. . . . The progress of the Schools gave me great cause for thankfulness and the kind disposition manifested towards me by all the negroes was truly gratifying." [In July 1819 a wooden chapel erected specially for the negroes, was opened, but] "on the 13th of October the island was visited by a destructive hurricane, and the chapel perished among the awful effects of the gale. . . . It was truly gratifying to mark the contented manner in which the people bore their severe losses. Their own houses were materially injured in almost every instance, and in some utterly destroyed. But the remark of one to me was,—'It was God's doing; and if the house of God was not spared, how could they expect theirs?'"

The building was replaced by a stone structure in 1821, capable of containing 300 persons. At the opening on June 3 the school children had been so instructed "as to render the psalmody a very gratifying part of public worship."

Mr. Pinder's report continues:—

"1822. The power of religious instruction began now to be sensibly diffused (through the medium of the Society's negroes,) among those of the neighbouring estates; and several came to be regularly examined and prepared for admission to baptism, who have since been found faithful to their solemn engagements. I had the satisfaction also this year of establishing it as a rule for the women to return public thanks to Almighty God for their safe deliverance in child-birth.

"In December the communicants were, white fifteen, and coloured twenty-two; and the Sunday school, independently of those receiving daily education, twenty-one. At the request of some of the coloured communicants, a collection at the sacrament began this year to be made, and with so willing a heart was the appeal answered, that from the joint offerings of white and coloured persons there was always at Christmas a little sum varying from five to seven pounds. This was distributed among the aged, the infirm, and the orphans, who were observers of the Lord's day, and in other respects worthy." The "behaviour" of the slaves "at public worship is reverent and in many cases devout. Their desire for instruction is manifest. . . . In seasons of illness or distress, they are visited by the Chaplain, at the hospital or at their own houses. . . . The Hospital is a new and very commodious building. . . . The visits of the Apothecary are daily, and a nurse attends constantly on the sick. In cases of dangerous illness the very best medical or surgical aid is called in, without hesitation and without regard to expense. . . . They seem to feel great confidence in their Minister, and often seize opportunities of having intercourse with him; and their numerous little presents and sorrow at parting with him showed their attachment in a most affecting manner. . . . The portion of food allotted to them . . . is so abundant, that they

General Christopher Codrington.
[*See* pp. 197 and 782.]

are enabled by the superfluity to pay for making their clothes, to raise stock and to sell a part at the town market."

"1824. Although the marriage of slaves was a point which I had at heart from the first and I formed one of the early regulations still none could be prevailed upon to marry according to the rites of the Church. No argument, no inducement was left untried. In my sermons, and in frequent personal communications, the subject was solemnly set before them: but scruples and objections on their part still existed, which no exhortations or remonstrances of mine could remove" [21].

The offer of special privileges to married folk led to a mitigation of this evil, and by 1831 "nearly one half of the heads of families" had been united in marriage [22]. In the meantime, viz. in 1824, the Society had succeeded in accomplishing an object to which its energies had been directed as early as 1713—the foundation of a Bishopric in Barbados. [*See* pp. 744–752.] To the charge of this diocese, which then included all the Caribbee Islands belonging to Great Britain, and afterwards the Colony of British Guiana,* on the mainland of South America, the Rev. William Hart Coleridge was consecrated in 1824.†

His arrival in Barbados in January 1825 is thus described by an eye-witness:—

"The landing was a spectacle which I shall not easily forget. The ships of war were dressed, and their yards manned and salutes fired. This was pretty and common; but such a sight as was presented on shore very few have ever witnessed. On the quay, on the wall, on boats, on posts, on the housetops, through doors and through windows, wherever a human foot could stand, was one appalling mass of black faces. As the barge passed slowly along the emotions of the multitude were absolutely tremendous. They threw up their arms and waved their handkerchiefs. They danced, and jumped, and rolled on the ground; they sang, and screamed, and shouted, and roared, till the whole surface of the place seemed to be one huge grin of delight. Then they broke out into a thousand wild exclamations of joy and passionate congratulations, uttered with such vehemence that, new as it was then to me, it made me tremble, and gave me a deep sense of the nervous irritability and violent feelings of a people with whom I was becoming for the first time acquainted."

The Bishop set out on his first visitation on March 22, 1825, and visited in succession the Islands of Trinidad, Grenada, St. Vincent, and St. Lucia. The Rector of St. George's, Grenada, at that time was Mr. Macmahon, a good and interesting old man. In the slave insurrection of 1795 he, with many others, was placed in a room, previously to being summoned by the slaves to execution. He saw all his companions taken out and shot one by one; but, having had the fortune to stand last, he determined to make a bold push for his life. As soon as he was brought out, being a tall and uncommonly strong man, he leaped upon the Slave-General and clung round his neck so tightly that they could not force him away for a long time. The struggle produced a pause and an enquiry as to who he was; and when he was known to be the parson there was a common cry for saving his

* British Guiana was annexed to the Diocese of Barbados by Letters Patent in 1826.

† The consecration took place at Lambeth on July 25, 1824.

When, on the Bishop's resignation in 1841, the Diocese of Barbados was, by his advice, divided into three, he had the satisfaction of assisting himself, on August 14, 1842, in the consecration in Westminster Abbey of his three Archdeacons: *Thomas Parry*, for *Barbados*; *Daniel Gatward Davis*, for *Antigua*; and *William Piercy Austin*, for *Guiana*.

life, as he had always been a kind and charitable man to everyone connected with his cure.

The presence of Bishop Coleridge brought a blessing to the whole diocese. To the negroes in particular he proved a wise shepherd and true friend [22*a*]. Respecting those on the Codrington Estates he reported in 1830 that marriages were "becoming more frequent." The people appeared "healthy and cheerful, and especially in the newly-built stone houses" were "very comfortably provided for," and he added:

"If the Society and their opponents in the mother country could meet on the Estates and witness the scene . . . they would learn *on enquiry*, that the people were slaves and belonging to the Society, but they would behold an industrious and healthy body of labourers, supported entirely by the Estates, born almost to a man on it, never sold from it, but *virtually* attached to the soil; with their village, chapel, hospital, and school—with an excellent minister moving about among them, and ready to instruct their ignorance, and comfort them in sickness; under discipline, but without severity—with many encouragements to do what is right—with the Sundays wholly unbroken in upon by the master or their necessities—with other days wholly at their own disposal—and with much, which, if they availed themselves of their special privileges, would place very great comfort within their power. I think the Society may and ought to do still more with a view to their moral improvement; and I feel very strongly that the power of manumitting themselves under certain circumstances would tend very powerfully to promote this object. I do not see what other *temporal* stimulus you can apply to the *slave* so well provided for in every other bodily respect as is the Codrington Negro" [23].

Previously to the receipt of this letter the Society, with a view to confirm and perpetuate the improvements already made in the civil and religious condition of the negroes, had taken measures "for the gradual emancipation of the slaves." In publishing them in 1830 its position and conduct as trustees were justified in a report, of which the following is an extract:—

"The Society . . . who feel as deeply as any part of the community, the duty incumbent upon a Christian people, to put an end not only to the odious traffic in slaves, by which this country was so long disgraced, but also to the great evil of slavery itself; have of late been exposed to some obloquy as holders of West India Slaves; and it cannot be denied that the Society are *Trustees* for the Codrington Estates in Barbados; that those estates are cultivated by slaves, and that their produce is received by the Society for the purposes of such trust, and expended, according to the provisions of General Codrington's will, in the support of Codrington College in that island. But surely the acceptance of a trust, which took place more than a century ago, when the great question of Negro Slavery had excited but little attention even in the more religious part of the community, is hardly to be brought forward as a charge against the present conductors of the Institution, who finding themselves in the character of Trustees of West Indian property for a specific object, and that a highly beneficial one to the interests of Christianity and the West India Colonies, cannot feel themselves at liberty to abandon that trust, but are bound to make the wisest, best, and most Christian use of it.

"Three different plans of proceeding suggest themselves to persons in such a situation:

"1st. They may relinquish their trust;—but it is not difficult to shew that the interests of humanity and religion would be rather impeded than promoted by such a measure.

"2d. Or secondly, they may at once enfranchise the slaves;—a step which they believe would be followed by more suffering and crime than have ever yet been witnessed under the most galling bondage.

"3d. Or lastly, they may make provision for their gradual emancipation; and by the introduction of free labour into the colonies, afford an example which may lead to the abolition of slavery without danger to life or property.

"The Society have adopted the last of these courses, and notwithstanding the odium which it has been attempted to cast upon them, they firmly believe that the circumstance of slave-property being held in trust by a great religious corporation may be made the means of conferring the most essential benefits upon the Negro population of the West Indies, and of promoting their ultimate enfranchisement.

"For what is the true view of the case? A very large body of our fellow creatures are in a state of slavery. To emancipate them suddenly and indiscriminately would only be to injure the objects of our just and charitable solicitude. The possession therefore of a trust which enables the Society to take the lead in a systematic emancipation, and shew what preparatory steps ought to be taken, and may be safely taken, is surely nothing of which, as men or as Christians, the Society need be ashamed. If this estate had never been entrusted to their care, they might, as a religious body, have declared their opinion upon the duty of a Christian nation towards its enslaved and unenlightened subjects; but now they have it in their power to testify that opinion by their actions. They can shew that the Negro is capable of instruction, for they have instructed him. They can shew that he is susceptible of the same devotional feeling as ourselves, and may be brought under the controlling influence of the same divine laws. Again, on the important subject of marriage the Society might have felt and expressed themselves strongly without any immediate connexion with the slave population; but they are now able to combat the prejudices of the Negro on the spot, and are gradually overcoming them by the arguments of religion and the influence of temporal advantage. On the question of emancipation also the Society, as Trustees of the Codrington Estates, are able not only to suggest a course, but to make the trial themselves, for the satisfaction of others; and to shew the planters how they may gradually enfranchise their Slaves without destruction to their property."

After detailing the chief provisions for the moral and religious improvement and for the emancipation of the slaves, the report continues:—

"Many of them, it should be remembered, are now in operation, and the Society are fully pledged to carry the whole of them into effect, and to adopt, from time to time, such further measures as may be likely to accelerate the complete emancipation of the Slaves. They are willing to hope, that they may thus be made an instrument of extensive and permanent benefit to all classes of their West Indian fellow subjects, both by the measures which they themselves adopt, and by the example afforded to others, of an honest endeavour to satisfy the claims of humanity and religion, and to qualify the Slave for the great blessing of freedom, by lessons which may also prepare him for everlasting happiness in heaven. The Society are resolved to proceed in the discharge of their duty upon these principles and with these intentions, and look with humble confidence for the Divine blessing upon their honest endeavours" [24].

The enfranchisement of the Codrington negroes was thus already being accomplished when the Act of Parliament for the Abolition of Slavery in the West Indies was passed—a measure which relieved the Society from much anxiety and responsibility. Allotments of land had been given to the more deserving of the negroes, on condition that they should provide for themselves and their families out of the produce of the allotment, and labour on the estate during four days in each week, by way of rent for the land. "This was in fact an anticipation of the apprenticing system, and the Society's terms were more favourable to the negroes than those which were settled by *Parliament*" *[25]*.

The conversion of the West Indian slave into a free and industrious Christian peasant was quickly effected on the Codrington Estates, and the Society was enabled to set an example with respect to the enfranchisement of the negroes not unworthy of what it had done for their intellectual, moral, and religious instruction. It was reported in 1840 "that while the labouring population on a great many estates" had "been wayward and refractory the people on the Society's estates" had been "steady manageable cheerful and industrious." The increasing numbers which filled the chapel, both for religious worship and instruction in the Sunday Schools, marked an increasing desire for moral improvement, and in the opinion of the Estates Manager the population clearly showed "the benefit which they have derived from the long care and attention of the Society to their moral and religious wants." The Codrington negroes now also "came forward willingly and cheerfully to assist their minister in the great work of religious instruction."

"They are baptized" (added the Bishop), "they live together in marriage, they attend their Church and Sacraments, they send their children to School, they conduct themselves well in their several relations in life, they are industrious, honest, contented, and peaceable, useful in their generation, with hope through Christ of heaven; and toiling while on earth for an object which is so intimately connected in its effects even with that very heaven to which they are looking; for they know, that though the produce of their labour be sent to England, it is not spent or squandered there, but returned to them for the high, and holy, and blessed purpose of training up in these lands, a faithful, laborious, and able ministry" [26].

Up to 1831 the Society's connection with the Windward Islands had been confined to the discharge of its responsibilities as trustee of the Codrington Estates, but a hurricane in that year led to a grant of £2,000 from its general fund towards the rebuilding of the chapels destroyed in Barbados—"an instance of timely succour never to be forgotten" [27].

With the abolition of slavery commenced "a series of benefits of which it pleased God to make the Society an instrument" to the West Indies generally. The Windwards were among the first to share in the Negro Instruction Fund [28] [pp. 194–5], with results which were strikingly manifest when the day of emancipation (August 1, 1838) arrived. How that day was observed in Barbados has thus been told by Bishop Coleridge:—

"In one day—in one moment—was this great measure carried into execution. Eight hundred thousand human beings lay down at night as slaves, and rose in the morning as free as ourselves. It might have been expected that on such an occasion there would have been some outburst of public feeling. I was present but there was no gathering that affected the public peace. There *was* a gathering: but it was a gathering of young and old together, in the house of the common Father of all. It was my peculiar happiness on that ever memorable day, to address a congregation of nearly 4,000 persons, of whom more than 3,000 were negroes, just emancipated. And such was the order, such the deep attention and perfect silence, that . . . you might have heard a pin drop. Among this mass of people, of all colours, were thousands of my African brethren, joining with their European brother, in offering up their prayers and thanksgivings to the Father, Redeemer, and Sanctifier of all. To prepare the minds of a mass of persons, so peculiarly situated, for a change such as this, was a work requiring the exercise of great patience and altogether of a most arduous nature. And it was chiefly owing to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that that day not only passed in peace, but was distinguished for the proper feeling that prevailed and its perfect order" [29].

During the first five years of the operation of the Negro Instruction Fund the sittings in churches and chapels in Barbados were increased from 9,250 to over 21,000. Much of the good effected in this and other ways was due to the wise superintendence exercised by Bishop Coleridge. [*See* Address of Barbados Clergy on his resignation [30].]

The Bishop's "own grateful sense of the important aid afforded by the Society to a Colonial Church and through the example and operation of such a Church to the heathen around" was thus stated after his return to England:—

"There is no Colonial Bishop,—I can speak for myself, after an experience abroad of many years,—who does not feel that the Society is but the almoner of the Church; that she acts, and claims but to act in this capacity; that his authority is safe in her hands; and that there is no want of his diocese which he may not lay before the Society, in the full and comfortable assurance that it will receive every consideration, and be relieved to the utmost extent of the Society's pecuniary resources. The increase of those resources—such is the position which the Society holds within the Church, and such its mode of operation—is but another word for the extension, under the Divine blessing, of Religion itself" [31].

On Bishop COLERIDGE'S resignation (1841) the Diocese of Barbados was reduced by the formation of Antigua and Guiana into separate Sees. His successor, Bishop T. PARRY, reported in 1845 "a daily increasing value of the Society generally in all its operations, as well as of gratitude for the almost incalculable benefits of which it has been made the favoured instrument, to ourselves in particular" [32].

Proof of this was seen in the ready efforts made by the people of Barbados both to support the Church in their midst and to extend it in foreign lands. A local association was formed in connection with the Society in 1844, and in its first year it contributed £100 to the Society in England and £150 to the erection of three places of worship in Barbados [33]. Already in 1840 the three branches of the island Legislature had passed an Act in one day making provision for the better maintenance of the Clergy, and when it was announced that the Society's aid in this object would cease, another Act was passed assigning £150 per annum to each of six island curates from the Public Treasury [34]. The Society's grant for schoolmasters in the diocese (at one period nearly £3,000 per annum) had been gradually reduced, and ceased altogether in 1846. In Grenada and St. Vincent, in Trinidad and in Barbados the respective Legislatures promptly provided funds to meet the withdrawal [35].

On the value of the Society's help during and after negro emancipation it may be well to recall Bishop Parry's words in 1846:—

"It may justly be said that the praise of this Society 'is in all the Churches' of all the Colonies of the West Indies. . . . We have many debts . . . to the Imperial Government . . . the different Colonial Legislatures—to private liberality and voluntary associations in the Colonies . . . to various other Societies . . . but the great channel through which we have received voluntary aid from England since the extirpation of slavery has been that opened up to us by this excellent Society. This institution has been to us, indeed, not one Society, but many: it has been to us a Church Missionary Society, by extending the limits of our Church; a Church Building Society, by enlarging and multiplying our places of worship; an Education Society, by adding to and supporting our Schools; a Pastoral-Aid Society, by supplying us with catechists and readers; an Additional Curates Society, by adding to the number of our Clergy. In every way that we needed its help, in every way, at least, that was practicable, it has come forward to our assistance, with a liberality limited only by the extent of its means. . . . Since

1834 . . . within the diocese of Barbados alone the number of Clergy has increased from 42 to 67 ; of rectories endowed by the different Colonial Legislatures from 20 to 29 ; of curacies locally provided for from 5 to 31. . . . There has been also . . . a proportionate increase in the number of Schools and Schoolhouses. . . . The great and characteristic benefit of this Society's co-operation is that it has been instrumental in stimulating the Colonists to make this provision" [36].

The general Missionary operations of the Society in the Windward Islands were suspended in 1849. At that time the Diocese of Barbados, which then included Trinidad and Tobago, was more or less indebted to the Society for 45 of its 73 clergymen [37]. As a "suitable commemoration of the Society's benefits" and in connection with its jubilee of 1851 an association was organised in Barbados for the diffusion of Christianity in West Africa, through the agency of native Africans, with the declared purpose of making some amends to that country for the wrongs inflicted upon it by England and her Colonies. The Association has since been adopted generally in the West Indies, and an account of its operations is given on pages 260–7 [38].

In 1854 Bishop Parry reported that

"Churches, Chapels, and Schoolhouses, erected or enlarged throughout the Diocese, with . . . parsonages . . . the number of Clergy considerably increased, congregations augmented and multiplied, schools in many cases founded, in others improved, are the visible memorials of the Society's munificence during a time of great urgency and importance, and of almost equal difficulty . . . whilst in the management of the Codrington Trust, it has continued all along, only with increasing effect, to assist in the work of education and in the supply of candidates for Holy Orders to an extent and in a manner which otherwise, in all human probability, would have been found altogether impracticable" [39].

It was not anticipated that the Society would again be called upon to contribute towards the support of the Church in the Windward Islands otherwise than through Codrington College and the Estates Chaplaincy. But while State aid has been continued to Barbados, in the other islands the Church has been disestablished and partially or wholly disendowed. For these, under their changed circumstances [which necessitated their organisation into a separate Diocese (named "the Windward Islands") in 1878], the Society since 1884 has made such provision as has served to prevent the abandonment of much good work [40].

1888–1900.

The withdrawal of State aid from the diocese of "the Windward Islands" elicited considerable self-support, but with the depression of the sugar industry the people became unequal to the maintenance of their Church and pastors. One clergyman in 1896 more than once found himself, pending the arrival of the Society's aid, "without a penny for a week's subsistence beyond the Sunday offertory of an average of less than four shillings" [41].

By the hurricane which visited the Windwards in September 1898 the Colony of St. Vincent was reduced to a state of indescribable pauperism—30,000 of the population were left sick and destitute like helpless children, some being driven to living in cellars, caves, and empty barrels, and the loss to Church of England property amounted to £20,000. St. Lucia and Grenada also suffered severely.

For the rebuilding of churches and schools, and the relief of distress generally, the Society opened a special fund (which realised £600) and contributed £750 for the restoration of buildings in St. Vincent and St. Lucia, but the poverty of the people in St. Vincent is still deplorable [42].

The illness of Bishop Bree and his death (at Brighton) on February 26, 1899, added to the troubles of the Church at this period. Like his predecessor, Bishop Mitchinson,* Dr. Bree (who was consecrated at Lambeth May 1, 1882) had charge of the diocese of the Windward Islands also—a charge which he resigned in 1897, but resumed in the same year on being encouraged by additional aid (for Clergy) from the Society, which also gave £500 (in 1900) towards endowing that Bishopric [43].

During Bishop Bree's episcopate three important measures, initiated in the Diocesan Church Council of Barbados, were made law by the Legislature: (1) making better provision for the discipline of the clergy of the island; (2) declaring the status of the curates, designating vicars, and defining their districts; (3) establishing a dean and chapter for the Cathedral Church of St. Michael. In 1891 provision was made under the Pension Act for the retirement of incapacitated clergy, and the salary of future rectors of St. Michael's was fixed at £500. In the same year St. Michael's was the scene of the consecration of Bishop Holme, of Honduras, this being the first instance of the consecration of an Anglican Bishop *in* the West Indies.

About three years earlier, for the first time in the history of Barbados, a coloured curate was presented to one of the rectories. This drew forth a protest, but Bishop Bree, who presented, remaining firm, opposition soon ceased, and the parish found that it had been given an able priest. The "colour prejudice," however, diminishes but slowly in the island, and it may be long before a parish ceases to prefer having a white clergyman and to regard it as an indignity if one is not secured. Happily in Codrington College coloured students find an institution in which it has been an honourable distinction that they should not be placed at any disadvantage.

The College has been the central point round which all the Society's efforts for the evangelisation of the West Indian islands—by raising up a native ministry—have for so many years revolved. The variations of trade and the depreciation of the sugar industry have seriously impaired the usefulness of this noble institution; and although the staff was reduced and the remaining† members loyally accepted a reduction of stipends, the Society, in 1898, was driven to take steps for the closing of the College until a sufficient annual income could again be assured from the Trust Estates [44]. Happily such a calamity was averted by "the West Indian Committee"—an influential body in London representative of the interests of the West Indies—which raised £1,940, a sum sufficient to enable the College to be continued [45]. Under the

* Consecrated in Canterbury Cathedral in 1873, resigned 1881.

† A retired principal of the College, the Rev. W. T. Webb (who died in 1896), voluntarily surrendered a fifth of his pension from the College funds, in consequence of the depressed state of the funds of the institution [44*a*].

management of a new attorney (Mr. E. L. Hollinsed), the estates in 1900, for the first time for several years, instead of being worked at a loss, showed a handsome profit [45*a*].

Whatever might have been the fate of the College during the hard times, the Society had resolved to maintain the Estates' Chaplaincy. Since 1891 the post has been filled by the Rev. F. Gilbertson, to the great spiritual advantage of the coloured population living on the estates and of many others who attend the services at the College chapel. It was due to his representations, in the first instance, that the Society in 1891–92 took measures for enlarging and improving the dwellings of the labourers on the estates. For lack of this a system of overcrowding had grown up and produced serious evils, of which the Society had been kept in ignorance. Whatever may be the difficulties in introducing the necessary reforms in the island generally, the Society is determined to perform its duty as landlord, and in this respect, as in the emancipation of the negro, it is taking the lead in "a more excellent way" [46].

It may be added here that the trust property is situated in St. John's parish, about fourteen miles from Bridgetown. "Codrington's," now known as "the Society Estate," comprises 335a. 3r. 11p.* on high land, and "Consett's," now called the "College Estate," 438a. 2r. 35p.† below the cliff, and running down to the sea, with some rich land and valuable pasture, but much that is rocky and comparatively unproductive [*see* p. 782*a*].

In 1896 the Society appointed Commissioners to inquire into the existing and future financial prospects of the estates. Their report showed that "the Society Estate" of 244 acres of arable land was "in a high state of cultivation," the buildings, machinery, and live stock were in "good condition," showing great care taken of them, and the continuance of cultivation was recommended. The "College Estate" is a most laborious one to cultivate, having but little flat land—here the cane cultivation had been reduced to 63 acres. Fortunately this estate has other resources, notably "manjak," a kind of pitch which is used for fuel, and the development of which was undertaken by Mr. W. Merivale under an agreement‡ and a lease from the Society. Considering the financial results for the twenty years 1876–96 the Commissioners were of opinion that "the estates have done remarkably well, and show great care and skill in conducting them."

Since 1894 cattle-rearing on the estates has been adopted as an auxiliary source of profit, and the cultivation of cocoanuts, aloes, and fibres has been introduced. Sugar-growing, however, is said to be the only industry which can be pursued with a chance of profit, and at the same time furnish employment for the large population located on

* 4a. 3r. 32p. are used as playgrounds for the school and the chapel burial ground and 4a. 1r. 27p. are rented with "the Lodge School." "The Lodge School" was leased to the Barbados Education Board in 1881, for 99 years, at a nominal rent.

† Of this estate 19a. 2r. 21p. are the College grounds, 13a. 0r. 31p. are glebe and burial ground of St. Mark's Church, and 124a. 3r. 21p. are rab land, some of which will not give grass.

‡ Agreement in 1897 and lease in 1899. The lease was assigned (by Mr. Merivale) to a company in 1899. Under its terms the Society receives one tenth of the gross of the manjak raised.

the estates, who are in fact renters of the land on the condition that the Society gives them regular work to do [47].

The trust funds for the endowment of the Pinder and Cheadle Scholarships, at Codrington College, having been lost by investment in the "Guinea" Plantation, Barbados, the Society replaced the amounts (£1,400 Pinder Scholarships and £350 Cheadle Scholarship) by an endowment grant from the Marriott bequest in 1900, the capital to be held by the Society in England [48].

The successor of Bishop Bree is Bishop Swaby, translated from Guiana in 1900 [49].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 252.)

CHAPTER XXV.

TOBAGO.

TOBAGO (area, 114 square miles) was discovered by Columbus in 1498, claimed by the British in 1580, visited in 1625 by adventurers from Barbados (whose attempts at settlement were defeated by the natives—Caribs), granted to the Earl of Pembroke by Charles I. in 1628, but first settled in 1632 by the Dutch, who about 1634 were destroyed or expelled by the Indians and Spaniards from Trinidad. A second settlement was formed in 1642, under the Duke of Courland (the ruler of an independent State in the Baltic, to whom the island was assigned by Charles I. in 1641); a third in 1654 by the Dutch, who overpowered the Courlanders in 1658. In 1662 Louis XIV granted it to Cornelius Lampsis; but the Courland title was renewed by Charles II. in 1664 and by Louis about 1677, various changes of ownership having taken place meanwhile (1664–77) between the Dutch, English, and French. In 1681 the Duke assigned his title to a Company of London Merchants. By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle the island was declared neutral in 1684; and by the Treaty of Paris in 1763 it was ceded to England; but the French regained possession by conquest in 1781 and by treaty in 1783. Recaptured by the British in 1793, restored to the French by treaty in 1802, and retaken in 1803, eventually "the land had rest" by formal cession in perpetuity to the British Crown in 1814. Tobago was formerly reckoned as one of the Windward Islands; but in January 1889 it was united with the colony of Trinidad.

IN common with the other islands formerly included in the Diocese of Barbados, Tobago began in 1835–6 to receive assistance from the Society's Negro Instruction Fund [1]. [*See* pp. 194–5.] The first clergyman aided from this source in the island was the Rev. G. MORRISON, and here as elsewhere the benefits of the fund were soon apparent.

The Bishop of Barbados reported in 1843 that "the bounty of the Society expended in Tobago" had "produced an abundant harvest." As an instance a grant of £433 towards the erection of St. Patrick's School Chapel drew from the Legislature of the island over £2,200 for the same object in 1843, and in the next year the island, which had formed one cure only, was divided into three parishes, of which St. Patrick's was constituted one [2]. Besides making provision from

the Colonial Treasury for a rector (£320 per annum) and curate (£175 per annum), the Legislature assisted in maintaining the schools, and "otherwise aided liberally in extending the Church Establishment to meet the demands of advancing civilisation" [3].

The people showed their appreciation of the provision thus made by flocking to the churches and joining "with great decorum and solemnity" in the services [4].

The population of Tobago, though neither numerous nor wealthy, were in the habit of contributing "to the maintenance of its Church more in proportion than any other part of the Diocese" of Barbados, Trinidad excepted; and this fact, coupled with the distress caused by a hurricane which dismantled half of the sugar estates on the island in 1848, was recognised by a continuance of the Society's aid to 1858 [5].

The withdrawal of State aid constituted a fresh claim on the Society, and from 1886 to the present time assistance has been renewed from year to year. Without this help the Church in Tobago must have collapsed; and even with it, "the whole island with its twelve churches" remained for some time under the care of only *three* clergymen [6].

1892-1900.

The failure of the sugar industry has rendered necessary a continuance of the Society's aid. The poverty and misery of the people has been extreme; numbers, owing to poor and insufficient food, having become afflicted with "yaws," a horrible skin disease which is worse than leprosy. The Bishop of Trinidad, to whose charge Tobago was transferred in 1889, reported in 1894-95 that without the Society's aid the Anglican Church in the island "must have perished," or "been absorbed in other religious bodies, especially the Roman Church, which, owing to our desperate straits, has been making strenuous efforts at proselytising, often in an unworthy manner, and by means of falsehood, which often makes way with simple people. You [the Society] and you alone have delivered the Church from this catastrophe, and, after God, to you all thanks are due."

The population of Tobago (20,000) includes representatives of many races—Chinese, East Indians, French-Creoles, Spaniards, Venezuelans, &c.—but the bulk of the people are West Indians, who are deeply attached to the Anglican Church. Though unable to pay Church dues to any appreciable extent, many of them bring eggs, vegetables, and now and then a chicken by way of payment. About one-half of the whole population are members of the Church of England* [7].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 252.)

* From the recent introduction of the cultivation of cacao and Castilloa elastica into the island a return to moderate prosperity may be expected in a few years.

CHAPTER XXVI.

TRINIDAD.

TRINIDAD was discovered by Columbus on Trinity Sunday 1498—hence its name. Its colonisation by Spain began about 1532, but little progress was made until 1783, when "foreigners of all nations" were offered unusual advantages to settle there, provided they professed the Roman Catholic religion. The result was a large increase of population, including many refugees from the French Revolution, driven from St. Domingo and other parts. During the war with Spain in 1797 Trinidad was taken by the British and held as a military conquest until 1802, when it was ceded to England by the Treaty of Amiens.

TRINIDAD began to receive aid from the Society's Negro Instruction Fund [*see* pp. 194–5] in 1836. At that time there was "only one clergyman besides the Garrison Chaplain for the whole island" [1]. In addition to grants for church and school buildings and lay teachers, clergymen* were assisted by the Society from time to time [2] until by 1855 it was possible to leave the work to be carried on by local effort. The beneficent results of this expenditure are to a great extent indicated in the general description given under the Diocese of Barbados, of which until 1872 Trinidad formed a part.

Beyond what is stated on pages 203–5 there is not much to record on this head. Mr. La Trobe, the Government Inspector, reported in 1839 that nearly all "that had been" effected hitherto towards the diffusion of religious education among the labouring population of "Trinidad" was to be "attributed to the labours of the clergy and Missionaries in connection with the Church of England and to the agency of the Mico Charity" [3].

The Bishop of Barbados in 1843 "was forcibly struck with the great results which had sprung from the comparatively small seeds sown by the Society." To four churches consecrated in that year the Society had contributed £200 in each instance, which had been met by nearly £7,000 from other sources [4]. "I expected much from Trinidad" (the Bishop added in 1844), "and have not been disappointed; there is a noble spirit throughout all classes connected with our Church, from the Governor downwards, and a great desire . . . to make the country . . . what it should be in a social point of view" [5].

In 1845 an ordinance was passed by the "Council of Government" for dividing the island into seventeen parishes, securing a stated provision for the clergy already appointed, and for others as parishes were formed [6]. While this provision was being made a fresh call arose, on behalf of the coolies who were being introduced from India and China. The local Association of the Society in Trinidad led the way by appealing first to the inhabitants.

"By immigration properly conducted," they said, "that is to say on Christian principles and in a Christian spirit—Trinidad may be a *Missionary country* an asylum as it were to multitudes from the darkness and misery of heathenism—a

* The first were Rev. R. J. Rock, 1836, and Rev. J. Hamilton, 1838

centre from which light may radiate upon them and from them perhaps be reflected upon their native lands" [7].

By 1862 there were about 15,000 natives of India and 1,000 Chinese in the island. The Bishop of Barbados joined in moving the clergy and laity to "regard the conversion of these heathen within their several parishes as part of the work which Divine Providence has given them to do." With this object a local "Missionary Association" was established, and the Society showed its "sympathy and good will" . . . by a grant of £100 in 1862 [8]. The formation of Trinidad into a separate diocese in 1872 (towards the episcopal endowment of which the Society gave £500 in 1876 [9]), and the appointment of the Rev. R. RAWLE, an old Missionary of the Society, as its first Bishop, led to increased exertions on behalf of the coolies. Funds for extending the work were offered by the Society in 1873 [10], but there was some delay in obtaining a Missionary acquainted with the native languages [11]. In 1878 baptisms of coolies were taking place "almost weekly," and the last month of that year showed a total of 66, including 13 adult Chinese and 39 adult Hindus [12].

The Rev. O. FLEX of Chota Nagpore joined the Mission in 1884, and with his Indian experience did much to further the work [13]. "In rapid succession one place after another was occupied." On visiting a depôt for Hindu convicts at Carreras (a separate island), to see an inquirer for baptism, the chief warder brought fifteen men "who all gave in their names for baptism," and it was soon understood that every Hindu convict who came there joined the Missionary's class. The Carreras movement was instrumental in opening the doors of the central jail in Trinidad to Mr. Flex, and in a short time he had a class of from forty to fifty there. So far as it was not occupied by the Presbyterians "the whole island" indeed was open to the Church for coolie work [14].

In 1886 Mr. FLEX and in 1888 Bishop RAWLE retired from failing health [15], but under the present Bishop (Dr. Hayes, cons. 1889) the work has been revived and extended with increased aid from the Society [16].

1891–1900.

The chief Mission centres established are at Port of Spain, Tunapuna, Savana Grande, and Cedros. In Port of Spain the presence of considerable numbers of East Indians (Hindus and Mohammedans), in the Colonial Hospital, Royal Gaol, Carreras Convict Depôt, House of Refuge, Leper Asylum, and a Convalescent Home, affords an opportunity for evangelisation which is being made the most of. In Savana Grande, a district containing a large East Indian population, by the great and devoted labours of Archdeacon Trotter schools and Mission stations have been established over more than one hundred square miles of country. In season and out of season he lives and works among the heathen, and even where he has not yet succeeded in converting he is admired and respected. The tendency of the East Indians in Trinidad is to remain there instead of returning to India. They have their own temples, and some worship trees and fire. Already their number has increased to 90,000, and the conversion of

those previously in the island is temporarily checked by the infusion of a fresh heathen and Mohammedan element in the population, about 2,000 immigrants arriving annually. The good effect of the Mission schools is seen in the fact that parents are being led by their children to receive Christian teaching [17].

With a view to obtaining a supply of agents acquainted with the languages of the coolies, a Hindi Readership (since suspended) was established at Codrington College, Barbados, in 1891 [18], and by this and by other means adopted in Trinidad a native ministry has been begun, the first fruits being the Rev. C. Ragbir, "a polished Hindoo," who is "winning many to Christ," and building up a great centre of Mission work among his fellow-countrymen [19], and the Rev. Edward Ramprasad Dube. The latter is the son of a Brahmin priest, and had been under training to succeed his father in that occupation when he came under the influence of the Mission [20]. [*See* p. 500*k*.]

Without the Society's help the Coolie Mission, Bishop Hayes says, "could never even have attempted anything more than the feeblest efforts," and "it is to S.P.G. all thanks and credit are due for whatever under God we are doing" [21].

The island at this period (1894–5) suffered terribly from a visitation of yellow fever. For some time not a smile was to be seen on any face, and each man greeted his friend as if it were the last time they would meet. Four devoted English clergymen were among the victims, but the Bishop found no difficulty in filling the vacant places, the very perils of the climate having moved several men to offer their services in the emergency [22].

The work of the Church in Trinidad is specially difficult, the people being scattered in almost inaccessible villages, and the Bishop expressed himself in 1897 as lost in admiration of his clergy and thankful for such workers.

Their difficulties are increased by "the most bitter and vulgar animosity" evinced against them by many of the Roman Catholic clergy. Nevertheless, the Anglican Church is daily taking stronger hold on the affections of the people [23].

The Anglican Church in Trinidad, although disestablished, has the financial advantage, under a system of concurrent endowment, of receiving considerable contributions from the revenue of the island towards its maintenance. By this means the work among the Creoles has been carried on in recent years without the Society's aid, with the exception of a new Mission on the north coast (comprising Toco, Trois Roches, and Grand Rivière, for which assistance was granted in 1897), and where many of the people are Church immigrants from Tobago. This little "out-of-the-world Mission can show solid and happy results" [24].

During his visits to England Bishop Hayes has placed the Society under the deepest obligations, by advocating its claims and, at the same time, refusing to accede to a proposal that he should establish a special Association, or to accept contributions for his diocese, unless they were sent to the Society for the purpose [25].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 252.)

ioners in 1705, and £10 for a Mission Library at St. Christopher's in 1714 [5].

By the will of General Codrington the Society became entitled to a part of the island of Barbuda,* but the claims of the executor, Lieut.-Col. William Codrington, led to a "dispute and trouble," and while the matter was being considered "the French made a descent" on the island in 1711, "took off all the Negroes, being 154, most of the Stock, and demolished the Castle "† [7].

For several years subsequent to 1711 the Society used its efforts to obtain from the Crown a grant of the Church Lands which had been taken from the French in the island of St. Christopher, the proposal being "that the said lands and possessions be vested in the said Society and that so much of the revenues thereof as shall remain after the provision made for licens'd and approved *Ministers* in that *Island*, be applied for or towards the maintenance of *two Bishops*, one to be settled in the *Islands* and the other on the *Continent* of His *Majesty's* Dominions in *America*." Queen Anne stated that she "would be very glad to do anything" that might "be of advantage to the Society" in regard to the lands; but in her successor's time the matter came to be dealt with by the "Lords of the Treasury," and from their dealings the Society derived no benefit [8].

It was not till 1824 that the Society was enabled to secure the establishment of the Episcopate in the West Indies. The Leeward Islands were then included in the See of Barbados. Up to 1834 little had been done for the evangelisation of the slaves. The Rev. James Curtin had been sent to Antigua by the Society for the Conversion of the Negroes in 1817–18, but the parochial Clergy supported by the colonists were few in number, and their ministrations "were almost exclusively confined to the white population" [9]. The people of Antigua, however, led the way in freeing the slaves. The Emancipation Act passed in England in 1834 allowed an "apprenticeship" to precede the complete freedom of the slaves, but the Antigua Assembly had decreed six months before (*i.e.* on Feb. 13, 1834) that "From and after the first day of August 1834 slavery shall be and is hereby utterly and for ever abolished and declared unlawful, within this colony and its dependencies" [9*a*]. Grants were made from the S.P.G. Negro Instruction Fund for Church and School Buildings to the amount of £3,210 in 1835 [10], and within two years seven clergymen‡ were being supported by the Society in the Leeward Islands. Those islands continued to enjoy their "fair share" of the Negro Instruction

* Extract from General Codrington's Will (dated February 22, 1703, and made known in 1711):—"I give and bequeath to my said kinsman" [Lieut.-Colonel William Codrington] . . . "half my Estate of Barbuda. . . . I give and bequeath unto my Friends Colonel Michael Lambert and Wm. Harman, one eighth part of my Island Barbuda the remaining part of my Estate in the said Island I give to the aforemention'd Society for the Propagation of the Xtian. Religion" [6]. In 1710 the island was estimated to be "worth about £1,200 p. an." [6*a*].

† From the existing records at Delahay Street, it does not appear that the Society actually obtained possession of its share in the Barbuda Estate; after the French raid it would have been of little value, and this would have been taken into account in the amicable settlement arrived at with Lieut.-Colonel William Codrington.

‡ Revs. J. A. Bascomb, Dominica, 1836; T. Clarke, Antigua, 1836; J. Hutson, Virgin Islands, 1836; J. H. Nurse, St. Christopher's (or St. Kitts), 1836; H. N. Phillips, Montserrat, 1836; J. A. Gittens, Montserrat, 1837; F. B. Grant, Antigua, 1837.

Fund while it lasted [11], and gradually from 1840 the support of the work thus created was readily undertaken by the local Legislatures. In 1842 the Islands were formed into a separate diocese under the name of Antigua. The first Bishop, Dr. DAVIS, arrived in 1843 to find his people suffering from the effects of an "awful earthquake" which had caused great destruction to Church property. Notwithstanding this calamity one of the first acts of the Bishop was to commence an organised system of contributions to the Society—by forming district Associations—"not alone on the ground of the wide spread good the Society had done and was doing, but on the duty of evincing gratitude for what it had done within the . . . diocese in increasing the accommodation in churches, in building schoolhouses and chapel-schools in furnishing ministers, catechists, schoolmasters and mistresses" [12]. In the midst of the efforts to repair its own losses the diocese remitted nearly £50 to the Society in 1845 [13].

In 1848 Bishop Davis, who had ministered in the West Indies since his ordination in 1812, declared that the change which he had seen during that time was "as light from darkness." He remembered "a condition of the grossest ignorance and deepest moral degradation. The slaves were, for the most part, left in a state of practical heathenism:—the baptism of their children was neglected, and marriage was actually forbidden among them." He, when a simple presbyter, was the first who dared to publish the banns of marriage between two negro bond-servants. Such was the state of public feeling at that time, "that indignation and alarm were almost universal," the authorities interfered, and "the marriage was prohibited." Mr. Davis appealed to England, the local decision was reversed, and just a year after the original publication of the banns he "had the happiness to perform the first marriage ever solemnized between slaves" there [14].

Satisfactory too was the progress made in the Danish Islands of St. Croix and St. Thomas. At his first visit there in 1844 the Bishop confirmed over 700 persons, and in the church there were 396 communicants. The members of the English Church in the Danish Islands then numbered 7,938—"a full third of the entire population"—and this, coupled with the fact that the English language was "exclusively taught in the schools," hastened the emancipation of the slaves [14*a*]. By an Ordinance of the King of Denmark about 1848 the English Church in these two islands was formally placed under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Antigua, and at his visitation in that year—the first since the total abolition of slavery—the Bishop consecrated the Church of All Saints in St. Thomas. Few instances can be shown of a deeper interest in the cause of religion than was manifested in the erection of this church. In 1847 the congregation, mostly poor people, united in laying by each a sum of not less than ½*d.* and not exceeding 1*s.* a week. In about a year's time $2,000 were thus collected. A general appeal throughout the island brought $4,500 more. The building was then begun. One of the vestrymen superintended its erection. Another friend furnished the stone at a cheap rate. It was brought down from the quarry upon the heads and shoulders of the negroes, "who to the number of 300 or 400 worked during the moonlight of the fine months." The masons and carpenters gave up a portion of their weekly wages, and "the women

added their mite in carrying stone and mortar." The planters lent stock for the purpose of carting. In addition to other kinds of aid $8,000 were raised and expended [15].

The death of Bishop Davis on Oct. 25, 1857 [16] was soon followed by that of his successor, Dr. S. J. Rigaud (cons. 1858), who was carried off by yellow fever in 1859 [17]; but the next Bishop, Dr. W. W. Jackson (cons. 1860) held office thirty-five years. Up to 1868 the Diocese of Antigua enjoyed "all the privileges of a fairly endowed Church" [18], the Society's aid having been so managed as to draw out increased local support. As an instance of this, a grant of £100 per annum to Montserrat in 1860 was met by a vote of £130 per annum from the Legislature, "and when three years and a half afterwards the Society's allowance was reduced to £50 they had learned to feel the value" of the Missionary, "and the vote was raised to £180" [19].

"The people of the island" (wrote the Rev. J. Shervington in 1864) "more than of any other that I know of entertain for the Church of England a deep-rooted affection, and, in the majority of cases, this is of an intelligent type. They are members of our Church, not because they are brought up in her communion so much as because they believe they are likely to receive more good from her ministrations than those of any other.

"The negroes, in fact, often give this as a reason for their preference and attachment for our church. There is, therefore, much to encourage a minister labouring among them; but there is also, from the nature of the case, much to discourage. It is quite true, as we often hear, that the negro is impulsive. They are easily affected by a sermon, and I have seen many of them in tears as they approach the altar on our Communion Sundays. Hence, I think, the large number of our communicants. One is thus tempted to hope that the good work is going on among them; but there is the old truth, 'the devil cometh and taketh away the word out of their hearts. . . .' The negro is also said to be superstitious; and this, too, is in the main correct. The hold which the old superstitions of their fathers has upon them can only be discovered by acquaintance with their character, and by great watchfulness on the part of their minister. The belief in charms and spells, and in the power of their enemies to injure, still influences them."

This was written at a time of extreme distress in the island, yet "notwithstanding the general depression the weekly offertory was still continued," and it does not appear to have "ever occurred to them that the offertory ought to be discontinued" [20].

In the previous year the claims of the West Indian Mission to West Africa had been brought before them, and from distances of several miles, and under unfavourable circumstances, the people flocked to the Missionary meeting. Not a single white person was present, and £6 was collected from those who during their period of slavery "were almost as badly off as their African brethren in respect of the means of grace" [21].

The same laudable spirit has been generally shown throughout the diocese. Poor at all times, the poverty of the people has been frequently intensified by earthquake and hurricane, and in 1868 they were called to make further sacrifices on behalf of their Church, then brought face to face with "disendowment," or, more strictly speaking, the withdrawal of State aid. In that year the Imperial Act, authorising the grant from the Consolidated Fund, which had been in operation for forty-four years, was repealed, allowances being reserved only to then existing incumbents during their tenure of office. Under instructions from the Colonial Office, the Acts by

which the curacies had been endowed by the local legislatures were not suffered to be renewed as, one by one, they expired; and finally, in 1874, in the several islands, Acts were passed under compulsion to disestablish the Church, vested interests being respected only so far as the stipends of the Clergy were concerned, and all allowances for the expenses of public worship, the payment of the subordinate officers of the Church, and the maintenance of the fabrics being at once swept away. The diocese nobly responded to the call made upon it. Nevertheless, "in the first instance" (to quote Bishop Jackson's words) "it would have been impossible, in the impoverished condition of the Leeward Islands, to supply vacancies . . . if the Society, to whose bounty some of these cases owed their original formation, had not stepped in and saved them from collapse" [22].

The value of the Society's help during the critical trial of the withdrawal of State aid is well illustrated in the case of the united parishes of St. Philip and St. Stephen, Antigua. When Archdeacon Clark* went there in 1876 the income received by his predecessor was withdrawn. Dissent was rife, and Dissenters were the only people who had been trained to give. The Wesleyans had predicted, on the disestablishment of the Church, that they would live to see St. Philip's used as a yam-store. Everyone expected the overthrow of the Church in the country districts. But gradually the annual voluntary contributions were increased from £16 (in 1875) to over £204 in 1892, fully two-thirds of these contributions coming from the labouring classes.† "But this fight could never have even been attempted apart from the help derived from the S.P.G., and were that help withdrawn the work would suffer a total collapse, and all the results of these years of vexing toil would be thrown away."

In 1894 it was recorded that "since disendowment there has not been given up a single parish that we had when it took place" [23].

Of the Clergy in the English islands all except one have now, from deaths or resignations on pension, been thrown on the voluntary contributions of their flocks, assisted by annual grants from the Society. In the foreign islands the churches have always been sustained on the voluntary system, excepting in St. Thomas, which, being a consular station, the Rector of All Saints' receives from the Foreign Office a small allowance as British chaplain; and in Saba and St. Barts, which receive £100 and £33 per annum from the Dutch and the French Governments respectively [24].

The permanence of the Bishopric was secured by the wisdom and self-denial of Bishop Jackson, who, when obliged by failing health to retire from active work, obtained the services of a coadjutor,‡ and devoted his remaining energies chiefly to raising an endowment fund

* A man of unusual erudition. He died in 1895 within ten days of Bishop Jackson's death [23*a*].

† *See* p. 215*c*.

‡ Bishop Mitchinson, of Barbados, generously undertook the supervision of the Diocese of Antigua as coadjutor to Bishop Jackson (under a commission dated August 12, 1879), without any remuneration, thus enabling half of the episcopal salary to be regularly paid into the Bishopric Endowment Fund. This arrangement continued until 1882, when Bishop Mitchinson resigned and Bishop Branch was consecrated (on July 25) Coadjutor Bishop of Antigua "cum jure successionis."

to be available when, on his death, the episcopal stipend provided from the Consolidated Fund would cease. It seemed a Quixotic notion, but he went on in faith, and with the aid of the Church Societies—the S.P.G. alone giving £2,000—he lived to accomplish the proposed fund of £20,000, and to see it invested for the support of his successors [25].

The life of such a benefactor to the Church deserves some further notice here. William Walrond Jackson was born in Barbados on January 9, 1811, three weeks after the death of his father. Educated at the best schools in Barbados, he made such progress that he could read Greek plays at the age of fifteen, and became headmaster of his old school at eighteen. He was one of the first candidates, 500 in number, confirmed by the first Bishop of Barbados (Dr. Coleridge), and was licensed as catechist at the age of seventeen. When Codrington College, Barbados, was opened as a College such as its founder contemplated, Mr. Jackson was the first to enter it as a student. Winning the first scholarship, he became the Senior Theological Scholar, and was then, and ever remained, a scholar of whom Codringtonians were justly proud. From the beginning of his ministry (to which he was ordained deacon in 1834 and priest in 1835) he was in charge of large and important parishes in Barbados, Trinidad, St. Vincent, and Barbados again, consecutively, for a short time in connection with the Society. Much of his work was of a genuine missionary character. In Trinidad, when he was a young man, he frequently travelled through the forests on horseback or on foot, visiting small stations, and in St. Vincent his chief work was among the Caribs and negroes. In Antigua all the smaller islands which he visited every other year were accessible only in small trading vessels, and he was often in some danger on his voyages. He also, as member of the Governor's Council in Antigua, had a voice in legislation, and it was entirely through his efforts that the mode of payment of the labourers—a mischievous form of truck system—was changed. His action made him extremely unpopular with the planters, but only for a few months. His organisation of the voluntary contributions of the poor when "disendowment" came was wonderfully successful until the agricultural depression of the last three years of his life.

The universal esteem with which the Bishop was regarded found expression on his departure from the diocese in 1879, when a testimonial was presented to him with a farewell address on behalf of people of all classes and of all creeds in the fourteen islands under his episcopal supervision. Varied as are the interests, the manners and customs, the very nationalities of the congregations in the islands, they were all one in their attachment to the Bishop and in their appreciation of his labours, and of his wisdom, sympathy, toleration, and charity which characterised his administration. The address concluded with asking the Bishop's acceptance of a purse of £254 for the purchase of a piece of plate presented "in grateful testimony of the love felt for him by the people" of his diocese. Though obliged by failing health to resign the active administration of the diocese Bishop Jackson always remained in touch with his

charge, helping it and guiding his coadjutor by wise and loving counsel. Of his charities some are known, but many will never be known until He Whom he served shall say that in ministering to some of the least of His people he did it unto Himself. After his return to England he was, up to within a short time of his death, a regular attendant at the meetings held at the Society's house, where his saintly character, his wise counsel, and ever ready sympathy endeared him to all.

Bishop Jackson died at Ealing on November 25, 1895, his wife, to whom he was married in 1834, having predeceased him by nearly a year. To many places in the diocese his death was, financially speaking, "almost another disendowment" [26].

His death was followed in 1896 by that of his successor, Bishop Branch, who, from 1882–95, had been Coadjutor Bishop of Antigua. Like Bishop Jackson he had been a student of Codrington College, and had devoted the whole of his life to the West Indian Church* [27].

The choice of his successor was delegated by the Diocesan Synod to the Bishop of Jamaica, Bishop Mitchinson (formerly of Barbados), the Earl of Stamford, and the Secretary of the Society. The Very Rev. Herbert Mather, Provost of Inverness Cathedral, accepted the office, and his consecration took place in Lambeth Palace Chapel on July 1, 1897. The new Bishop had had varied experiences, having laboured for some years in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, and held two livings in England. The reports of the Clergy testified to the good which his arrival effected, and the great encouragement to themselves which his sympathetic presence has given.

In his first impressions of his diocese, speaking of the people, he said "they are intensely impulsive . . . easily moved by religious emotions . . . devoted to singing hymns . . . but deficient in their sense of the meaning of morality, of truth, of honesty.

"This is only what their history leads us to expect. Some forty years ago they were all slaves, and the heritage and taint of slavery will not be eradicated for many a generation yet to come. Marriage as a rule was forbidden to the slave; what wonder, then, that his grandchildren think lightly of that holy ordinance? † Downtrodden and oppressed, any way, however *untruthful*, by which he could escape the lash or circumvent the hard taskmaster was to be embraced; and when he belonged to the estate of his owner, like any other chattel, how could it be *dishonesty* if he improved his master's estate in his own person by taking some other portion of food, or clothing, or money, belonging to the same estate?

"It is a sad thought for Englishmen to remember that the vices and faults of the negro are the direct product of the slave trade, by which so many Englishmen accumulated so much money. We brought the negro to the West Indies, we ill-treated him, and ground him down. Surely we have a long debt to make up to him if we do not wish him to rise up in the judgment against us. Nowadays, in addition to other things, poverty is pressing him harder than ever. The depression in the sugar trade has been so great that many a sugar estate which had sunk back a little into the hands of moneylenders has been unable to pay its annual interest charges, and has gone out of cultivation."

Of the clergy the Bishop said: "They are beyond praise. Not brilliant perhaps in oratory or power, but what is of far greater importance, to their flocks

* Two other clergymen of Antigua Diocese became Bishops—Archdeacon Jermyn, the present Primus of Scotland, and Archdeacon Holme, the first Bishop of Honduras.

† The baptisms in the diocese number about 2,300 yearly, nearly two-thirds being children of illegitimate birth.

and to themselves—self-denying, hardworking, and patient, while poor in this world's goods. A horse of some sort is an absolute necessity to anyone in the tropics who moves about much in the open air, for walking long distances in the sun is fatal to Europeans. The clergyman's horse partakes in one respect of its owner's character, for it is much on its knees, and usually shows by its ribs that too much attention is not spent upon its food. The clerical stipend in this diocese is of the smallest even with the liberal help of the S.P.G. The grant the Society places at my disposal enables me to give most of the Clergy a bare sufficiency to keep the wolf from the door. In each case they are obliged to raise a certain proportion from their people, who are usually labourers or holders of about half an acre of land, and can contribute perhaps a penny a week, with frequent intervals of non-payment. The labour and worry of getting in 'the collection' is intense, and as humiliating often as it is wearisome. No wonder that the overworked and underpaid Clergy often break down in the tropical climate, and are ordered as a last resort for health and life to go to England. The advice seems almost a mockery, for where is the wherewithal for the passage and for the locum-tenens to carry on the work? . . .

"If I had the means to pay them, and had a supply of the proper men, I could at once find more than sufficient work for fifteen more clergy. I do not attempt to express gratitude to the Society for its grant. It is beyond words" [28].

At this time the Bishop had at his disposal a grant of £750 from the Marriott bequest, for the erection and enlargement of churches and school-chapels [29]. During 1898–99 the Society made provision for the support of additional clergy, and for the training of candidates for the ministry, the aid given including £500 towards the raising of a Clergy Sustentation Fund for the diocese [30].

The building grant was all the more welcome as, owing to the mischief wrought by wood-ants, tropical sun and rain, hurricanes and earthquakes, the churches, rectories, and schools "require the most constant care to replenish and renew." In some parts the Clergy, in 1897, were reduced to putting up umbrellas in their houses when it rained, and to placing their books under their beds, which they moved about the room according as the wind and rain drove from one quarter or another [31].

The terrible hurricanes* of August 7 and September 8, 1899, brought fresh distress on the diocese, causing a great loss of life, including one of the Montserrat clergy, and a loss of over £7,000 on church, school, and rectory buildings alone, and depriving the people of the ability to contribute to clerical salaries.† The Society again came to the rescue, with special aid amounting to £800, £300 being towards the relief of the Clergy, some of whom were on the verge of starvation. At the present time (1900) want of clothes keeps the schools but half filled and accounts for scanty attendances inside the churches. But such is the devotion of the poor black people that after sunset crowds of them gather outside the large open windows of the churches during evening service, their scanty coverings of rags being insufficient to satisfy the requirements of decency

* Montserrat and Nevis suffered most. In the latter island churches were damaged, including St. John's, the one in which Nelson was married to Mrs. Nisbett (formerly Miss Frances Herbert). The marriage certificate is: "1787. March 11, Horatio Nelson, Esq., Captain of His Majesty's ship the 'Boreas,' to Frances Nisbett, widow" [32*a*].

† *e.g.* The parish of St. Philip and St. Stephen, Antigua [*see* p. 215] could barely raise £50 in 1900.

in the light of day. They do not kneel, but they join heartily in the responses and singing [32].

SUPPLEMENTARY INFORMATION REGARDING THE DIOCESE OF ANTIGUA.

In addition to the British Islands enumerated on p. 210, the diocese includes churches in the foreign islands of St. Bartholomew (*French*); Saba and St. Eustatius (*Dutch*); St. Martin (*half French* and *half Dutch*); Sta. Cruz and St. Thomas (*Danish*); it also included Porto Rico and Viéques (*Spanish*) until those two islands were ceded to the United States.

In the Island of St. Bartholomew, which was formerly Swedish but was re-transferred to the French in 1878, the Government allow £33 per annum towards the stipend of a resident Church of England clergyman. The Dinzey family have done long and valuable work for the Church in this island, and Sir R. B. Dinzey, Knight of the Order of Vasa, Sweden, is a licensed reader. There is a school for six children in the parish established by some ladies of Sweden and supported by subscriptions from that country, though the island has ceased to belong to it. The children are fed, clothed, and educated without charge [33].

In the islands of St. Eustatius and St. Martin Missions were established in 1900, and a confirmation held in St. Eustatius by Bishop Mather in that year was "the first occasion when a Bishop has ever visited the island" [33*a*].

Porto Rico contains 1,000,000 inhabitants. Of these the bulk are Roman Catholics, of the usual Spanish type (with a large mixture of Atheists). In Ponce, however, a congregation of non-Romanists united themselves with the Diocese of Antigua in 1872, their Rector receiving institution and induction from Bishop Jackson. Those nominally belonging to the Anglican Church there now number some hundreds, besides several "so-called Protestants," who accept the Anglican form of worship. In April 1898, during the war between America and Spain, Bishop Mather re-opened a church at Ponce which had been closed for some years. Over 100 Spaniards were in the congregation of about 300, and so far from the Bishop being hounded out of the place by a turbulent mob, as was reported in the papers, "the people there, as at San Juan, were most courteous and pleasant spoken." The Anglican Mission at Viéques de Porto Rico was voluntarily undertaken in 1880 by Mr. Bean, a negro, who worked as a layman for some years with hardly any stipend, and succeeded in gathering a congregation and building a church. He then went to an American college, and after being ordained by the Bishop of North Carolina in 1889 returned to Viéques, where he still labours. The Society's connection with these two islands ceased on October 1, 1899, on which date they were transferred, ecclesiastically, to the care of the American Church, having already been ceded by Spain to the United States [34].

The Diocesan Synod of Antigua, founded June 1884, meets regularly every two years.

Education is provided for the labouring classes in the denominational schools (Church of England, Roman Catholic, Moravian, and Wesleyans'), which are all subsidised by grants from the Legislature, where they are approved by the Government Inspector. The Anglican Church has between six and seven thousand children in its day schools, and about eleven thousand in its Sunday schools. A large majority of the labouring population can read (of the younger people nearly all), and many can write also. There are two High Schools in the diocese—the Antigua Grammar School, begun in 1884, and the Dominica Grammar School. At Codrington College, Barbados, a scholarship of the value of £42 per annum, available for three years, has been founded specially for the diocese by the S.P.G. (£17 per annum) and S.P.C.K. (£25 per annum).

An Insurance Society has been established in the diocese with the object of securing a provision for the widows and orphans of the Clergy. The management of the fund is in the hands of the Diocesan Financial Board—chosen by the Synod.

There are also several branches of the Church of England Temperance Society in the diocese, &c., &c. [35].

It will have been seen that (as stated by Bishop Branch in 1893) the diocese has "no tales of fascinating missionary enterprise," but rather "a continuous history of good and earnest common parochial work, done amid more than common difficulties by men who love Christ and human souls" [36].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 252.)

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE BAHAMAS.

THE BAHAMAS consist of a chain of small islands lying to the east and south-east of Florida, U.S., some 20 only being inhabited. One of these—St. Salvador—was the first land seen by Columbus when seeking the "New World" in 1492. The Bahamas were then peopled by Indians, but these were to the number of 50,000 soon transported to the Spanish mines of Mexico and Peru. The islands then abandoned were formally annexed to England by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1578. In 1612 they were united to Virginia, and about 20 years later some British adventurers formed a settlement on them, which was destroyed by the Spaniards in 1641. By Charles II. the island of New Providence (the seat of the capital, Nassau) was assigned to an English proprietary body in 1670; but in 1703 the French and Spaniards obtained possession of it, and for many years it was a rendezvous for pirates. The English extirpated the pirates in 1718, and the Bahamas became subject to a regular colonial administration. This was interrupted by a surrender to the Spaniards in 1781, the war concluding with a re-annexation of the islands by Great Britain, which was confirmed in 1793 by the Treaty of Versailles.

IN 1731 Governor Rogers of the Bahamas, being then "in Carolina for the recovery of his health," informed the Rev. W. GUY, the Society's Missionary at St. Andrew's, "of the extream want there was of a minister" in the Bahamas, "which had been without one for some years, and pressed Mr. Guy to go over with him and officiate there some months." Mr. Guy, considering "the great usefulness and almost the necessity of the thing," embarked on this "charitable undertaking" in April 1731, and arrived at Providence on the 12th of that month.

He found a people "who had lived in want of the administration of all the Divine ordinances several years." These he endeavoured to supply by holding service "in a little neat church built of wood," which had been just finished, and by visiting all the parts of the island. Notwithstanding the great fatigue of travelling, "on account of the rocks" and "the heat of the day which is always very great," he baptized 89 children and 8 adults. In "the two other inhabited Islands in this Government," about 20 leagues from Providence, he baptized 23 children in Harbour Island and 13 in "Islathera" (Eleuthera). For each of the (128) baptized he had "the proper sureties," and during his two months' stay in the three islands, besides marrying, and visiting the sick, he administered the Blessed Sacrament twice, "but had but 10 communicants at each time." The number of families in the islands was about 120 in New Providence, 40 in Harbour Island, and 40 in Islathera. The people "very thankfully received" copies of the Bishop of London's Pastoral Letters for promoting the conversion of the negroes. [*See* p. 8.] They all professed themselves of the Church of England, and were "very desirous of having a minister settled with them," and Mr. Guy considered that "as they were in general

very poor it would . . . be a very great charity to send a Missionary to them " [1].

This representation was followed by a Memorial from the President, Council, and principal inhabitants of New Providence, showing that " about seven years past " they erected at their own charge " a commodious church capable of containing upwards of 300 people," and provided a convenient house for a clergyman of the Church of England and £40 per annum towards his support; but that being insufficient, they " became destitute of any Divine to officiate amongst them for upwards of five years, till the Rev. Mr. HOOPER came over, well-recommended, and . . . and continued for these twelve months past." To enable them to maintain him or some other worthy Divine, they solicited assistance [2].

Immediately on receipt of the first communication (April 1732) the Society offered £50 per annum as a grant-in-aid, which was now (March 1733) " in consideration of the dearness of provisions in Providence " increased to £60, and Mr. Hooper having migrated to Maryland, the Rev. WILLIAM SMITH was in April 1733 appointed to Providence and the other inhabited islands [3].

Mr. Smith arrived at Nassau on Oct. 20, 1733. " At first he had but a thin congregation " in Nassau, but it was soon increased by several families residing " outside the town " and by " the soldiers of the garrison, whom the Governor, immediately after his arrival, obliged to come constantly to church." Governor Fitzwilliam had the church " put into a tollerable good order," and " with a good deal of difficulty and pains, got an Act passed for erecting the Inhabited Islands into one parish and . . . £50 sterling p. annum . . . settled on the Minister Incumbent thereon " [4]. He failed to obtain an allowance from the Assembly for a school-master, although there was " no place in his Majesty's American Dominions " where one was more necessary, " by want of which their youth " grew up " in such ignorance (even of a Deity) and in such immorality as is most unbecoming." On this representation the Society at once (1735) provided funds for the opening of a school in Nassau, but there was some delay owing to the difficulty of finding teachers [5].

The arrival of Captain Hall of Rhode Island in Dec. 1739 with " a Spanish prize of between £3 and £4,000 value " was sufficient to induce Mr. Mitchel, the then teacher, to quit school and go " a privateering " with the Captain [6].

About 1734 Mr. Smith first visited " Islathera, a long, narrow Island inhabited by between 30 and 40 families," who were " generally very ignorant of their duty to God as having never had a Clergyman settled among them." At Harbour Island he found there 25 families and a large room for service, in which he ministered one Sunday; " it was very full," and the people were " serious and attentive." Otherwise they could hardly have been with such a Missionary. Governor Fitzwilliam wrote of him in 1735 : " The abilities life and good behaviour of Mr. Smith . . . justly entitle him to the favour of all good men among us " [7]. Illness caused him to desire a northern Mission, but a short visit to England in 1736 enabled him to return to New Providence in January 1737 [8].

The church at Nassau, a building " in a wooden frame, plaistered,"

became so ruinous that it was necessary to remove the pulpit and desk to the Town House in 1741 – the erection of a new one having been hindered by fear of "an invasion from the Spaniards" [9]. Whites, Negroes, and Mulattoes were ministered to by Mr. Smith, but the hardships of visiting "Iluthera" and Harbour Island brought on an illness, and in his last letter, Oct. 26, 1741, after alluding to a fever at Providence "which had carried off everyone it had seized on," he concluded: "The Lord help us for he only knows where it will terminate." A few days after it pleased God to take "this diligent and worthy Missionary to himself to receive the reward of his labours" [10].

His successor, the Rev. N. HODGES, died in 1743 soon after his arrival. During the vacancy caused by these deaths Governor Tinker made his Secretary, Mr. J. SNOW, "read prayers and a sermon every Sunday in the Town House," and in 1746 sent him to England to be ordained. Besides officiating "as far as a layman could" Mr. Snow had largely contributed to the building of a church and to the establishment of a free school for negroes and whites. Within two years of ordination he also died. In the meantime the Rev. R. ST. JOHN ministered for about a year (1746–7) to a "very ignorant" people, "scarce one in fifty being able to read," and baptized over 300 children in the three islands of the Mission [11].

The next Missionary, the Rev. R. CARTER, was privileged to labour 16 years (1749–65) in the Mission, which he represented as being of "greater extent" and having "more pastoral duties to be performed in the several parts of it than any other under the Society's care." In 1763 he reported "all the natives" of the Bahamas "profess themselves of the Church of England." About this time two Mission Schools were established; that at Nassau was the only school in the island of Providence "except Women's Schools," which were also Church Schools. The Harbour Island School was built by the people, of whom he wrote in 1764 that they "pay a strict regard to the Lord's Day, and neither work themselves nor suffer their slaves to work on it, but allot them another day in every week" "to work for themselves." A similar rule was observed at Eleuthera, where his parishioners expressed "so strong a desire of improvement that even adults of both sexes" submitted "to be publickly catechized without reluctance." "The most sensible slaves in New Providence" expressed "an earnest desire of being baptized," a desire which he did his best to gratify [12].

The Rev. G. TIZARD carried on the work from 1767 to October 1768, when he died. Two years later it was reported that many people had been reformed by means of his widow [13].

In 1767 the Rev. R. Moss was stationed at Harbour Island, where a resident clergyman had long been "earnestly desired" [14]. He had at first "a cold reception from the people's apprehending that they were to contribute to his support"; when they found that not to be the case "they became fond of him," and "all in the island to a man" attended public worship on Sundays.

Indirectly they must have contributed, for the Bahamas Assembly had enacted a law dividing "Harbour Island and Eleuthera into a distinct parish named St. John's," and allowing "£150 current money out of the Harbour Island taxes towards building a Church in that Island," and settling £50 sterling per annum "for salary and house-

rent for the Minister." While the church* was building Mr. Moss performed service "under the branches of some Tamarind trees." In 1769 he had thirty-eight communicants, all of whom lived "holy lives, unblameable in their conversation" [15].

Of Eleuthera he gave this "lamentable account" in 1769: "That both men, women, and children, magistrates not excepted, are profane in their conversation; even the children learn to curse their own parents as soon as they can speak plain, and many other sinful habits and heathenish practices are in use among them." One great obstruction to his reforming these people was the difficulty of visiting them, it being necessary to go first to Providence, where he might have to wait two or three weeks for a passage, which "consumed too much time" [16]. It was also difficult to find men of sufficient education to act as lay agents. The Rev. W. GORDON, who visited Eleuthera in 1796, found that "a Justice of the Peace" at Wreck's Sound had been accustomed to read prayers and a sermon out of one of the Society's books to the inhabitants." He had "the most learning in the place," yet was in such indifferent circumstances as to desire to be appointed "an assistant schoolmaster," not being qualified for the position of head schoolmaster [17]. At Savannah Sound only one man could read, and the greater part could "scarcely say the Lord's Prayer," yet they regarded baptism as "absolutely necessary to salvation."

In March 1776 New Providence and other of the Bahamas were "thrown into a distracted state by being taken by a considerable armed force from America" (eight vessels and 550 men), "which after dismantling His Majesty's Forts and committing many outrages"—taking "all the King's money," opening the prison doors and setting the prisoners free—"carried away the Governor, Secretary, and one or two other prisoners," and left the rest of the people "in a deplorable state. But they were disappointed of their chief aim—a considerable quantity of gunpowder, which had been prudently removed to a place of safety." In the midst of all this confusion the Rev. J. HUNT, the Society's Missionary at Providence, "continued to do duty in the church as usual," and his flock seemed "to make a progress in virtue" and generally attended service.

During the American Revolution the inhabitants of the Bahamas were for some years "almost reduced to a starving condition," as their chief dependence for provisions was on the continent. In 1779 "the best bread" that could be obtained in Harbour Island, "even for the blessed Sacrament," was "made of Tree Roots." For a long time the islands were "pestered with American vessels," the crews of which endeavoured to "corrupt the minds of the people, turning them from King George and all government," and passed their life "in dancing all night and gaming and drinking all day." On one occasion some of their captains attended the Harbour Island Church to hear Mr. Moss preach. "Hearing him pray for the King, and his discourse not favoring their proceeding, they had concluded to take him out of his own house by night and carry him away to America. But they were disappointed." The cause of their failure was probably owing to the fact, reported by the Missionary in 1778, that the inhabitants of Harbour Island and Eleuthera, numbering 1,391, "all professed to be

* Opened for service on March 16, 1769 [18].

of the Church of England," and had "not a single Dissenter amongst them of any denomination." In Providence the loyalists were "threatened almost every day and insulted," and having "little force to defend themselves," were "in continual danger" [19].

During the Spanish occupation [*see* p. 216] the Rev. J. BARKER, the only Missionary left in the Bahamas, withdrew (in 1782), and did not return [20]. The Rev. J. SEYMOUR of Georgia, who was appointed to Providence, died on the voyage [21]; and the next clergyman sent, the Rev. T. ROBERTSON, was located at Harbour Island. On his arrival in 1786 he visited every family on the island, "a very poor hardworking industrious people . . . serious and well disposed." Old and young to the number of 500 attended church regularly, and all expressed "great gratitude to the Society for their kind and generous attention" [22]. But in 1789 he reported that the "leading man" in the island was "an utter enemy to all religion," and would "not suffer any of his negroes to receive any instruction whatever"; and it was with difficulty that the Missionary "prevailed on the people to let any of the negroes sit in the area of the church" [23].

Exuma next received a resident Missionary (the Rev. W. TWINING) in 1787. The white settlers were mostly American Loyalists—about one third were old settlers. All seemed glad of the arrival of a clergyman "and anxious to express their gratitude to the Society." Of the 700 inhabitants 600 were negroes. Those brought up among the English had been taught "little or nothing of religion," but did not seem at all "prepossessed against Christianity." The negroes who had been "lately imported from Africa" showed "no signs of religion" [24].

Still worse was the state of the white settlers at Long Island, as reported by the Rev. W. GORDON after visiting it from Exuma in 1790. "A few poor families from New Providence" began a settlement in Long Island in 1773. At the peace in 1782 "a few loyal Refugees" (presumably from the United States) settled there, and it proving "a good Island for raising cotton," many others followed, "besides some natives of New Providence." In 1790 the population consisted of about 2,000 people—over 1,500 being slaves. The negroes were "void of all principles of Christian religion owing to their want of instruction." Most of the original settlers could scarcely read, and having been for many years deprived of Divine worship, they were "addicted to the vices of a seafaring life . . . swearing and neglect of religion." The refugees, though less ignorant, were not more attached to the faith. They resembled "very much those who may be seen in London."

Not even two or three of them could be got together to partake of the Holy Communion. The "gentry" of the place employed their leisure hours "in reading the works of Mandeville, Gibbon, Voltaire, Rousseau and Hume," by which some of them "acquired a great tincture of infidelity." Mr. Gordon on his visits held service in six parts of the island, and undertook that if a resident Missionary were sent there he would visit those islands which had "never yet had Christian public worship, viz., Turk's, Caicos, Crooked, Watlin's, Abacos and Andros." A more favourable account of Long Island was given by the Rev. P. Fraser. On his arrival there early in 1793 "he was waited upon by the principal Planters," who vied with one another "in shewing him every mark of attention and respect. Instead of discovering Deistical

Principles" the people appeared "to be all convinced of the great truths of the Christian Religion" and attended Divine Service "with a seriousness and regularity truly exemplary." The need of additional Missionaries was further urged by the Rev. J. RICHARDS of Providence, who, within six months of his arrival at Nassau "baptized 163 persons after examination." Nassau at that time (1791) contained between 2,000 and 3,000 inhabitants, most of the whites being of "Scotch extraction and many of them Dissenters, but moderate and conformable to the Church," and who treated him with "great civility." Owing, however, to "the political disputes concerning the Revenue Act in that country" he suffered from "the stopping of his [Government] salary for nearly a twelvemonth" [25].

From a report submitted by the Society to the English Government at this time (1791–2) we learn that the only islands of the Bahamas group which appeared to have any inhabitants at the beginning of 1784 were Providence, Long Island, Harbour Island, Exuma, Eleuthera, Turk's Island, and the Abacos—the whole not exceeding 1,750 whites and 2,300 blacks. On the close of the disputes with the "ancient colonists on the continent of America" and the evacuation of St. Augustine, the Bahamas "held out to the Royal Refugee subjects in the Southern Colonies a comfortable asylum for the present, and prospects of great advantages in future"; the liberality of the British Government met their wishes and gave full scope to their plans of settlement. They were for a time supplied with provisions &c. from the Public Stores, "all doubtful title to possession was removed in a purchase by the Crown of the ancient claims of the Proprietors of the soil of those Islands, and the grants to these adventurers of the lands on which they were desirous of settlement, were unaccompanied with any illiberal or discouraging restrictions." Under these favourable circumstances settlement was considerably extended, "every cultivable spot" being "explored with great avidity." By the commencement of 1790 the white population had been doubled (=3,500) and the black trebled (=6,500 including coloured), in all 10,000, and about 18,000 acres of land were under cultivation. Of the whites, 127 were planters, 29 merchants, and 17 men of learned professions. Of the blacks, some 500 were free negroes, who by escapes and "other fortuitous circumstances" were "disentangled from the disgraceful shackles of slavery." Up to this time there were only three clergymen in the Bahamas, but owing to the Society's representations to the English Government the Bahamas Assembly (about 1795) established a fund "for the building and repairing of Churches, providing Parsonage Houses and Glebes and for the better maintenance and support of Ministers and School Masters" [26].

In consequence of political disputes during Governor Lord Dunmore's administration the Clergy frequently had difficulty in realising the local provision to which they were entitled. Mr. Richards of New Providence reported in 1795 that "neither he nor any other person who has a salary has received any for above a year past." About this time Lord Dunmore "possessed himself of the most antient burying ground" and a portion of the glebe in Harbour Island, the former of which he desecrated, and it became necessary for the Society to make a representation to the Secretary of State for the restoration of the

property. There were other complaints against the Governor. He openly avowed "that the laws which forbid incestuous marriages in England" did "not take place in the Colonies" and he ignored a communication from the Bishop of London on the subject. He further countenanced "one Johnston, a strolling Methodist Preacher from America" who induced the black people at Providence to turn a negro schoolmaster out of his house "and convert it to a Meeting House for himself," and obtained from the Governor "a Licence to preach and perform other offices" This man "used to marry without licence or authority," but in a short time he was "put in prison for beating his wife . . . in a merciless manner . . . and so all his followers left him. The respectable inhabitants indeed always opposed the progress of Methodism and remonstrated to Lord Dunmore against it" [27].

The years 1794 7 proved fatal to the Revs. P. FRASER, P. DIXON, and W. H. MOORE [28]. Another Missionary took more than two years to reach the station to which he had been appointed: the Rev. D. W. ROSE of Dominica, Antigua, after several disappointments in obtaining a passage, left St. Nevis in December 1796, but the ship being captured by a French privateer in the next month he was carried prisoner to Rochelle, and afterwards removed up the country to Angoulême, where he remained till the following July, when he was "exchanged by a cartel" and came to England. After receiving Priest's Orders and being detained six weeks in the Isle of Wight, he sailed for the West Indies in November 1797. Arriving at Nevis he was unable to get a passage to the Bahamas, though he went to Antigua and to St. Kitts several times for the purpose. He therefore "took a passage in a schooner bound to Norfolk in Virginia," whence he made his way to Nassau, but did not reach Long Island till February 1799 [29].

The Rev. H. JENKINS experienced a similar difficulty. In his voyage from England "he had the ill fortune to lose all his papers, by being obliged to throw them overboard upon coming in sight of a vessel, which was supposed to be a French one, but it turned out otherwise." He took the precaution to show the certificate of his appointment (from the Society) to a fellow passenger, desiring him to read it with attention, that he might witness the contents of it to the Governor, and thereby remove any difficulty that might have arisen from his having no credentials.* He reached Nassau safely, but within a few days' sail of the Caicos the ship was captured by a French privateer and carried "to Cape St. Francois, from whence they were sent to Mole St. Nicholas to be exchanged." He arrived at the Caicos on October 16, 1797, "in good health and spirits" [30].

Mr. Jenkins divided his time between the Caicos and Turk's Island, about eight leagues distant. On his first visit to the latter he remained a fortnight and ministered to "a large congregation at the Barracks," then "converted into a Church," but which a few years before had

* The Governor, though satisfied that Mr. Jenkins was "not an impostor," delayed his induction till "new credentials" should arrive from England, "and also a Degree from one of the Universities of England, Scotland, or Dublin as the Parochial Act of the Bahamas in this case directs." As Mr. Jenkins "would have been entitled to a Degree in the University of Cambridge" the Archbishop of Canterbury conferred on him the degree of M.A.; but while this was being done the qualification was rendered "unnecessary" by "an alteration in the Bahamas Act" [30a].

been occupied by the military that were "stationed there in order to check the lawless and ungovernable temper of the people." The few gentlemen of Turk's Island had for some time adopted "the laudable plan of assembling there on Sundays when the Liturgy" was "used and a Sermon read out of some approved author" [31]. A supply of Bibles and Prayer Books from the Society proved very acceptable to "the poor people there," who "all faithfully promised to read them with attention," and one William Darrel, "a very decent and well disposed negro" opened a Sunday School and taught his countrymen gratis [32]. In his first year's ministry in Long Island Mr. Rose baptized 14 Whites and 24 "Blacks, Mulattoes, Mustees and Dustees." The negroes there had been "misled by strange doctrines." They called themselves "Baptists, the followers of St. John," and were "not so happy and contented" as in other parts of the West Indies, though "every indulgence and humanity" were "exercised towards them by their Masters." Their preachers, black men, were "artful and designing making a merchandize of Religion." One of them was "so impious" as to proclaim that he had "had a familiar conversation with the Almighty," and to point out the place where he had seen Him. At certain times in the year the black preachers used to "drive numbers of negroes into the sea and dip them by way of baptism," for which they extorted a dollar, or stolen goods [33].

Previously to Mr. Rose's arrival an attempt "to check their proceedings" occasioned some of the slaves to "abscond and conceal themselves in the woods," and in consequence "many of their masters . . . actually counteracted all his diligence and zeal . . . for the promotion of religion and morals." At the very time that "superstition and fanaticism" appeared to be yielding to his teaching the "proceedings" of the blacks were "more abominable but more secretly conducted" [34]. "After various attempts . . . to prevail on his parishioners to receive the Communion, he at last" on August 23, 1801, "administered to three, exclusive of his own family" [35]. In the same year he visited Exuma at a time when the planters had assembled their negroes (about 400) at a pond for the purpose of raking salt. "A canopy was erected under which the gentlemen and ladies of the country took their seats and he preached to them." "He was highly gratified by the chearfulness with which" the negroes "went through their daily task." "In the celebration of the Sabbath they observed the utmost decorum, and seemed to be very pious in their devotion." "Upon seeing and contemplating their situation both in a temporal and spiritual light" he ventured the opinion "that he would rather be a slave in the Bahamas than a poor free cottager in England" [36].

In 1802 Mr. Rose removed his residence to Exuma, and on Christmas Day dedicated "the new Church." After having officiated so long "in old, uninhabited houses in Long Island . . . he felt, in the discharge of his duty under a consecrated house a renovation, as it were, of the clergyman." The inhabitants then consisted of 140 whites, 35 "free people," and 1,078 negro and other slaves. On his first coming many of the negroes "called themselves the followers of Mahomet," but these, with other blacks, he baptized to the number of 93 adults and 41 infants in less than a year. He also formed some of

the best negroes into a society, and twice a week many of them used to "meet in their huts to sing psalms and to offer up a few prayers after their daily task" [37].

On a visit to Crooked Island in 1803 he "baptized without any compensation 150 negroes." His practice of refusing fees had the effect of opening the eyes of the poor negroes to the extortion of their black preachers. "When they saw him standing an hour or two exhorting and inviting them to his mode of baptism without any charge" they were persuaded "that he had no pecuniary views, but was only interested in their welfare, and by such a sacrifice of his emoluments even their Bishops submitted to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England" [38].

"The illiberality of the House of Assembly . . . not only in reducing his salary, but in making laws and afterwards violating them, and the constant apprehension of piratical invaders" . . . "compelled" Mr. Rose to "abandon the Bahamas" in 1804. Spanish Picaroons were "infesting their coasts and plundering their vessels," and in apprehension of "a visit from the French" most of the women and children of New Providence were sent away. On one occasion Mr. Rose was "obliged to ride the whole night with his musket in his hand and cartouche box on his shoulder" [39].

By 1807 the number of the S.P.G. Missionaries was reduced* to one—the Rev. R. ROBERTS of New Providence. After that year [40] none of the Bahamas Clergy appear to have been aided by the Society until 1835, when, as a part of the Diocese of Jamaica (founded 1824) the Islands began to participate in the Negro Education Fund [41]. [*See* pp. 194–5.] The Colonial Legislature co-operated with the Society, but at the end of eight years† the supply of Clergy still remained inadequate.

Of the fourteen parishes or rectories into which the islands were divided, only four were wholly and three partially endowed, and in some of the out-islands there was "not a single religious teacher of any class whatever" [42].

In New Providence the Bishop of Jamaica confirmed nearly 400 persons in 1845 [43]. Three years later he held what appears to be the first ordination in that part of his diocese, two priests and two deacons being ordained, and the number of Clergy thus raised to sixteen [44]. The labours of the Missionaries were very arduous, one of them having no less than seven islands under his care. To visit these and to go from one station to another preaching and baptizing the children was "something like a shepherd setting his mark upon his sheep and then letting them go in the wilderness" [45]. In some remote districts the people retained a strong attachment to the Church of England, notwithstanding her long neglect of them. Many natives came forward and offered their services gratuitously as catechists [46]; and in one island an old man of seventy "walked fifty miles in order to partake of the holy feast" [47].

The formation of the Bahamas into a separate see in 1861 was followed by the death of its first Bishop, Dr. CAULFIELD, within a few

* Mr. Groombridge died in 1804: Mr. Rose in 1804, and Mr. Jenkins in 1806, removed to Jamaica, and Mr. Richards to England about 1805 [40*a*].

† The Clergymen aided by the Society during this period (1836–44) were E. J. Rogers and C. Neale, 1836–44; P. S. Aldrich, 1840; F. T. Todrig, 1841–2; W. Gray, 1844.

months of his consecration [48]. The thirteen years of the episcopate of Bishop VENABLES (his successor) were, for the most part, years of disendowment, destruction of Church property by hurricane, paralysis of trade, intense poverty, and considerable emigration. Yet the Church progressed. Between 1867–74 forty-five Churches were built or restored [49].

At the time of Bishop Venables' appointment the Society's Missions were all in the out-islands, which were absolutely unable to maintain their own Clergy. "I think the Society can hardly have realized the Missionary character of the work done here," wrote the Bishop, "nor the insufficiency of our local resources for carrying on that work" [50]. Of the Biminis he said "the inhabitants seem almost the most degraded people that I have yet visited. This perhaps may be accounted for by these two islands being a great rendezvous for wreckers" [51].

In Providence itself "an instance of practical heathenism" came under his notice. "Three men were digging on the solid rock on the south side of the island, and had been engaged in this way for . . . eight years off and on because an Obeah woman had told them of a treasure hidden there" [52].

In the Island of Eleuthera a man once came to the Bishop from a Baptist village to say that he "had collected forty children and formed a Sunday School and also that there were fifty persons waiting for baptism." A Clergyman was sent who baptized ninety [53]. Some of the Missions were brought to a remarkable state of efficiency, the poor black and coloured people adopting "one of the surest ways of calling down God's blessing on ourselves" by contributions to *Foreign* Missions. Nearly £30 a year was raised in this way in one parish (St. Agnes, New Providence), and the Missionary there was able, "without the slightest discontent," to have "daily morning and evening service and weekly offertory and celebration" [54]. In 1868 the Bishop obtained a Church ship,* the *Message of Peace*. Writing of the first visit in her, which was to Andros Island, he said: "I cannot speak too highly of the labours of Mr. Sweeting the coloured catechist of the district. The morality of the people here bears a striking contrast to that of other out-island settlements." One poor girl who heard of the Bishop's arrival followed him from station to station in order to be confirmed, her confirmation costing her "a journey of 56 miles, 44 accomplished on foot" over rugged roads with two creeks to ford [55].

The cyclone of 1866, which overthrew nearly one half of the churches in the diocese [56], was followed by disestablishment and disendowment in 1869, the immediate effect of which was that in one island alone (Eleuthera) five congregations were for a time left without a clergyman [56*a*]. Yet even in the next year a new station was opened there among the coloured people, the first service being held "in a small hut and in the dark for no candle could be procured" [57]. With the death of Bishop Venables in October 1876, the episcopal income, hitherto derived from the State, ceased. In the opinion of the physicians the Bishop's "illness was the result upon a frame not naturally robust, of continuous travel, irregular and often

* The use of a Church ship was advocated by Archdeacon Trew in 1845 as one method of meeting the lamentable spiritual destitution then existing in the Bahamas [55*a*.]

unwholesome food, constant care and unceasing mental labour." From his death-bed he sent a message to the Society to save the diocese from "being blotted out of Christendom" [58]. The Society's response was the guarantee of an allowance of £200 per annum, which was continued to his successor until 1881, by which time an endowment of £10,000 had been provided. Towards raising and increasing this fund the Society contributed £1,500 (in 1876-82), and for the permanent maintenance of the Clergy £1,000 (in 1873-88) [59].

1878-1900.

Under Bishops Cramer Roberts (1878-85) and E. T. Churton (1886-1900) the diocese has made encouraging progress [60].

Bishop Churton, "owing to the diligence and devotion" of his predecessors, found himself from the beginning responsible for the supervision of an extensive Mission-field, in which the strength of the Church consisted in its hold upon the coloured people [61]. But most of the churches were of the rudest description, and there were scarcely any parsonages or lodgings for the Clergy, and only one Mission boat; and so throughout all was on the humblest scale. This did not afflict the Bishop much, as he had come "prepared to rough it, and to forego stained glass windows and organs" [62]. During the next ten years the frail cabin churches were replaced by more solid buildings, parsonages and lodges for the Clergy when visiting, as well as Mission boats, were provided, many new stations were opened, including a special Mission (organised in 1891) for the neglected sailors, and the accessions to the Church numbered between three and four thousand [63]. But moral and spiritual training is of more importance than mere numerical increase, and, "instead of bidding more to the heavenly feast," it was found necessary for the Clergy to sift well and to reject some of their registered communicants. The firm stand thus made had the effect of checking the evil and deepening the life of the communicants [64]. But in reporting this the Bishop stated that it is vain almost to hope for a moral reformation unless a stop be put to the building of the hovels in which the poor are housed [65].

At the present time Nassau may still fairly claim to be regarded as a Missionary and not merely as a Colonial diocese. In the city of Nassau there is a considerable white population, and the Church is able to support herself (except in the parishes of St. Mary and St. Anne); but the greater number of the islands are peopled entirely by negroes, who, "though nominally Christians, are to a great extent practically heathen." There are great difficulties in the work of evangelisation, arising (1) from the population being scattered over so wide an area, the distance by sea from one end of the diocese to the other being about 650 miles. The people live in small settlements separated by great distances, some in huts hidden away in the bush, only to be got at by a weary tramp over sharp, honeycombed rock; others in settlements inaccessible except by boat, and then only in certain winds; others are secluded in the recesses of creeks to which the approach is almost blocked by clumps of mangroves [66]. (2) The bulk of the male population is employed on the sea, sponge gathering

during nearly the whole year. (3) Government provides schools (undenominational) only in the most populous centres. The Church, with the aid of grants from Bray's Associates and the Christian Faith Society,* does what it can to provide teaching of a very simple and elementary character for the children in the more remote places, but numbers are still out of reach of any school. The people generally are in a state of extreme ignorance, a large proportion being unable to read; witchcraft and other heathen superstitions abound, and immorality is everywhere very prevalent. (4) The missionary clergy have to spend their time travelling from one station to another, and their field of work is so large that it is impossible for them, except at their headquarters, to spend more than a few days at a time at one place. In their absence the services are conducted by native catechists, many of whom are zealous and able to exert a good influence over their stations, yet who are for the most part very illiterate men, and are incapable of teaching anything more than the simplest religious lessons [67].

In some parts, as at Andros, the largest island in the Bahamas, and the only one possessing freshwater lakes, the Clergy, in addition to their proper work, fill the offices of parish doctor, visitor of the Board schools, justice of the peace, public vaccinator, as well as perform the friendly offices of adjuster of private wrangles, writing letters and wills, and giving advice on many matters, for, except the magistrate, they are the only white persons seen all along the shore [68].

The evangelisation of the sponge gatherers forms the most difficult branch of the Church's work. There are thousands of these men, drawn from many different islands, whom to find at their proper homes is well-nigh impossible, as for nearly the whole year they are absent on voyages of a few weeks at a time, each lasting long enough to secure a ship's cargo. The sponges, however, are commonly brought to market at Nassau, and it is then that the sailors' chaplain may often get a chance of seizing upon and impressing the men who form the crews. Yet it is hard work, both to rescue them from dens of vice to which they are led in their simplicity, and to succeed in teaching them anything at all during visits to town which are so short. Half the baptismal creed will have been gone through when the order comes to sail, and the promising catechumen disappears, to return only after two or three months' absence with everything lost and

* Originally "The Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negroe Slaves in the British West India Islands." This Society had its origin in a bequest of the Hon. Robert Boyle (by will dated July 16, 1691) intended "*for the advancement or Propagation of the Christian Religion amongst Infidels*," and the income from which the Trustees (in consequence of the American Revolutionary war of the eighteenth century) had ceased to apply to its original object, viz., the education and instruction of Indian children in the College of William and Mary in Virginia. The Society received its first Royal Charter through the exertions of Bishop Porteous of London, on October 30, 1794, and a renewed Charter through those of Bishop Blomfield, on January 11, 1836, under the present title, "*The Incorporated Society for Advancing the Christian Faith in the British West Indian Islands and elsewhere, and in the Mauritius.*" The Society derives its income, now about £2,310 per annum, from investments, and therefore the excellent work it has been doing quietly for over a century is little heard of. The West Indian Bishops, to whom block grants are annually made, repeatedly bear witness to the indispensable benefit their dioceses receive from the Society. The Secretary is the Rev. Canon Bailey, D.D., Canterbury.

forgotten that he had been learning. Candidates for confirmation are sent to the Bishop generally one at a time. Often they are brought up to his private chapel at an early hour, having been baptized overnight, and then sail later in the same day; it rarely happens that they can remain long enough to make their first Communion. They have a special chapel of their own down by the wharf, and a club underneath. Occasionally the Clergy visit the sponging grounds and spend a Sunday with the spongers, holding Mission services on the beach, attended by from 400 to 500 men and boys at a time.

Prior to the introduction of services for blessing ships and sailors by the Bishop in 1893 there was hardly a sailor in the Bahamas who went to sea without putting on an obeah-string for his protection against malignant evil spirits [69].

The time has not yet come for the creation of a native ministry,* the difficulties in the way of training candidates for Holy Orders being, under present circumstances, insurmountable. Under existing circumstances the present system of work, which was commenced by Bishop Venables, is the best that can be devised. There are more than ninety Church stations at which services are held, and about 130 lay readers, none of whom are paid anything for their work.

On the whole, the chief difficulty in negro work is to contend with ebbs and tides, to repress vain and foolish excitement one day, and the next to shame the people out of the torpor which is sure to succeed [70 & 70*a*].

Even with all their love of witchcraft, their riotous wakes and dances, and other enormities, the blacks are still a delightful people, whom to teach and train is as happy an employment as Missionaries could desire.† And for the most part the Clergy have quickly learned to love the Bahamas, and become acclimatised in every sense of the word, and year by year they carry on the work of the Church with exemplary devotion and courage under considerable difficulties [71]. In the Turk's Island‡ Mission, which is too far away for the Missionary to have the benefit of much support from his brother Clergy and Bishop, the Rev. H. F. Crofton laboured faithfully and patiently for fourteen years (1886-1899), occasionally extending his ministrations to the English residents in the Island of San Domingo. The Society made a special grant for this work at Puerto Plata in 1877, but it was not used. The services held by Mr. Crofton have been attended by Lutherans, Moravians, and Methodists, as well as Anglicans [72].

* The Society's list of Missionaries in the diocese has included only two coloured clergymen (*see* Missionary Roll).

† A Missionary of the American Church at Jacksonville, U.S., stated in 1883 that those of his flock who had been brought up in the Church at Nassau were "the best educated black people" he had ever seen [71*a*].

‡ The Turk's and Caicos Islands were separated from the other Bahamas in 1848, and formed into a distinct Presidency under the Governor of Jamaica.

Towards the building of churches destroyed in the Bahamas by the hurricane of August 11 and 12, 1899, the Society voted £500 in 1900 [73].

After a succession of serious illnesses Bishop E. T. Churton was obliged to resign the Bishopric in 1900. His episcopate had been one of singular devotion, and in the last year Bishop Hornby rendered kind help. Happily the vacancy occurred at a time when the Missions were fully manned by an efficient staff of clergy, every post of work being occupied and the prospects being in every way brighter than they were when Bishop Churton entered upon his episcopate in 1886. In place of fourteen clergy, eight of whom were receiving salaries from Government, he left a staff of twenty-two, of whom only three were paid by Government [74].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 252.)

CHAPTER XXIX.

JAMAICA.

JAMAICA was discovered by Columbus in 1494, and by him called "St. Jago." The island was then densely peopled by Indians, and it soon recovered its native name of Cha-maika ("island of springs"). The formal occupation of the island by the Spanish Government in 1509 as a "garden" for obtaining provisions, and as a "nursery" for slaves for their mines in America, resulted in the complete extermination of the natives, some of whom were "hanged . . . by thirteens in honour of the thirteen apostles"; and Indian infants were thrown to the dogs to be devoured. Cromwell wrested the island from Spain in 1655, and it remained under military jurisdiction until 1660, when a regular civil government was established by Charles II. On its capture by the British a large body of the Spanish slaves (negroes) fled to the mountains and became the origin of the "Maroon" population. Their numbers were continually increased by runaway slaves; and the British settlers were harassed by their attacks down to 1795, when the rebellious population entirely submitted and were removed first to Nova Scotia and afterwards to Sierra Leone. In the meantime the buccaneers or pirates had made Jamaica their headquarters for plundering the Spanish colonies and treasure-ships. Wealth incalculable, thus derived, was poured into Port Royal, which became a scene of much wickedness. In 1692 Port Royal was destroyed by an earthquake. Three thousand of the inhabitants were engulfed, and 3,000 more perished from an epidemic arising from the bodies which lay floating in shoals in the harbour. While the city was being restored it was again destroyed—this time by fire. The planters brought upon themselves fresh troubles by their inhuman treatment of the slaves. Between 1678 and 1832 there were at least 27 distinct and serious slave rebellions. In that of 1760, 700 of the negroes were slain, some being burned and some fixed alive on the gibbets to die of starvation. Many destroyed themselves in the woods rather than fall again into the hands of their masters. During the last eight years of the slave trade, ending in 1807, 86,821 slaves were imported; and when slavery was abolished in 1833 Jamaica received nearly one-third of the £20,000,000 granted by England as compensation to the slaveowners in the West Indies, &c. The number of slaves thus freed in the island was 309,388. The Cayman Islands, lying about 100 miles to the N.W., are appendages of Jamaica.

As early as 1664 "seven parishes were established" by law in Jamaica. "At this time there was only one church on the Island and five ministers two of whom were Swiss." In the next six years the number of churches had increased to five; "but alas my lords," said Sir Thomas Modyford to H.M. Commissioners, "these five do not preach to one third of this Island. The plantations are at such distance each from other, that it is impossible to make up convenient congregations, or find fitting places for the rest to meet in; but they agree among themselves to meet alternately at each others houses, as the Primitive Christians did, and there to pray, read a chapter, sing a psalm, and home again; so that did not the accessors to this Island come men and women, and so well instructed in the articles of our faith in their own countries, it might well be feared that the Christian religion would be quite forgot, or at least, little minded among them." The state of things in 1683 was thus described by Sir Thomas Lynch: "There are as yet not above nine churches. All the ministers are sober, orthodox and good men. None but such as conform to the Church of England, and are recommended by my Lord Bishop of London can be admitted. They have institution and induction by an instrument under the Great Seal of this island; they have clerks, keep records of marriages" &c.; "they have also churchwardens, vestries" [1].

THE Society's connection with Jamaica began in 1703 by allowing £5 towards replacing books of "Commissary Bennett,"* who was in a "deplorable condition," having lost nearly the whole of his property by "a dreadful fire" which "happened on Port Royall" on the 9th of January, "leaving nothing standing but . . . 2 fforts." His books were "either burnt or stol'n away by the Seamen belonging to ships, much alike merciless enemies with the fire." He was also

* *Rev Phil.* Bennett, B.D. of Oxford University.

deprived of the freehold of his parsonage by an "Act of the Country made since the fire," annexing "Port Royall and all that belongs to it, to Kingstown, prohibiting any markett at Port Royall and the Importation and Exportation of any goods under the penalty of £200 forfeiture for every fault" [2].

During the next seven years grants for books for themselves and their flocks were allowed to several other clergymen * sent to Jamaica by the Bishop of London, and in 1709 and 1710 the Rev. S. Coleby and the Rev. W. Guthrie were each voted £10 towards their passage [3]. Compared with other colonies Jamaica was fairly supplied with clergymen, and only needed a Bishop to secure the establishment of the Church on a satisfactory footing; the Society's efforts in this direction, which began in 1715, met with obstacles which were not removed until 1824. [*See* pp. 194, 744, 752.]

On the arrival of the first Bishop (Dr. C. Lipscomb) in Jamaica in February 1825 he "found 21 parishes with a rector and curate assigned to each, whose salaries were provided by the Island-legislature. The rectories were all filled up but ten of the Island curacies were still vacant from the want of proper places for the curate to officiate in." By degrees this difficulty was removed and the vacancies filled, until in 1834 there were 56 clergymen, 95 lay teachers, and 142 schools. But the change caused by the emancipation of the negroes rendered necessary "at least double the number of places of worship without interference in fields occupied by Dissenters." One church could contain only half the number of its communicants, and the number of people "actually collecting around the doors and windows of the buildings" (churches) amounted on the whole to several thousands. "So general" was the "disposition . . . in favour of the Church of England," and so great "was the anxiety for instruction," that the Bishop wrote in 1834, "we are obliged to acknowledge our exertions and usefulness only limited by our means of supplying Schools and School Masters" [4].

Jamaica shared largely in the Society's Negro Instruction Fund [5]. Aid from this source began in 1835 [*see* pp. 194–5], and by the next year nine additional clergymen† were at work in the island, a Central School was training teachers, and the "National School Establishment," which was rapidly extending itself, was thus reported of:—

"We have had nothing, before it, worthy the name of School: its effects on the language, habits, and minds of the rising coloured and negro populations are incalculable: the disposition to advance its interests is every day growing stronger in this country. Since its introduction into Jamaica, it has succeeded in placing 3,000 children under instruction, and that too, by masters trained by the Superintendent of the Central School" [7].

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* 1705, Dec. 21, Rev. A. Auchenleck, £15; Rev. G. Wright, £15. 1706, Feb. 28 Rev. — Roe, £15. 1707, April 9, Rev. E. Shanks, £15; Nov. 21, Rev. — Cunningham, £15; Rev. J. Thompson, £15. 1709, Dec. 16, Rev. — Fonk, £5. 1710, Jan. 20, Rev. W. Guthrie, £15. Mr. Wright "pawned and sold" some of the books "in his necessity at Portsmouth before coming to the Island"; but his successor, the Rev. W. Johnston, of St. Andrew's, Jamaica, who gave this explanation, repaid their value to the Society in 1714 [3a].

† The first Missionaries appointed on the Society's list were (in Jamaica) Revs. G. Osborn, W. S. Coward, H. L. Yates, A. F. Giraud, T. Wharton, G. A. Waters, W. Broadley, M. Mitchell, D. Fidler; (in the Grand Caymanas) the Rev. D. Wilson [6].

The general effect of the religious instruction on the negroes was thus described by the Bishop in 1837:—

"No one who has witnessed, as I have lately witnessed, the large proportion of the apprentices, 'panting, like the hart for the waterbrooks, and being athirst for the living God,' conducting themselves on this day with strict propriety and decorum—repairing in crowds to God's house—reading, or acquiring the power to read, the inspired Scriptures—fervently joining in the impressive liturgy of our Church—renewing their baptismal vows in order to their becoming duly qualified partakers of the Lord's Supper: no one who has seen these things, can possibly doubt, that 'the fear of the Lord is the beginning,' not only of all 'wisdom,' but of all civilisation, of all advances in the scale of rational beings—the only true method of preparing their minds for unfettered rights and unrestricted freedom. . . . The intensity of their feelings on this subject is strong in proportion to their having been so long estranged from so rational an indulgence. It is a new sense, whose keenness and relish is enhanced from its being exercised for the first time. In default of proper places of worship, they will resort, for the purposes of communion and devotion, to 'the dens and caves of the earth'—they will hide themselves in the woods—they will meet by 'the river-side'—they will revere the place 'where prayer is wont to be made.' . . .

"Again, with respect to those obvious effects resulting from these measures on our civil polity, and the administration of the laws, I am enabled to state on authority, that our courts of justice are no longer disgraced by that utter and lamentable ignorance of the nature and obligation of an oath, which so long impeded the course of justice itself. Instances have lately occurred, where the testimony of the younger apprentices has been marked by a clearness, a precision, and accuracy, at once the most satisfactory indications of the improving effects of religious education, and of a competent knowledge of those awful sanctions and appeals, which can alone, by evidence, arrive at the truth in the investigation of crime."

"It cannot be doubted that the change now in progress here, which is noticed by his Excellency the Governor, and every functionary connected with the Government has been brought about in no small measure by the liberality of the Society" [8].

In 1838 the vestries of the island began to come forward with such a sense of the necessity of religious instruction that, said the Bishop, "the difficulty will now rather be, to meet their grants for the moieties of Curates' and Teachers' salaries with an equal sum from the funds of the Societies that lend their aid. In effecting this improvement and establishing this disposition . . . the principle upon which the Society . . . have lent their aid has mainly contributed" [9].

The erection of the Church of St. Paul's, Annandale, in 1838, supplies a noteworthy instance of the good disposition of the negroes and coloured classes towards Christianity. The proprietor of the estate gave the land and materials, the Jamaica Government, the Bishop, and others added contributions, but more gratifying still "the apprentices on the Estate, of their own free will subscribed about £200 in money and no less than twelve hundred days in work," and this too at a time when they were still slaves. So earnest and sincere were their efforts that "in one day fifty-six persons cleared about four acres of virgin, unopened woodland." Their numbers increased each week, and on April 7

"from 800 to 1,000 of the black population pressed forward to hear the Word of the Living God and to see laid the foundation stone of a Temple devoted to His Service—the superstructure of which they felt an honest pride in knowing, was to be the result of their own gratuitous efforts. . . . From a circuit of 8 and 10 miles were to be seen flocking on the following Saturdays (their only holidays) volunteers, ready and eager for the appointed work. . . . Children of tiny growth and the old *in their decrepitude, joined* in the work with the strong and healthy" [10].

The day originally fixed for the emancipation of the slaves was August 1, 1840, but the impatience of the English nation led to the passing of an Act anticipating this time by exactly two years (1838) [11].

The removal of the yoke was received, "not by unseemly transports—not by degrading indulgences—not by excess or riot, but by a calm and settled religious feeling, consecrating the glorious day of their emancipation . . . to devotional exercises and evincing the proofs of that Christian faith which they had imbibed, however imperfectly, but which so powerfully sustained them under that most difficult of all human trials—sudden temporal prosperity." The confirmation of nearly 9,000 persons was reported in 1840 [12].

Reviewing the progress of the Church in Jamaica during his episcopate Bishop Lipscomb, shortly before his death in 1843, stated that it was to the "invaluable assistance" of the Society that "this diocese owes, under the Divine Blessing, much of its present prosperity" [13]. The value of the Society's aid was gratefully felt and acknowledged by the inhabitants generally. The Island Assembly passed an Act in 1840 providing for the "increase of the number of Curates in the island . . . from 21 to 42, with an addition of £100 a year to the stipends of the whole body," so that when Bishop Spencer succeeded to the see in 1844 the colony was contributing over £28,000, or more than seven-eighths of the cost of the maintenance of the clergy [14].

At his primary Visitation on Dec. 12, 1844, the Bishop met "a larger number" of [Anglican] clergymen (viz.* 75) than (he said) had "ever before been assembled out of England and Ireland." This "ecclesiastical demonstration" had "a very happy effect on the public mind." Early in 1845 he confirmed 4,180 persons, and the results of his personal intercourse with his Clergy and people were soon apparent. Parochial vestries which had withheld grants became "liberal in their supplies" to the National Schools, already educating 7,000 children; local contributions for the enlargement and repair of Church buildings increased, one individual giving £5,000 for the erection of a chapel at Highgate, and the co-operation afforded by the magistrates and vestries was "universal" [15]. The opportunity was seized by the Bishop to institute a Diocesan Church Society, the object of which is thus stated in his Charge to the Clergy:—

"From the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in my estimation the first and best Missionary Society in the whole world, this Diocese is still deriving aid to the annual amount of £3,000. To the continuance of this munificent assistance we cannot, however, look forward beyond the year 1847, at which period, it is to be feared, that the Parliamentary Grant to the Society in behalf of the West India Colonies will be finally withdrawn. In anticipation of these changes and reductions, it is clearly our duty, not only to organize such a Local Institution as may prevent any detriment to the Church of Jamaica; but I trust that you will agree with me, that every Pastor in this land should personally contribute also to the Funds of the Parent Society, and obtain for it the annual contributions of at least the richer members of his flock" [16].

The aid of the parent Society to Jamaica was "expended in the prosecution of a work as purely Missionary in its character" as any that had been undertaken by it "during the whole course of its ministry" [17]. The fruitfulness of that work was well manifested at

* The number assembled at the Bishop of Toronto's Visitation in June 1844 was 73.

Dallas, in the Port Royal Mountains, where two years' labours of the Rev. COLIN M'LAVERTY resulted in the gathering of "nearly 1,000 converts," the completion of the church, and the adoption of the station by the Government as an island curacy, the Society's allowance being set free for other Missions [18].

With the exhaustion of the Negro Instruction Fund the Society's expenditure in Jamaica was reduced to the support of a few clergymen. One of these, the Rev. J. MORRIS of Keynsham, reported in 1857 the capture of a former slave who had lived twenty years in ignorance of his emancipation. To escape a flogging he and two others fled from one of the estates into the Nassau mountains, where for many years they avoided the Maroons whose business it was to hunt them. At last one died, a second was taken, and after a long interval the third also, but it was difficult to make him understand that "free is come." When first seen by Mr. Morris the most intelligent thing that could be drawn from him was that "the Great Massa make all we." But after four months' instruction he was baptized [19].

Hardly less ignorant of the Christian religion were some Africans who had been taken from a slaver by a British ship and brought to Jamaica. One Sunday after service they came to Mr. Morris desiring "to be christened"; but on being asked why, they said, "Because all Creole christen." Of the Saviour of the world they had no notion whatever. All that they had ever learnt in Africa about religion was "that there is a great Being, who lives up above," whom they called "Sham."

To the Missionary it seemed remarkable "that the Divine Being should be called by this name, in a place so far from Syria." In preference to returning to the Congo, where "kill too much" prevailed, they remained in Jamaica and after instruction were received into Christ's flock.

In less than two years Mr. Morris admitted 109 persons to Holy Communion, and in 1863 the communicants in his district numbered 1,216 [20].

The provision made by the Colonial Legislature for the support of the Church admitted of the withdrawal of the Society's grant to Jamaica at the end of 1865 [21].

There were then in the island 92 beneficed clergy supported by the State, each having an average district of 60 square miles and a cure of 3,240 souls. But it was computed that this left 200,000 persons, or two-fifths of the population, "wholly inaccessible to the ministrations of the Clergy, or of the ministers of any religious denomination." The Diocesan Church Society organised in 1861 did much to supply the want; but on December 31, 1869, disestablishment and disendowment were introduced, and the Church was left (as the Clergy vacated) with no property save a few parsonages or glebes of small value, no endowments, and with few members able to help except at the cost of real sacrifice and self-denial. With commendable energy a Diocesan Synod was formed (in January 1870) and one of its first fruits was that almost every congregation began to raise a Sustentation Fund; and with the prompt aid of £1,000 from the Society the *Church in the diocese* has been successfully re-established on the

basis of voluntary support [22.] A small sum (£205) was also granted by the Society in 1880 towards the Bishopric Endowment [23].

In the opinion of the present Bishop of Jamaica "a large portion of the permanent spiritual work accomplished in the diocese . . . and of the present influence and power of our Church" there "has resulted from the work directly commenced and sustained for many years by the S.P.G." [24]. Gratitude for the Society's help has been shown by a commemoration of its third jubilee in "every church and chapel in the diocese" [25] and by frequent offerings since to the Society's treasury.

1892–1900.

In 1897 the diocese was aided from the Marriott bequest in the erection of five churches (£625), and the enlargement of buildings for the Jamaica Church Theological College (£1,000). The College, as a local institution, is imperatively needed for the training of native Clergy and catechists, and for supplementing the training of men from England, Jamaica being 1,000 miles from Codrington College, Barbados. The catechists in Jamaica, some 150 in number, are called in from their stations in batches to reside at the College for two or three months at a time, and thus from forty to fifty receive training and instruction of great value every year [26]. [*See* p. 783.]

The diocese is fully organised as a voluntary Church, with all the machinery necessary to give practical effect to its united purposes. It possesses a Synod, a Theological Training College, 300 Schools, a Missionary Society, deriving support from every parish, for Home and Foreign Missions, which has already sent black Missionaries to West Africa, a branch of the Brotherhood of St. Andrew working on simple and effective methods of lay service (including the training and maintenance of lay evangelists and colporteurs), and a Deaconess Institution, with deaconesses and subordinate workers, many of them trained nurses, ministering to the sick and poor, and helping to meet the spiritual needs, especially of women, of all classes. The local contributions for Church purposes amount to £30,000 a year, and are largely drawn from the labouring classes and small settlers, though some among the higher educated classes are willing and liberal supporters. During the Spanish occupation [p. 228] 1,200,000 Arawaks were exterminated in Jamaica and the adjacent islands. Under British rule the population of Jamaica alone has grown from a few thousand in 1665 to 700,000 in 1899; and, if the influences now being brought to bear on the people are steadily maintained, the Jamaicans are likely to become, at no distant date, "an intelligent, free, prosperous, and loyal community of some two or three millions." Of the present population some 14,000 are white and 130,000 coloured; the remainder are black. Church life in Jamaica is very vigorous and earnest [27].

Dr. Nuttall, who was consecrated Bishop of Jamaica in 1880, succeeded the late Bishop Austin, of Guiana, as "Primate of the West Indies," in 1883, and in 1897 was formally designated "Archbishop of the West Indies." Since 1888 he has had the assistance of Dr. Douet as Coadjutor-Bishop [28].

(*For Statistical Summary see* p. 252.)

CHAPTER XXX.

MOSKITO (or MOSQUITO) SHORE, BAY OF HONDURAS, AND NICARAGUA.

THE coast was discovered by Columbus in 1502, and appears to have been first settled by British adventurers in connection with Belize. [*See* p. 238.] In 1741 George II. appointed Commissioners for Belize, Ruatan, and Bonacca, who resided at Ruatan. By treaty with Spain in 1786 England agreed to relinquish the shore.

IN acknowledging a supply of the Bishop of Man's *Essay towards an Instruction for the Indians*, the Rev. Mr. PEAT, Rector of Jamestown, Jamaica, took occasion in 1742 to draw the Society's attention to the Moskitos, a nation of Indians which fled before the Spaniards in their American conquests and had never submitted to them, but lived mostly on one side of the Bay of Honduras and in the islands of it, where some Englishmen resided among them. For some years they had declared themselves subjects of Great Britain, with whom they earnestly desired to be united both in religion and government. This attachment arose from the support afforded them against "the Spanish yoke, to which they had so great an abhorrence that they were ready on all occasions to sacrifice their lives against" the Spaniards. Encouraged by the Society, Mr. Peat "with others of the" [Jamaica] "Clergy" subscribed £50 towards a Mission to the Moskitos, who in testimony of their affection for the English sent five youths of their principal families to be educated in Jamaica in 1743. One was taken care of by Governor Trelawney, the others by four merchants. The youths were of a mild disposition, and seemed quite satisfied with their situation. In reply to enquiries Governor Trelawney sent the Society a copy of this letter which he had received from the Moskitos:

"Moskito Shore, May 19, 1739.

"Sir, We your lawful subjects do thank you for your care and assistance to us, in offering us commissions, and assisting us in any lawful occasion. We humbly beg you will help us with the following things: a Commission for Edward, King of the Moskitos; a Commission for William Britton, Governor; General Hobby, now lying dangerous sick, we desire a blank for, in case of his death, to make his son General; a Commission for Thomas Porter and Jacob Everson, being captains of his Majesty's Perriaguas; as likewise your assistance in sending us some Powder, shot, flints, small arms and cutlasses, to defend our country and assist our Brothers Englishmen; and a good Schoolmaster to learn and instruct our young Children, that they may be brought up in the Christian Faith. All we beg that he may bring with him is Books and a little salt; as for any thing else we will take care to provide for him and a sufficient salary for his pains. We likewise promise him, that he shall have no trouble to look for victuals, nor any provisions; for we shall take care to provide for him such as our country can afford. These necessaries we humbly beg you will assist us with and we always shall be ready upon a call to serve you, and take care of any of your lawful subjects and our own country. We humbly beg leave to title ourselves

"Your true subjects and loving brothers,

"THOMAS PORTER } Captains." "EDWARD, King elect.
"JACOB EVERSON }

Governor Trelawney also reported that a Missionary would be safe among the Moskitos, the Spaniards having for a long time given over the thoughts of conquering them, that the Council of Jamaica approved

the design of a Mission, and "to speak his own thoughts of it, those Indians, besides the claim they have in common with other savages, to the charity of the Society, have a demand in justice upon the nation, as they have learned most of their vices, particularly cheating and drinking from the English, they ought in recompence to receive some good, and learn some virtue and religion too." The way had already been prepared for a Missionary. A Mr. Hodgson had been sent to the Moskito Shore with 30 soldiers, with the immediate intention of heading the Indians against the Spaniards, with whom the English were at war. But Governor Trelawney "had it always greatly in view to civilize them too," and charged Mr. Hodgson to use his utmost endeavours to do so. This he did with some success, and set a man to teach their children. There was some difficulty in finding a Missionary, but in 1747 the Rev. NATHAN PRINCE, a former Fellow of Harvard College, New England (who having conformed had received ordination from the Bishop of London), was sent out by the Society to settle at Black River. The Governor and Assembly of Jamaica voted him a gift of £100, but he died in 1748, "a few days after his arrival at Rattan," an island where an English settlement had been begun [1].

A successor could not be obtained until 1767, when Mr. CHRISTIAN FREDERICK POST informed the Society that he had been some years engaged in preaching to the Indians and the English on the Moskito Shore, and having received an "invitation from the *Mustee* at *Mustee Creek* to come and live among them," he had gone to Philadelphia to consult his friends on the subject. In consideration of his "extraordinary character and usefulness," the Society gave him a gratuity for his past services and appointed him catechist, in which capacity he reached the Mission on Good Friday 1768 [2].

The Rev. T. WARREN, who followed in 1769, found Mr. Post "a pious, laborious, well meaning man . . . his life . . . irreproachable"; the inhabitants included about 50 whites, a few of mixed races, and 600 negroes; but the people were disunited, and several were "indisposed to the morality of the Gospel." At Black River there was no church or parsonage, and service was held in "the Superintendant's Hall" [3]. During his short stay Mr. Warren baptized about 100 Indians and Mestizes, from two to forty years of age, including the Moskito King and Queen, three of their sons, and Admiral Israel, a chief; also an "adult Mestiphinaphina" ("the third remove from an Indian"). He also made a "voyage . . . along the shore in a cockboat," visiting "every British settlement . . . except one," and making "himself known to almost every white or Meztize inhabitant." He suffered greatly from fatigue and illness, and withdrew in 1771 to Jamaica, but continued to take an interest in the Mission [4].

His successors, the Revs. R. Shaw (1774–6) and — Stanford (1776–7), were also unable to bear the climate, the heat of which was "almost intolerable." The former opened a school and taught the poor children of the place six hours a day—the negroes and mulattos being "surprising apt to learn." The departure of Mr. Stanford was hastened by the lack of local support, "his salary being scarce sufficient to discharge doctors' and lodging bills." He baptized 120 Indians and negroes, but amongst the whites there had been "neither marriages nor baptisms," and he became convinced that until the place was

established and protected as a British Colony, a clergyman could not be maintained among them [5].

Mr. POST, though also tried by sickness, was enabled to remain—baptizing "Whites, Mustees, Lambos, Mulattos, Indians, and Negroes"—spending and being spent for his flock—who were brought to regard "as honourable"—marriage—"which was formerly held in contempt." As he could "not help being charitable and hospitable," in one year "he entertained and lodged 246 souls . . . from his small income and his own industry," his liberality drawing from his wife the complaint that he would "leave nothing when he dies but a beggar's staff." His works of love and mercy were continued until he was ousted by the Spaniards. Ever since the commencement of hostilities with Spain the Moskito Shore had been involved in troubles, and for three years (1781–4) Mr. Post had to traverse the desert "with little other shelter . . . than the canopy of heaven." At a minute's warning he and his wife were forced to fly for protection and to sue for pity from "the Savage Indians" in the woods, where they remained for 20 months, often "exposed to the inclemency of the weather without the least shelter to cover their heads." When at last they could return it was to find that "the Spaniards had destroyed their habitation and killed all their cattle." Reduced by poverty and sickness, he obtained from Colonel Laurie, the Commandant of the Shore, six months' leave of absence. But the relief came too late: Mr. Post died at Philadelphia on April 29, 1785, having earned a good report as a faithful labourer among "different heathen nations" for 50 years, nearly 20 of which were spent in the Society's service [6].

An opportunity for the Church to re-occupy the field does not seem to have been found until 1840, when the Rev. M. NEWPORT, Chaplain at Belize, applied to the Society "on behalf of the King of the Moskito nation for assistance in establishing and maintaining Missions and schools among his subjects." The feeling of the Moskitos towards the Spaniards and the English remained unchanged; they had succeeded in maintaining the independence of their country (which now extended "from about the 9th to the 16th degree of North Latitude, and from the sea coast inward to the western boundary"), but voluntarily acknowledged alliance to Great Britain, the sincerity of which was proved "by fidelity and devotedness to every person and thing bearing the British name," the Union Jack even forming a quartering in their national colours. The existing king ("R. C. Frederic") had been educated in Jamaica and crowned in St. John's Church, Belize, in 1825, where also his son ("William Clarence") was baptized in February 1840. Having been "brought up in the Church of England himself" the king now desired that the said Church "should be the established religion in his country," but with toleration to other persuasions licensed by himself and the Board of Commissioners, and towards effecting this he appointed Mr. Newport "Commissary of Religious Instruction with full Ecclesiastical power." The application was supported by the Superintendent of British Honduras and other residents at Belize. Though not then prepared to place Missionaries in the Moskito country itself, where neither protection nor assistance could be extended by the British Government, *the Society* expressed its readiness to contribute to a Mission among *that nation* conducted from Belize [7].

So far as the Society was concerned it does not appear that any further steps were taken in the matter beyond that reported by the Bishop of Jamaica in 1848. Writing on November 20 he said :—

"The Society will, perhaps, be interested in hearing that after the consecration of our little mountain Church at Conington, on the 18th inst., I had the satisfaction of confirming the young King of Mosquito, who came hither principally for that purpose about a fortnight ago. The first convictions of Christian faith which have evidently taken hold of the mind of this young prince, argue well for the gradual conversion of his subjects, and if it were within the Charter and power of the Society to establish a Mission at Blewfields, the capital of his dominions, they would add to their history the record of another triumph of the Cross, well worthy of the name and object of the Society" [8].

In course of time a large portion of the Mosquito territory became absorbed in the Republic of Nicaragua.

(1894–1900.) To this State the episcopal jurisdiction of the Bishop of Honduras was extended in 1894. In 1896 Bishop Ormsby, who is supported by the Society, laid the foundation stone of a church at Blewfields, the capital of the settlement, and consecrated the building (St. Mark's, in the erection of which the Society assisted) on April 24, 1898, this being "the first Anglican church in Nicaragua." Blewfields, which is situated on the coast, had then become an important place with many English people.

Rama, an inland city in Nicaragua, situated on Rama River, was also visited by the Bishop in 1896. Rather to his surprise he was asked to hold a service. He expected to find something of the nature of a cottage lecture desired, but the people were familiar with the Prayer-book, and the regular service was held. This was followed by the opening of a Mission there [9].

At Greytown, a building which had not been Church property, but had been used for two centuries for various religious purposes, was transferred to the Anglican Mission in 1896, and, having been enlarged, it was consecrated in November 1900 [10].

In some of the earlier Reports of the Society the accounts of the Moskito Mission were printed under the heading "FLORIDA," and from this error many persons have been led to believe that the Society has had Missions in Florida, which is not the case.

CHAPTER XXXI.

BRITISH HONDURAS.

BRITISH HONDURAS (on the east coast of Central America) was discovered by Columbus in 1502. At an early period its stores of mahogany and logwood attracted adventurers from Jamaica, who about 1638 effected a settlement. The neighbouring Spanish settlers endeavoured to dislodge them; but the British occupation proved permanent, being recognised by treaties with Spain (1763, 1783, and 1786), and secured by conquest in 1798. In 1862 Belize, as the settlement had hitherto been designated, was formally constituted the colony of "British Honduras."

IN March 1776 the Rev. R. SHAW, the Society's Missionary to the Indians on the Moskito Shore [*see* p. 235] visited Honduras "for his health, which he recovered amazingly." "At the request of the principal gentlemen there" he preached among them, and "after 2 or 3 Sundays they met and drew up an handsome call to him . . . declaring that they had no other motive than a desire of having the Gospel preached." The call was accepted, and Mr. Shaw, after returning to the Moskito Shore removed to Honduras in May 1776. He appears to have remained there some years, for in 1785 the Society declined an application from him "to be employed again and sent to the Bay of Honduras" [1].

In 1817 the magistrates of the settlement petitioned for assistance "to enable them to complete the erection of a very handsome church at the town of Belize," and £200 was voted for that object by the Society in 1818 [2].

In 1824 the colony became a part of the Diocese of Jamaica then formed. Provision for the erection of a school at Belize was made from the Society's Negro Instruction Fund in 1836 [3], and such were "the exigencies of Belize" and so great had been "the exertions of the Superintendent, Colonel Fancourt, to strengthen the very weak hand of the Church planted in that important Colony," that in 1844 the Bishop of Jamaica sent there the Rev. C. MORTLOCK (an S.P.G. Missionary intended for the Caymans) and a schoolmaster. In May 1845 Mr. Mortlock was transferred to Turk's Island and the Society was relieved of the support of the schoolmaster also [4].

About 1835 a settlement was formed at Rattan or Ruatan (an island in the Bay of Honduras) by some inhabitants of the Caymans "compelled by poverty and the exhaustion of their soil to emigrate." In 1837 they made known their wants to the Rev. M. NEWPORT, the chaplain at Belize, who set on foot a school for their children, which for a few years dating from 1841 was assisted from S.P.G. funds. In 1845 he officiated to a large congregation at Port Macdonald on Saint John Key, baptized 16 children, and visited every house in the settlement. With the aid of Colonel Fancourt, who accompanied him *on* the occasion, Mr. Newport purchased a Mission site and provided

funds for the erection of a church. The people contributed the labour, and the building was completed about 1847. The settlers in Ruatan then numbered 1,000, "all subjects of Great Britain," and the Society gave the Bishop of Jamaica permission (which he did not use) to assist them from its grant in supporting a clergyman [5].

In 1862 the Bishop of Kingston (Jamaica) enlisted the support of the Society in a scheme for the establishment of a Mission in Northern British Honduras, where for a population of 13,000—mostly Spanish Indians—there was but one minister of religion, a Wesleyan. It was intended to place two Missionaries at Corosal with a view to the extension of operations to the natives of Yucatan also. It was not, however, till 1868 that the Bishop was enabled to send a clergyman —the Rev. A. T. GIOLMA—to Corosal, and in the meantime the grants voted by the Society in 1862 and 1865 (as well as a previous one made in 1858) had lapsed and could not be renewed [6].

In response to repeated appeals of Captain Mitchell (1875 and 1876) the Society placed the Rev. J. H. GEARE at Belize in 1877 [7]. At that time there was only one other clergyman* in the colony, the Church having been disestablished in 1872, and among the 6,000 inhabitants of the town "every phase of religion" was represented. Daily prayer, a weekly offertory and celebration were introduced. Although marriages were rare among the black people and "almost all the children" were "illegitimate," the blacks were "very careful to have their infants brought to baptism," and amid much that was discouraging not a few faithful Christians were to be found [8].

Northern Honduras was occupied by the Society in 1881. At Orange Walk, a village not far from the Yucatan frontier, and where some years before a frightful Indian raid had been made, Bishop Tozer found in 1880 a West Indian regiment and a police force occupying two forts. "A Roman Catholic chapel served by an Italian priest" with a school attached was all the provision that existed for worship or education. In this "remote and isolated place" Bishop Tozer spent a Sunday and held three services, to the joy of the people who more than filled the court-house, which was placed at his disposal [9]. As a result of his representations the Society in 1881 sent to Orange Walk the Rev. W. J. H. BANKS, who rendered good service in the district until the end of 1884, when he resigned [10]. In the meantime (1882) Mr. Geare had also returned to England. The Society's aid to Honduras was not renewed in either case [11]. The provisions of the ordinance of disestablishment in 1872 left the Church without sufficient powers to legislate for itself. In 1888 therefore the Government of the Colony held a special meeting to confer on the Synod the power it required, and the necessary Act was passed in one day (Feb. 19) [12].

Early in 1880 British Honduras "organised itself on the base of a separate diocese" and elected Bishop Tozer of Jamaica as its Bishop, a position which, notwithstanding his resignation of the See of Jamaica a few months later, he "retained" for about a year. Then, by the advice of Archbishop Tait, episcopal jurisdiction over British Honduras

* The Church "establishment" had never extended beyond the maintenance of two clergymen for Belize [8a].

reverted to the Bishop of Jamaica [13]. On March 1, 1891, Archdeacon HOLME of Antigua was consecrated at Barbados as Bishop of Honduras (this being the first instance of the consecration of an Anglican Bishop in the West Indies). But while on his way to Honduras Bishop HOLME was shipwrecked and he died at Belize on July 6 [14]. The Bishop of Jamaica, who again resumed charge, succeeded in eliciting aid from England (including £250 per annum from the Society) for the support of a successor [15].

1892-1900.

The Rev. G. A. Ormsby, who was selected for the office, was consecrated in the Parish Church of St. Mary,* Newington, London, on Holy Innocents' Day, December 28, 1893 [16]. In addition to the Colony of British Honduras, the Bishop's jurisdiction has, by arrangement with the Bishops of Jamaica and the Falkland Islands, been extended to the following "extra-Colonial" spheres: the Republics of Guatemala, Spanish Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and the States of Panama and Bolivia, in the Republic of Columbia.

British Honduras, which is about the size of Wales, has a population of 40,000, composed of English, Scotch, Spanish, Negroes, Caribs and other Indians [17].

The Bishop was much impressed on his arrival at Belize by the work which the Clergy had done in the past, and by the Church tone of the people. His first visitation tour, comprising a circuit of about two hundred miles north and south of Belize, evoked enthusiasm and a desire for the Church's ministrations, and from every side calls came to occupy new ground. During 1894-95 the Colony was divided into eight large Mission districts, and in January 1897 the Bishop wrote: "Before your Society took up this part of the world it seems to have been quite forgotten . . . We have now eighteen clergymen at hard work, whereas three years ago there were only two in the Colony and two at Panama" [18].

Though few the Church members showed great attachment to the Church, and a readiness to support and extend its work. The Rev. R. E. Skene, during a tour in the Belize district in 1896, found the people all along the banks of the river waiting to welcome him, some running into the water to receive him, and others paddling in their doreys many miles in order to attend service [19].

At Stann Creek, the third place of importance in the Colony, where a Mission was begun in 1894-95, the Rev. J. F. Laughton acquired a knowledge of the Carib language, and translated portions of the New Testament and of the Prayer-book into Garifuna or Carib, in order that he might minister to the Caribs, who form the bulk of the population there. His ministrations have been received with joy and thankfulness [20].

The Society, in 1897, granted assistance towards the erection of a

* St. Mary's Church was selected for the consecration by Archbishop Benson, who said: "Nothing could be more glorious and inspiriting than to see on a weekday near Christmas the whole church filled with working people, and almost to a man communicating."

church here (Christ Church, consecrated August 24, 1898), and of churches at several other places in the diocese, and of an intermediate School and Training College for school teachers in Belize [21]. It still supplements the episcopal income by an annual grant pending the raising of an Endowment Fund [22].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 252.)

CHAPTER XXXIA.

COSTA RICA (1894-1900).

THE Republic of Costa Rica, the most southern State of Central America, comprises an area of 23,000 square miles. Population 262,661.

The episcopal jurisdiction of the Bishop of Honduras was extended to Costa Rica in 1894, and in 1896 a Mission was begun at Port Limon, the chief seaport, among settlers from the West Indian islands. These people, upon leaving the West Indies, left not only their home, but also their Church and Christian influence, and all the means of grace which, as full Church members, they enjoyed. Their children remained unbaptized and untaught, and they themselves were without their Sunday services and Holy Communion, some of them attending the Baptist Mission. The opening of the Mission under the Rev. H. A. Ansell effected a great change.

"The hearts of all beat with joy at the knowledge that they would once more worship God according to old forms and ceremonies," and in the first two years $6,000 was contributed locally for the support of the work. For nearly three years service was held in a hired room, and then the first Anglican church in Costa Rica (St. Mark's) was built, the opening taking place on November 13, 1898, and the dedication in 1900. In 1897 churches were opened at Germania and Guacimo, where also willing support was forthcoming from the people [1].

A second Mission, begun in 1896 by the Bishop at San José, the capital, has not yet received the Society's help, the population (22,000) including many English-speaking colonists in comfortable circumstances and being willing to make the necessary provision.

The railway companies in Costa Rica have allowed the Clergy to travel on the trains free of charge [2].

CHAPTER XXXII.

PANAMA.

PANAMA, one of the States of the Republic of Colombia, comprises the isthmus which joins North to South America. At present the two oceans (Atlantic and Pacific) are connected by a railway 47½ miles in length, the ship canal begun by De Lesseps in 1879 still lacking completion. Actual digging was started in 1881, and after an expenditure of over £52,000,000 (of which more than £15,000,000 were absorbed by expenses in Paris), work was suspended in 1889, and resumed under a new company in 1894.

IN 1882 the Bishop of Jamaica brought before the Society the spiritual condition of the labourers on the Panama Canal. Over 15,000 Jamaicans and others from various parts of the West Indies, besides Europeans and Americans, were employed in the construction of the Canal, numbers of whom were "either communicants or followers of the Church of England"; but there was no one to minister to them [1]. The Society voted £200 towards the payment of a chaplain, and in November 1883 the Bishop sent to Colon, the first point on the Atlantic side, the Rev. E. B. KEY, the Rev. S. KERR, and a catechist. Mr. Key, after assisting in organising the Mission, returned to Jamaica (as arranged), leaving Mr. Kerr to carry on the work with the aid of lay agents [2]. Within twelve months a chain of eight stations was established, stretching from Colon to Panama. The people attended the services in large numbers, and contributed liberally towards the expenses of the mission. In 1885 a rebellion broke out, the town of Colon was burnt, and Mr. Kerr had to withdraw for a time. His perils on that occasion he thus described:—

"*April 1st.*—Just at 7 P.M. I went to the freight house to . . . have my things secured. Finding it closed, I returned to make my way home, when hundreds of persons were running in every direction to some place of safety. I had not time to enter my gate, when the rebel army had taken their stand across the street, with their carbines ready for action. In a minute they opened fire upon the Government army. The balls whistled through the balcony of my house, riddled chairs, curtains, and the side of the house; but, providentially, none entered the apartments where we were. The fight was kept up four hours and a half, incessantly, when the rebels were repulsed by the Government army. One of the rebels climbed up my balcony and began to fire upon those below, which excited my family into a scare, fearing they would open fire upon the house. I however managed to get him away by soft words of counsel."

During the fire Mr. Kerr lost most of his property, and with 600 others took refuge in Christ Church, one of the few buildings which escaped destruction. "Among the ruins and in the streets were men, women, and helpless babes in their mothers' arms, who had been burnt to death." After relieving the wants of the starving refugees Mr. Kerr paid a short visit to Jamaica [3].

For some months the beautiful church at Colon [consecrated many years before by an American Bishop*(Dr. Potter)] " was used as a guard house . . . prison " and " hospital " ; and " the Communion table . . . for eating, drinking and gambling." Until the building was " restored . . . cleansed and renovated, and the city rebuilt, no work was possible " in the city. The " agents up the line," however, remained at their posts, and at no time were ministrations altogether suspended. In October 1885 Christ Church was re-opened [4], and the Mission has been continued with good results—the more recent stoppage of operations on the Canal not having removed the need for the ministrations of the Church [5]. The coadjutor-Bishop of Jamaica reported in 1892, that " The moral condition of the people on the isthmus is as low as it can be," and were it not for the help of the Society it would be " impossible to carry on the " Mission [6].

1892-1900.

In 1894 the episcopal jurisdiction of the States of Panama and Bolivia was transferred from the Bishop of Jamaica to the Bishop of Honduras [7]. The Rev. S. P. (now Archdeacon) Hendrick, who has had charge of the Panama Mission for the last nine years, describes the work as " indeed missionary "—" not among heathen races, but among the lapsed, to reclaim whom every effort has to be exerted to win them back to their Saviour " [8]. The Mission has been considerably developed under difficult circumstances, such as the indifference and neglect of the upper classes, the opposition of the Methodists, the poverty of the labouring classes, and their superstitions, which culminate in the practice of " obeah," which might be compared with witchcraft. Nevertheless the Mission is a power for good, socially, morally, and spiritually, and, though neglected by the well-to-do classes, is well supported by the people, the Church workers being true and staunch.

The church at Colon was built under the supervision of the Panama Railway Company, which has since kept the building in repair, besides providing a furnished residence for the chaplain. The Company also grants free passes to the Clergy [9].

At Cartagena, in the Republic of Columbia, Archdeacon Hendrick assisted in establishing a Mission in 1896–97, and in carrying it on during its vacancy, caused by the illness of the clergyman stationed there.

At Bocas del Torro a new Mission was established in June 1900 [10].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 252.)

* *Cons.* about 1865 by Dr. Alonzo Potter, Bishop of Pennsylvania, U.S.A.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

BRITISH GUIANA.

GUIANA, the El Dorado of Sir Walter Raleigh, was first colonised by the Dutch in 1580. Unsuccessful attempts to follow their example were made by Raleigh and other British adventurers; but in 1663 the settlement of an English colony was effected under Lord Willoughby. After being held from time to time by Holland, France, and England, the country was restored to the Dutch in 1802; but in 1803 retaken by England, to whom it was finally ceded by treaty in 1814. British Guiana includes the settlements of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, which since 1831 have been united in one colony—the only English colony on the continent of South America.

In 1808 there were only one church* and two ministers of religion—"the Chaplain of the British forces and the minister of the Dutch Reformed Church"—in the whole colony. The evangelisation of the Indians and of the negro slaves was neglected by the Dutch; but among the former the Moravian brethren laboured zealously from 1735 till about the close of the century, when the Mission was abandoned. Fresh efforts for their conversion were made by the Church Missionary Society from 1829 to 1856. Early in the present century the colonists began to make some provision for religion by the erection of a few churches; but at the commencement of 1824 there were not more than three clergymen in the colony. "Public schools, with the exception of the Saffon Institution, there were none"; and "the mass of the population . . . was in an heathen and uncivilized state" [1].

IT was to the evangelisation of these heathen masses—the negroes—that the Society's first efforts in Guiana were directed. In furthering this object the Negro Instruction Fund [*see* pp. 194-6] proved of incalculable value. Each of the three provinces began to receive aid in 1835, and within a year the Society was assisting in the maintenance of six clergymen,† besides contributing to the erection of church and school buildings and the support of lay teachers [2]. The aid thus afforded [3] did much to effect a wholesome change in public opinion among the colonists in regard to negro education. On this subject the Government Inspector reported in 1839: "The general voice is certainly in its favour, and there are but few instances to be met with, in which the zeal and activity of the resident Clergy or Missionaries has not yet been fully and frankly seconded by the good will or munificence of gentlemen in possession or in the charge of estates" [4]. Liberal grants both for church buildings and for the maintenance of clergymen were made by the Colonial Legislature, and in 1841 the Society voted £500 towards the establishment of a Church College in Demerara [5].

The year 1842 saw Guiana (hitherto included in the Diocese of Barbados) erected into a separate see. During his first visitation Bishop Austin "confirmed 3,322 persons, and visited every Church and Clergyman in his Diocese." "The liberal aid, so bountifully applied" by the Society was "already bearing its powerful fruits," the whole Diocese being "in a satisfactory state" as regarded its Clergy, "requiring only an increased number of them, and unwearied exertions, to fix the Church immovably in the affections of the

* The first Anglican Church, viz., St. George, was built in 1809.

† *Messrs.* J. A. Anton and H. R Redwar (Berbice), J. Lugar, W. A. Beckles, *L. Strong (Demerara), and* J. Fothergill (Essequibo).

people" [6]. Wherever the Church had been sufficiently established to be felt, the attachment of the labouring population to her was marked by devotion and liberal contributions. At one place, where 172 persons were confirmed, the following incident, which occurred shortly before, showed how deeply the negroes had been impressed by their religious training. By the bursting of a dam great destruction of property was threatened; the estate labourers promptly united in repairing the breach, but on the next morning they refused to receive payment because the work was "done on the Lord's Day" [7].

Soon after his visitation the Bishop wrote to the Society:—

"If we look back twenty years, and ask the question, What has the Society done? the answer is, Before that time we had two Clergymen, and a solitary place of worship here and there; now our number is twenty eight; nor can the traveller proceed many miles through the cultivated districts without seeing the modest spire, or hearing the invitatory notes of the tolling bell" [8].

Meanwhile the District Committee of the Society, anxious to "employ its energies and funds in Missionary rather than in parochial labours," had "turned their thoughts to the hitherto neglected Indians." "While so much has been done, and is still doing, for the negro race," they said, "the aborigines have not benefited by us as might have been expected" [9].

But the Clergy were "too deeply sensible" of their "immense obligations" to the Society "not to use their utmost energies in furthering its designs," and their congregations were also anxious to extend to others the blessing they had received [10].

As early as 1835 an attempt to evangelise the aborigines of the River Pomeroon had been made by the Rev. J. H. DUKE, Rector of Holy Trinity, Essequibo. With the Society's aid he purchased an abandoned estate called Hackney, a few miles from the mouth of the river, as an endowment for a Mission, but it was soon found advisable to fix the base of operations at Pompiaco, some thirty miles higher up. With this object the Rev. C. CARTER and Mr. W. H. BRETT were sent from England early in 1840, but Mr. Carter being detained at Demerara, Mr. Brett was obliged to begin the Mission by himself, "alone, and yet not alone," for God was with him.

The site of the Mission consisted of a strip of cleared land and three small huts, one of which was occupied by an old negress with her two children.

This poor woman did "what she could" to help the Missionary: furnishing his hut, bringing him food, and nursing him with the tenderest care during sickness. But the "civilised settlers" in the neighbourhood seldom or never attended service. The Indians at first avoided Mr. Brett, and would not even listen to him. This was owing to a superstition, emanating from their sorcerers, that if they were instructed "they would get sick and die." How at last, after many weeks of disappointment, the spell was broken, has thus been related by him:—

"One day about noon I was surprised by a visit from an Indian with his son, a little boy about 5 years old: and I was still more surprised when after a friendly salutation on his part, he asked me if I would instruct the child. I had never seen the man before, and could hardly believe him serious in his request. He was however, perfectly in earnest and said that he had just returned to his 'place' after

a long absence. . . . He had been to the mouth of the Essequibo and had seen the Missionary work which was going on there. He seemed to have his eyes opened to the state of the Indians, as living 'without God in the world' and expressed disgust at the superstition of his countrymen in serving devils. I found afterwards that he had been himself a sorcerer, but had broken his magical gourd in contempt of the art and cast away the fragments. He had no idea of a Mediator between God and man, and was lost when I spoke to him of the Redeemer. He seemed, however, quite convinced of the impossibility of knowing his way to the 'Great our Father' without revelation from God Himself, and promised to come every Saturday and stay till Monday morning, that he might see his child and receive instruction. . . . He said *his words were true*, and I had a day or two after, proof that they were so, by his bringing not only the boy, but his eldest daughter. . . . The next Sunday he brought his wife, and the Sunday after . . . his wife's four sisters, with the husbands of three of them, two other Indians, and several children—who nearly filled my humble habitation and increased the number of Indian children at school to four. These, of course, had to be taught their alphabet, and the adults likewise who all expressed their determination to learn the Word of God to which the majority have certainly adhered. Saci-barra (*Beautiful Hair*), or Cornelius, as he was named at his baptism, was regular in supplying his children with food, and frequently also brought me game, so that I was not so much confined, as before, to salt provisions, or the small quantity of fish I could catch in the river.

"Such was the commencement of the work on the Pomeroon. A single Indian, whom I had never seen, was induced by his secret convictions, to come forward and break by his example—the more powerful as he had once been a sorcerer—the spell which seemed to counteract my efforts. Truly this Mercy proceeded from God alone—Whose Spirit, without the labours of the Missionary, had prepared the hearts of this interesting family" [11].

Of the Indian superstition of "Peiism" [or "Piai-ism"] Mr. Brett wrote (March 8, 1842):—

"When attacked with sickness, the Indians immediately think that some enemy has either peied them himself, or procured a sorcerer to do it for him. They then cause themselves to be carried to some celebrated Peiman of their acquaintance, to whom a present of more or less value is made, and he then sets to work to counteract the charm. He seats himself and commences his incantations, alternately singing, and smoking tobacco, which he blows into his magical gourd, and which is supposed to be of great efficacy in calling and exorcising the youau or demons. Previously all the females are removed to a great distance from the place; he then commences to blow the smoke of his tobacco over his patient, singing in a most vehement manner, and accompanying his song with the rattle of the gourd, a sound full of terror to his hearers. His last proceeding, and grand climax of the whole affair, is alternately blowing into his hands, and then rubbing the part affected with disease, until at length he succeeds in extracting a piece of wire, a nail, a bird's claw, gravel, or some other extraordinary thing from the poor sufferer, which (as one of my converts confessed before his people) he had taken care to put into his mouth before the charm began. Such an imposture could only be practised upon a most ignorant and simple-minded people, and such are the aborigines of Guiana. They have no idea of diseases from natural causes and they (the Arowacks) call pains 'youau semira,' that is, arrows of the demons. Can I thank my God sufficiently, that the first men whose hearts he touched among these people were Peimen Conscience-stricken for what is past, they are most zealous assistants in the great work. It is true my greatest opponents are of this class—men who are angry that their gains are lost, but God is with me. . . . Five have already submitted to the Gospel" [12].

One Indian, who had seen in the Mission House a picture of the Crucifixion, brought one of his acquaintances to Mr. Brett, saying, "Sir, this man wants to see your God." Mr. Brett "instantly explained to him that the painted paper was not, and could not be *anything proper* to be worshipped, and directed him to heaven, as the

place to which Jesus was gone." Pictures proved a most helpful means of instruction, and a representation of the huge wicker idol in which the ancient Druids burnt their victims was an object of especial interest and wonder to the Indians. They could not imagine that the Britons had once been even as they—or worse. The Creation, and the Fall of Man, the Deluge, and the Giving of the Law on Sinai, were those parts of the Old Testament history which most interested them. But they did not regard those things as very strange, and after an explanation of the Ten Commandments one man observed, "This word is good but we knew most of it before." Nothing but the love of God "as manifested in His Son, dying for *their* sins, seemed to create more than a temporary interest in any of them." In less than a year from the time of Cornelius' first visit more than half the people in the district were attending the Mission Church as worshippers, and before the end of 1841 "the descendants of the three sons of Noah"—people of every shade of colour and "sometimes of six languages, viz. English, Creole-Dutch, Arawack, Carabisee, Accowoi, and Warrow"—were represented in the crowded congregation. It was, however, chiefly among the Arawacks and Caribs (or Carabisee) that Mr. Brett's labours at first lay—the other tribes were slower to receive the truth. During Easter 1841 twelve adults and twenty-five Indian children were baptized by the Rev. J. H. DUKE,* and two years later Bishop Austin paid his first visit and confirmed forty [13].

Though "very poor," the Christian Indians "regularly contributed to the monthly offertory," and to keeping the Mission buildings in repair. When the news of the great famine in Ireland and Scotland in 1847 reached them they raised a contribution amounting to nearly £12 for the relief of the distressed, in spite of the fact that they themselves had been impoverished by famine in the previous year [14].

Of all the accessible tribes the Waraus were the most difficult to Christianise. To the Missionary they seemed "utterly destitute of self-respect." "God's word is good for the Arawak," said an old woman, "not good for the Warau. We are not so good as the Arawaks." "All my efforts are of little use," reported Mr. Brett in 1844, but, while he yet spake, the hearts of the Waraus were being changed, and a Mission among them was soon founded at Waramuri on the Moruca River. Here with great success the Rev. J. H. NOWERS laboured until forced by sickness to return to England in 1847. Illness also soon obliged Mr. Brett to seek a change to the coast, but he continued to visit the Pomeroon Mission, which had been removed to a healthier site—Cabacaburi. In 1848 he wrote that he was "preparing for other campaigns. The weapon—the Word of God—when sheathed in the English tongue, has done something great; but in their own, what may it not accomplish if God's spirit give strength to wield it?" Already he had nearly completed translations of the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. John, and St. Mark—a labour which had "cheered" him "in many trials" [15].

During a visit to England in 1849 the work of translation (in

* Mr. Duke died on Oct. 25, 1841, from an accident (in his own house) following on illness contracted while visiting the Indians. His widow was voted a gratuity of £40 by the Society [13*a*].

which valuable assistance was rendered by Mrs. Brett) was continued. On his return to Guiana in 1851 Mr. Brett was appointed Rector of Holy Trinity (Essequibo), with the general oversight of the Pomeroon and Moruca Missions. This work he continued with unceasing devotion for twenty-five years more, though often sorely tried by sickness "contracted in the Pomeroon swamps." In 1860 he broke down at Cabacaburi, and was brought back to the coast in a state of prostration. The conversion of a number of Guaicas or Waikas (a branch of the Acowoi nation) in this year was one of many changes which had been wrought among the aborigines during his twenty-one years' service [16].

The value and importance of Missions among the Indians had obtained general recognition in the Colonies at an early period. In 1846 nearly two-thirds of the expense of the existing Missions were being defrayed by the Government and the diocesan branch of the Society [17]. In 1853 the Civil Magistrate in charge of a large district surrounded by Indians, and in which murders had occurred, recommended to the Government the establishment of a Mission among the Waraus as the surest preventive of similar outrages. In his report he said:—

"When I first arrived in this district, before any Missionary was appointed to it, a more disorderly people than the Arawaks could not be found in any part of the province; murders and violent cases of assault were of frequent occurrence, but now the case is reversed; no outrages of any description ever happen; they attend regularly Divine Service, their children are educated, they themselves dress neatly, are lawfully married, and as a body, there are no people, in point of general good conduct, to surpass them. This change, which has caused peace and contentment to prevail, was brought about solely through Missionary labour" [18].

Under the Rev. J. W. WADIE the Waramuri Mission was revived in 1854. The Waraus became steady in their attendance and showed much earnestness for instruction, daily service morning and evening being established within a few months [19]. The Waini, the Coriah, and the Wacapau tribes soon availed themselves of this Mission, and, as Mr. Wadie observed: "When the Indian who is naturally sluggish will travel week after week about thirty or forty miles to attend Divine Service and the Sabbath School which several of them will do it is evident that they are in earnest about their souls' health" [20].

The result of another Mission, at Kiblerie, Mahaicony Creek (begun by the Rev. J. F. BOURNE about 1840), was very discouraging for the first seven years, but by 1853 "nearly the whole population" had become Christians [21]. At a visit in 1858 the Bishop found that, although they had been left for many months without oversight (the catechist having resigned), "the people were not living immorally; they had not lapsed into heathenism; they still gathered together . . . Sunday after Sunday, to pray, getting one of the young lads, who had been taught in our Mission schools, to read for them." It was still the practice of many of them "to repeat daily, the Confession, the Lord's Prayer, the Belief, and the Benediction, when they were in the depths of the forest, or on the water or at home." One hundred and fifty gathered together to meet the Bishop as soon as they heard that he *was* coming [22].

In 1867 Mr. BRETT, the BISHOP, Rev. F. J. WYATT, and Philip, a Christian Indian, undertook a Missionary expedition above the Great Falls of the Demerara. In this district, which was almost entirely unexplored, there dwelt some hundreds of the Waika branch of the Acawoio nation, in a primitive condition. Their chief received the visitors with courtesy and hospitality, collected his people to meet them, joined in the services, and paid the greatest attention to the instruction given. Philip "was exhausted by replying day and night to the repeated questions of his countrymen concerning the religion of the Lord Jesus." Leaving with them a few Acawoio books, the visitors departed with thankfulness for the reception given to their message. Soon after, these people, once much dreaded as savage and treacherous, sent a pressing request for more books and for a teacher. Mr. George Couchman,* a settler acquainted with their language, voluntarily undertook the work of continuing their instruction, using the help of two young Acawoios and the books translated by Mr. Brett. The sequel is thus told by Mr. Brett:—

"In August 1868 the Mission Chapel at the Lower Rapids of the Demerara River presented a spectacle which in some measure recalled to mind the accounts given of those witnessed in the early days of the Christian Church. Nearly the whole of the Acawoio inhabitants of the Upper Demerara were then found by the Bishop and the Rev. G. H. Butt assembled at that spot, anxiously awaiting their arrival, and desiring Holy Baptism at their hands. After due examination, this was administered to 241 adults, and then to 145 of their children. This occupied two entire days. Those who were present on the occasion have told me of the striking spectacle then exhibited; of the throng of Indians, and the earnestness visible in their countenances, as each recipient knelt at the font, while the chapel floor streamed with the baptismal water poured over each in succession. Three months after seventy others were baptized there by the Rev. T. Milner.

"After this, Kanaimapo and his people, being very desirous of having a teacher in their own territory, cleared and planted a large tract of land just below the Great Falls, as a place pleasantly situated, but which from some calamity had formerly borne the ill-omened name of Eyneyehūtah, 'the den of pain or misery.' Archdeacon Jones was commissioned to endeavour to plant a Mission there, and I accompanied him for that purpose in May last. The Indians had a large shed erected as a chapel-school, and gladly welcomed the Catechist, a Mr. Newton. . . . On that occasion seventy-nine Acawoios were baptized by us. *This made a total of 535 in that district within ten months.* The Holy Communion was also administered for the *first time*, and Christian marriages solemnised among them" [24].

Meanwhile the work had been extended in other directions; looking from west to east it was seen that the Moruca, Pomeroon, Essequibo, Demerara, Mahaicony, and Berbice Rivers each had their stations—the Corentyn alone was unoccupied. Several of these were established with little aid from the Society beyond that of superintendence afforded by its Missionaries and catechists' salaries. The Corentyn River had more than ordinary claims on the Church. At Orealla, from time immemorial an Indian town, the natives had "acquired all the vices of more civilised men without the antidote of Christianity," and the race was becoming extinct [25].

The Rev. W. T. VENESS, who made this discovery, lost no time in opening a Mission there in 1869, and in the first year 78 children were baptized and some of the people were confirmed. The Missions now

* A gentleman who had "done much to keep alive some sense of religion" among his neighbours by gathering them together for united worship.

embraced "the whole of the colony," the aboriginal tribes "on every river" were "provided with the means of education and of moral and spiritual instruction," and the sound of the Gospel "was heard from the north to the south, from the Corentyn to the Pomeroon and the Moruca" [26].

It was not to be expected that the degraded habits and practices common to savage races would be quickly uprooted, and the Missionary was therefore more disappointed than surprised in the early days of the Mission at finding one of his converts exercising his former profession of sorcerer. When reminded of his sin the man at once destroyed, not only his magical apparatus, but the dwelling in which his "curious arts" had been used. "I know that I have done wrong, I am very sorry," he afterwards said. "I have made up my mind never to 'picri' any more but to attend church and come to class regularly for instruction" [27].

When in 1875 the veteran Brett was compelled by failing health to relinquish the work which he had done so wisely and so well it was "no small comfort" to him to give over the charge of it to one so worthy to succeed him as the Rev. WALTER HEARD. Mr. [now Archdeacon Heard had previously been in charge of the Orealla station, and on the Pomeroon and Moruca rivers he has been privileged to maintain and extend the Missions, the state of which at the time he took charge of them may be gathered from Mr. Brett's report in 1875:—

"At Waramuri Mission we found more than 100 adult candidates for baptism. These were of different nations, but chiefly Caribs from the Baruma, several days distant. The examination of so many candidates for baptism—speaking four languages—was a very arduous task, and was not completed till the second day, when I was able to receive seventy-seven adults into the Church of our dear Lord and Saviour. Mr. Heard baptized an equal number of infants at Waramuri. I also married sixteen couples there. At Cabacaburi matters were equally cheering. There were not so many converts from heathenism, for this simple and most satisfactory reason, that there are not now so many heathen to convert. I baptized fourteen adults and seventeen infants, and married thirteen couples there. Hackney in the lower district, the population of which is chiefly negro, was also progressing favourably. At those three stations, 267 persons received the Holy Communion of the Body and Blood of our Lord" [28].

In 1880 an extraordinary movement among the Indians of the far interior resulted in the inauguration of a new Mission on the Potaro, a tributary of the Upper Essequibo. In May a body of Indians, led by their captain and attended by a native Christian from one of the Demerara Missions, sought out the Bishop in Georgetown, and pleaded for a teacher. Mr. Lobert, a catechist, speaking Acawoio, was immediately sent. Within a week of his arrival at the settlement large numbers of Indians had gathered there from distant parts. The Acawoios were few; there were a fair number of Macusis, but the majority were Paramunas, a tribe that had hitherto furnished few Christian converts. In a short time nearly a thousand persons were under instruction, and the Rev. W. E. PIERCE of Bartica was sent to the catechist's assistance at Shenanbauwie. Classes were held incessantly; the Indians erected a chapel-school, and before the end of November Mr. Pierce had baptized 1,398 people, of whom 1,084 were Paramunas, 213 Macusis, 62 Arecunas, 2 Acawoios, and 37 Wahpisianas. In the following year, *as Mr. Pierce* was returning with his family from a visit to the Mission,

the boat in which they were seated was capsized in the Marryhe Falls, almost within sight of his home—and he, his wife, three of their four children, and an Indian servant girl were drowned [29].

In 1886 Mr. Brett also passed to his rest,* and as one who had been instrumental in converting four savage tribes† and influencing many others, it may be well to record his opinion of the movement at Shenanbauwie that "its results under God, will be the spiritual conquest of Guiana, within and without our Western boundary" [30]. While this may be fairly applied to the permanent population of the colony, the prospect of the wholesale conversion of the strangers within its gates is yet far distant. Still a most hopeful beginning has been made among them too. Referring to the immigration from India which had set in to Guiana in 1845, the Bishop wrote: "In what colony will the Church have a wider or more extensive field when to the native Indian is added the Asiatic, the African, Dutch and Portuguese, with the settlers from the motherland?" [31]. By the next year 4,000 coolies had arrived from India [32], and the movement has continued almost without interruption to the present time. Thousands of Chinese coolies have also been introduced.

For many years the immigrants were so migratory in their habits as to be "almost inaccessible to the Clergy." Coming to the colony under indentures for five years, their principal object was the hoarding of money for a return to their own country, and yet there were a few willing to listen to a clergyman if one could be found speaking their own language [33].

In 1859 the Bishop wrote to the Society:—

"I am in hopes that the work which is purely missionary, such as that amongst the Indians in the interior, and the Chinese and Coolies, who may come to us in large numbers, changing perhaps in a few years the character of our population, from the African to the Asiatic races, will still obtain your support. I cannot but allow that you have done your duty to the African race in this Colony, and that it ought not to rely much longer on your aid. . . . You have indeed befriended us. . . . Without your assistance I know not what I should have done" [34].

In 1861 Messrs. Crum-Ewing of Glasgow offered to contribute towards the maintenance of a Missionary among the heathen immigrants on their estate in Guiana, and the Society also granted funds in aid of this, which the Bishop described as "the first systematic effort *with promise* of success which has been made towards the instruction of the Asiatic heathen"; and he added that the Legislature would probably relieve the Society as soon as the work had been fairly begun and taken root [35]. Readily also the Society guaranteed the necessary funds for ensuring the establishment of a Mission among the Chinese. By this time a goodly number of the coolies had been brought under instruction. Referring to his baptisms in 1863, which included Hindus and Chinese, as well as Africans and Creoles, the Rev. H. J. May wrote from Enmore:—

"Twelve months back I little thought that so many various tribes would be

* Mr. Brett died at Paignton, South Devon, on February 10, 1886, on the same day on which forty-six years before he had left England for Guiana.

† Mr. Brett's labours are fully recounted in his *Indian Missions in Guiana* (Bell, 1851), *The Indian Tribes of Guiana* (Bell, 1868), and *Mission Work Among the Indian Tribes in the Forests of Guiana* (S.P.C.K.); and in *The Apostle of the Indians of Guiana*, by the Rev. Canon F. P. L. Josa (Wells Gardner, 1887).

gathered into Christ's Holy Church, yet so it is; nor did I meet with the slightest opposition on the part of the Chinese parents. What an encouragement too, to people in England to help your Society by their money and their prayers! Without your aid to this district in all probability, there would have been no resident Clergyman in this *now* important district: I say *now*, for there are three churches where before there was only one . . . also three Schools instead of one" [36].

Up to 1879 over 130,000 coolies (including some 13,000 Chinese) had arrived in the colony. Many of course had returned, and others had taken their places, and this constant shifting, while adding to the difficulty of their evangelisation, at the same time renders their conversion of the highest importance from the Missionary point of view. A Clergyman reported from Hong Kong that one of the best catechists there is a Chinese who had been instructed in the Church Missions in Guiana. He added, "I am hoping that as time goes on and others return to China, we may find more such faithful workers as he resulting from your work in Demerara" [37]. The Rev. Canon Josa has shown that representatives of at least one race (the Nepalese) which in India had been entirely unreached by any Mission, have in Guiana been brought under the influence of the Gospel [38].

It can be well understood that removal from home influences removes many difficulties in the way of the instruction of the Hindus and Chinese, and one of the Guiana Missionaries wrote in 1878: "The Coolies are thirsting after a clear knowledge of Christianity. As far as my experience goes, that is putting it in a very tame way" [39]. Especially has this been the case with the Chinese, who in Georgetown have not only contributed £400 towards the erection of a church for their countrymen, but one of their number has set apart £100 a year (being one-third of the profits of his business) for the support of teachers [40].

The coolies speak many languages, Hindi, Hindustani, Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, Oriya, Nepalese, Chinese, &c.; but Hindi and Chinese are chiefly used by the Missionaries. In reference to this branch of the Society's work Bishop Austin said in 1881 that it would have been a "hopeless task" to attempt to evangelize this mass of heathenism, speaking a very Babel of unknown tongues," but for the Society's assistance. This, with Government aid and the offerings of the laity —elicited by the "exhibition of so much earnest work"—has admitted of the employment of ordained Missionaries and "a goodly number of Catechists, labouring to extend to the new comers that Gospel which it would seem that the providence of God had directed their steps hither to hear for the first time" [41]. Although in his 85th year the Bishop continued his laborious life. Writing in January 1892, on the eve of a visit to the Indian Missions, he expressed his

"satisfaction with what is being done in the outside Mission field, the overlooking of much of which has for more than half a century been a labour of love. And such it continues to be. . . . This jubilee year of mine" (he adds) "promises to tax my powers of mind and body to the utmost. . . . That God will continue to bless the work of the dear old Society, which it has been doing so graciously and so lovingly, is my daily and nightly prayer. As years creep on the passing hours give time for reflection, and as I turn my thoughts to the past, thankfully do I acknowledge the marvellous growth of the missionary field, and where, as I oftentimes say to myself, should we in this land be but for the encouraging efforts *made by our* countrymen at home from time to time. and are still continued?" [42]

1892–1900.

In recognition of the Bishop's services to the Colony and his influence for good, the Legislative Assembly, on February 24, 1892, unanimously voted him a jubilee gift of $10,000 [43].

The Jubilee celebration on the following St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24), which included the opening and dedication of a new Cathedral,* was clouded by the illness of the Bishop, who, however, was present on the occasion. On November 9 he entered into his rest, having been privileged to spend an active and devoted career of fifty years in this almost unique diocese.

Besides his ordinary diocesan work, and the part he took in organising the ecclesiastical Province of the West Indies, of which he became in 1883 the first Primate, there fell to him the responsibility of watching over the varied Mission work already described, and the tale of his long river journeyings, continued to the last year of his life, constitutes a record of apostolic labour and zeal, and of Divine blessing on work done, which is full of interest of an uncommon kind [44].

The Bishop's death was soon followed by that of two of his old colleagues, who had shared his labours—viz., Dean May (died March 1, 1893) and Archdeacon Farrar (died August 21, 1893). The latter was specially noted for his work among the Chinese and the aborigines, in addition to his other duties. Between 1865–73 he started three Missions among the Indians on the Essequebo River—"St. Edward's," "Holy Name," and "St. Mary's"—and from these three stations in the course of some years the Indians contributed for Missions and general Church purposes "$10,000, in the annual tax of four logs of timber given willingly by each family" [45].

With the death of Bishop Austin there passed away the old order of things in Church and State, and his successor, Bishop Swaby (consecrated in Westminster Abbey on March 25, 1893), had to face many great and unforeseen difficulties, including those which result from the failure of the sugar industry, and from the consequent raising of the question how far it would be necessary to withdraw those State resources which had hitherto contributed to the maintenance of the Church.

Amid most discouraging surroundings, the Bishop kept a brave heart, and lost no time in making himself acquainted with all the features and wants of his diocese, and in grappling with the difficulties of a very complicated work. The year 1894 was financially the most critical time in the history of the Colony, and yet not a single service of the Church was stopped [46].

In the opinion of Bishop Swaby the fault in Guiana had "always been that the Church has had a number of anæmic, nerveless Missions which were always demanding assistance"; hence his desire

* This beautiful structure—built of native timber, the magnificent "greenheart" of the country—after designs by the late Sir Arthur Blomfield, was consecrated on November 8, 1894, and is the fourth cathedral church erected in the diocese. The first, built in 1809, was removed to St. Matthew's parish, where it still stands. The second, which began its existence in 1842 "with a broken back," gave place in 1877 to a temporary building [44*a*].

to build the diocesan organisations upon a foundation which political changes and the giving or withholding of a money grant can but little affect [47]. The first step in this direction was to teach the people "how not to receive, and then, how to give." They had been in the habit of taking help from every quarter from whence it could be obtained, and scarcely without "giving back so much as thanks." Feeling that "in trying to warm others we shall bring into ourselves the glow of health," he instituted (in 1896) missionary meetings on behalf of the Society in almost every district of the diocese [48]. He also raised a considerable sum in the Colony towards an Endowment Fund for the Bishopric (the Imperial grant of £2,000 a year having ceased with Bishop Austin's death), and the Society encouraged his efforts by a grant of £1,000 in 1898 [49].

Lack of suitable agents as well as (perhaps more so than) funds has retarded the development of Church work in the Colony during the past seven years (1893-1900). From England "men of grit and steel, with God's love in their hearts," and locally a training College for Catechists and Schoolmasters, are needed. At present the lay agents receive no training whatever, but pass from denomination to denomination, and in many of the Church Missions they must read the Church Service and preach (the sermons being provided by the Clergy) or the places of worship must be closed [50].

In 1900 Bishop Swaby, whose health had suffered in Guiana, was translated to Barbados. His successor is Dr. E. A. Parry, who was consecrated in Canterbury Cathedral on December 28, 1900 [51].

The three branches of the Society's work, which will now be noticed in turn, could not, the Diocesan Council stated in 1900, have been undertaken or carried on without the Society's aid [51*a*].

Aboriginal Indian Missions.

The recent development of the gold industry in Guiana--chiefly by the labour of the black man, with whom the aborigines will not live, or, if they can help it, associate—has tended to dislocate the Indian Missions and to increase those nomadic habits which form one of the difficulties of ministering to them. But their wandering is not all loss, for they take with them what teaching they have received, and old people have been found who knew the main points of Christianity which they had learned years before at a Mission hundreds of miles away [52]. Their retiring habits also have the advantage of removing them from the contaminating influence of mining camps; though to the credit of the gold-diggers it must be recorded that a successful digger built a church (St. Hilda's) at Baramanni and presented it to the Bishop, and at its consecration in 1894 there were fifty Caribs in the congregation [53].

Later on the Indians left this district, and in 1898 a new station ("Bede's Mission") was opened forty miles up the river, where the Caribs themselves built a church [54].

In several other instances—notably at Morawhanna,* the head-

* This Mission was started in 1889 by Canon Josa, while in charge of Anna Regina, 200 miles distant, and was carried on with great energy by the Rev. T. Quick. Morawhanna "is pretty much of a swamp" [55*a*]

quarters of the north-west district—ministrations for the gold diggers are being provided in connection with the Missions to the aborigines, though the work needs itinerant clergy specially devoted to it, the diggers being more or less nomadic, and numbering 10,000 in 1894 [55].

Nearly all the travelling in connection with the Indian Missions has had to be done by boat, or through almost roadless forests, involving much hardship and often danger, as some of the rivers bristle with rapids. At Orealla, on the Corentyne river, the catechist, Mr. Farrier (who had made it the "model Mission"), and the two churchwardens were all drowned in 1894 [56].

On the Demerara river there are still three flourishing Mission stations—Muritaro, Dalgin, and Mallali—which were planted over fifty years ago, and the catechist (Mr. Bowrey) placed at Muritaro by Bishop Austin in 1843 was still labouring there in 1894.

Of Mallali, Bishop Swaby wrote in 1894: "We had service and Communion here in the early morning of a beautifully fine Sunday, and the quiet stillness of the holy day, the reverent attention of the communicants, and the beauty of the surroundings left a most pleasing impression. At 11 o'clock the church was crowded with Indians, some of whom had come fifty miles by the river—there is no other means—for confirmation." The Indians on this river were described as moral, sober, courteous, hospitable, and trustworthy [57].

On the Pomeroon river, where work was started in the thirties by the Rev. T. H. Duke, there are good schools, churches, and parsonages at all the stations, and the Mission is holding its own in the face of disadvantages [58]. Generally speaking the aboriginal Missions, though suffering severely from lack of workers, are doing well with the exception of the Potaro River Mission, which, during its existence of nearly sixty years, has had a chequered history, mainly owing to its unhealthy (though beautiful) situation. Work at times has had to be suspended. In 1895 fever carried off every child born on the central station, Waraputa, the Missionary was forced to withdraw, and, notwithstanding the removal of the headquarters to "Potaro landing," the next two Missionaries were also driven away by illness [59].

Representatives of at least six tribes assemble at this station, and the presence of the Missionary is a protection against the gold-diggers and others, from whom it has been found difficult to secure the church from desecration [60].

Waraputa was founded by Mr. Youd in 1839, after he had been driven from Pirari, on the Brazilian frontier. At the time of the Bishop's visit in 1898 the parson's house had fallen down, and the whole place was overgrown with bush. But the church had been well cared for by the old sexton, who, shortly before his death, handed over his charge to a stalwart Indian, with the injunction that he was to "keep the church right until the Bishop sent someone to take charge."

"Very solemn it seemed to me," said the Bishop, "to kneel in that little benab church in the deepening gloom, with the noise of the rapids always going on, but so far removed from the noise of village or town. Very reverent, too, were these children of the forest as I read in English the prayers you use at home. The

great Father. I doubt not accepted the worship as well as though it had been accompanied by organ and stately ceremonial."

The opening of a station at Morawhanna in 1889 made the last link in a chain of Indian Missions stretching from the River Corentyne to the borders of Venezuela, and in 1894 it was reported that with the planting of one or two more inland stations on the confines of Brazil—in the Savannah—the work of evangelisation will be finished. "There is not any Mission in the world" (Canon Josa added) "whose work has been more wonderfully blessed than the Mission of the Church to the aborigines of Guiana," and this result has been achieved in the course of fifty years, viz.: "that natives formerly at enmity are now Christians and at peace, while there are only two or three thousand heathen Indians left in the whole country" [62]. Most heathen are either hostile or indifferent towards Christian teachers, but in Guiana they are to be found asking for teachers. For example, a Maraui tribe in number 520 at Quimaris, in the Brazilian frontier—acting on the advice of a trader, who told them that there was a God who cares for the world, and can be approached by men and can help them—built a church, school, and parsonage, and several times during the last seven years deputations have been sent by them to Georgetown to ask the Bishop for a Missionary. "We want to know about these things," was their plea: "we do not want to live and die in the dark. It has taken us three weeks to get here and will take us six to get back, but we do not want to go back without the teacher."* As yet neither the men nor the means have been forthcoming† [63].

Chinese Missions.

The evangelisation of the Chinese, as well as the aborigines‡ and the negroes§ in British Guiana, has been practically accomplished. In 1884 it was stated that sixty per cent. or more of the Chinese were Christians. The same authority (Canon Josa added): "It has been a marvellous work," and it has "practically been accomplished within one generation." "What a contrast this is to the Bishop of Mid China!" Even the secular press in Guiana, in spite of tendencies to prejudice in the opposite direction, is not slow to praise these Missions, which cost the Church "practically nothing," as the Chinese give liberally for their support, build churches at their own cost, and vie with one another in promoting Church work. They contributed to the

* When the Bishop of Guiana was last in England he pressed to establish a Mission at Uyuani, a day's journey from Quimaris, the latter place not being suitably situated, being too near the Brazilian frontier. Uyuani is the site of the old Peruri Mission started by Mr. Brett over sixty years ago, but Brazilians claimed it as part of their territory, and although the natives in the Brazilian district he was driven out by Brazilian soldiers. The Brazilian Government then sent a band of soldiers from Georgetown and reinstated him and it ruled the place for some time after this he had from poison and the Mission was abandoned.

† The Rev. F. H. Partridge would have undertaken the work in 1895 could he have been spared from other duties in the diocese.

‡ In Holy Trinity parish, Georgetown, there are three and Indians were, under Mr. [illegible]

§ [illegible] Christians and the work among them [illegible]

cost of the Cathedral, they help other diocesan objects, and make offerings to the Society in England, while Christian Chinese have been sent from Guiana as Missionaries to China [64].

At St. Patrick's, Berbice, in 1895, "all the Chinese Christians, with perhaps one exception," were reported to be "living apparently Christian lives, which is more than can be said of all English, East Indian, and negro Christians here" [65].

East Indian Coolie Missions.

The work among the East Indian coolies is indeed "the problem" of the day in Guiana. For many years the Church worked "fairly successfully" among them, but since the depression in the sugar industry the results have been discouraging. These coolies, who now form nearly two-thirds of the entire population of the Colony, are liberally treated, and return to India after ten years' service, their places being taken by new immigrants. While they are in Guiana the Church can reach them, especially in the Estates' Hospitals. On the plantations open-air services are held for them. Free from conventionalities, and being set free from caste fetters by crossing the sea, they are more easily influenced.

But the task of grappling with the work, the Bishop reported in 1894, "seems overwhelming, and the result very disappointing. Our means are so limited, and their prejudices so hard to overcome, that one might and would abandon the task as hopeless did not the belief stimulate us that God works in His own way, and that out of weakness He can make His strength to appear" [66].

The lack of success is partly due to the fact that the Clergy *as a body* "have not taken the trouble to learn even *one* of the languages spoken by the people," although Bishops Austin and Swaby both made it a *sine quâ non* of ordination to priest's orders, there being hardly a parish in the Colony where East Indians are not to be found. One East Indian clergyman has been employed, and a staff of fairly good catechists trained in a college in Guiana. Looking to the fact that from four to five thousand coolies arrive and a thousand return annually, Canon Josa believes that "there is a good chance for the Church to evangelise India through British Guiana. What a grand work would ours be if we could send back these people to India as Christians [67]!

Whatever worth the Missions may be, "they could not" (Bishop Swaby said in 1898) "exist as they are, perhaps not at all, without the Society's help" [68].

About 80 per cent. of the East Indian coolies are Hindus by religion, and the remainder Mohammedans. Up to 1900 a few hundreds of the Hindus had been converted to Christianity, but only a few Mohammedans [69].

(*For Statistical S*

(1) The Field and Period	(2) Races and Tribes ministered to	(3) Languages used by the Missionaries	(4) No. of Ordained Missionaries employed	
			European & Colonial	Native
THE WINDWARD ISLANDS 1712-1900	Negroes and Mixed or Coloured (Heathen and Christian)..	English	78	—
	Colonists (Christian)..	English		
	East Indians (Coolies, &c.) (Hindus, Mahommedan, and Christian)	English		
TOBAGO 1835-58, 1886-1900	Negroes and Mixed or Coloured (Heathen and Christian)..	English	12	—
	Colonists (Christian)..	English		
TRINIDAD 1836-1900	Negroes and Mixed or Coloured (Heathen and Christian)..	English	13	—
	Colonists (Christian)..	English		
	East Indians (Coolies) (Hindus, Mahommedan, and Christian)	Hindi (principally)		
	Chinese (Coolies, &c.) (Heathen and Christian)..	Chinese		
THE LEEWARD ISLANDS.. 1835-1900	Negroes and Mixed or Coloured (Heathen and Christian)..	English	73	3
	Colonists (Christian)..	English		
THE BAHAMAS .. 1733-1807, 1835-1900	Negroes (Congoes, Nangoes, Cangas, Manchingoes, &c.) (Heathen and Christian) ..	English	72	3
	Mixed or Coloured (Heathen and Christian) ..	English		
	Colonists (Christian)..	English		
JAMAICA 1835-65	Negroes and Mixed or Coloured (Heathen and Christian)..	English	84	—
	Colonists (Christian)..	English		
CENTRAL AMERICA				
(1) MOSKITO SHORE 1748, 1768-85;	Indians (Moskitos) (Heathen and Christian) ..	Indian and English	19	1
(2) HONDURAS, 1844-5, 1877-84, 1892-1900;	Negroes and Mixed or Coloured (Heathen and Christian)..	English		
	Caribs .. .. " "	Caribi		
(3) PANAMA, 1883-1900;	Colonists (Christian)..	English		
(4) COSTA RICA, 1896-1900	Negroes and Coloured (Christian)..	English		
SOUTH AMERICA (BRITISH GUIANA) 1835-1900	Colonists (Christian)..	English	93	2
	Negroes and Mixed or Coloured (Heathen and Christian)..	English		
	Indians (Aboriginal) (Heathen and Christian):			
	Arawaks	Arawak		
	Acawoios (including the Guaicas or Waikos)..	Acawoio		
	Caribs..	Caribi		
	Waraus	Waran		
	Macusis, Patamunas (or Paramanas), Arecunas, Wahpisianas (or Wapianas)	Dialects peculiar to their tribes		
	Chinese (Coolies) (Heathen and Christian) ..	Chinese		
	East Indians (Coolies) (Heathen, Mahommedan, and Christian)	Hindi (principally)		
FALKLAND ISLANDS 1860-7	Colonists (Christian)	English	1	—
TOTAL§ ..	Colonists, Negroes, and Mixed Races, 9 Indian Tribes, also East Indians and Chinese	12	446§	9

§ After allowing for repetitions and transfers.

(5) No. of Central Stations assisted	(6) Society's Expenditure	(7) Comparative Statement of the Anglican Church generally							
		1701				1900			
		Church Members	Clergy	Dioceses	Local Missionary effort	Church Members	Clergy	Dioceses	Local Missionary effort
23		?	? 5	—		199,540	73 (6 S.P.G.)	2	Domestic Missions to the Aborigines, and to the East Indian and Chinese Coolies; a direct Foreign Mission to West Africa, and support of the S.P.G. Missions in Asia and Africa.
3		—	—	—		60,000	28 (3 S.P.G.)	1	
15		—	—	—					
24		?	8	—		56,870	29 (20 S.P.G.)	1	
23		—	—	—		15,000	22 (6 S.P.G.)	1	
37	£662 226	?	? 10	—		200,000	95	1	
12		—	—	—		28,000	16 (7 S.P.G.)	1	
51		—	—	—		150,000	38 (10 S.P.G.)	1	
1	—	—	—	—		No returns available	34	1	
195	**£662,226**	?	**23**	—		709,410	**335** (52 S.P.G.)	**9***	* *See* p. 764
Add American Missions						6,200	**25**	2	
Grand Total						715,610†	**360** (52 S.P.G.)	11	

† Exclusive of Falkland Islands Diocese.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

AFRICA AND THE ISLANDS ADJACENT.—(INTRODUCTION).

THE Society entered the African field at the West Coast in 1752, and its operations have since been extended to South Africa, 1820; the Seychelles, 1832; Mauritius, 1836; St. Helena, 1847 (and Tristan d'Acunha, 1851); Madagascar, 1864; and Northern Africa, 1840. In each of these districts and their various sub-divisions (except in North Africa, where it has been confined to English Chaplaincies), the work has embraced native and European or mixed races.

It will be seen that the planting of the Church in South Africa, stretching from Capetown right up to the Zambesi, has been wholly or mainly the work of the Society.

CHAPTER XXXV.

WEST AFRICA (GOLD COAST, SIERRA LEONE, RIO PONGO, AND ISLES DE LOS, &c.)

THE GOLD COAST (Upper Guinea) is supposed to have been discovered by the French in the 14th century. The Portuguese effected a landing (at Elmina) in 1471; and English, Dutch, and Portuguese factories were established in the 17th century. The "Royal African Company," formed in 1672, built forts at Dixcove, Anamaboe, and other places, besides strengthening the existing Cape Coast "Castle." In 1750 it was succeeded by "the African Company of Merchants," which was constituted by Act of Parliament and subsidised by Government; but suffering by the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, was dissolved in 1821. The forts were then taken over by the Crown. After the Ashantee War of 1824–31 they were transferred to the local and London merchants interested, but resumed by the Crown in 1843 as the Merchant Government were suspected to be conniving at the slave trade. In 1850 the Danish forts and Protectorate were acquired (by England) by purchase; and in 1852 the native chiefs formally accepted British protection. A partition of the coast with Holland took place in 1868; but in 1871 the Dutch abandoned to Great Britain the whole of their rights, *i.e.* the country west of the Sweet River. The Gold Coast colony now includes that portion of Upper Guinea between 3° W. long. and 1° 10′ E. long.; area 40,060 square miles, and population about 1,500,000.

SIERRA LEONE.—The peninsula of Sierra Leone was ceded to England in 1788 by the native chiefs. In 1791 a charter was granted to "The Sierra Leone Company," with the object of establishing a settlement for freed negro slaves. The peninsula was assigned to the Company in 1800, but on the abolition of the slave trade (1807) re-transferred to the Crown. The dissolution of the "African Company" [*see* above] led to the union (in 1821) of the whole of the British West African possessions into the colony of the "West Africa Settlements"; but this arrangement has since been modified, and the colony of Sierra Leone now includes the coast from the Manna River in the South (the Liberian boundary) to the Scarcies district in the North (210 miles), with the island of Sherbro, the Isles de Los, and other islets. Adjoining the colony (towards the N. and E.) is the British Protectorate, whose northern boundaries were defined by agreement with France in 1895.

IN 1720 the Royal African Company desired the Society "to recommend proper persons to be Chaplains to their Factories abroad,

offering "to allow them £80 or £100 per annum with diet at the Governor's table." The request was agreed to [1]. Thirty years later the Rev. THOMAS THOMPSON, who had resigned a Fellowship in Christ's College, Cambridge, "out of pure zeal to become a Missionary, in the cause of Christ," and had done great service to it for over five years by his pious labours in New Jersey [*see* p. 55], resolved to devote himself to work in Guinea. In taking this step he looked forward to faring hardly, but was not solicitous about that provided the Society would allow him a salary out of its Negro Conversion Fund, with title of Missionary, for such time and in such proportion as they might think fit. In the ordinary way, he owned, one labourer could do but little, nor did he promise to himself a great effect from the utmost of his diligence; yet God is able to make a large tree spring from one poor grain of seed, and he humbly hoped that God would "bless the labours of him the meanest of his Servants." If ever a Church of Christ is founded among the negroes, he added, somebody must lay the first stone; and should he be prevented in his intention, God only knew how long it might be again before any other person would take the same resolution. For these reasons Mr. Thompson determined on "this pious attempt," and the Society (February 15, 1751) appointed him Missionary to the Gold Coast on a salary of £70 per annum [2].

Sailing from New York on November 26, 1751, Mr. Thompson arrived on January 9, 1752, at James Fort, River Gambia. Here he landed and stayed three weeks, performing service each Sunday. The ship next touched at Sierra Leone, from whence he went "a great way up into the country amongst the Sousees to baptize some Mulatto children," and to their capital Woncopo, which was three miles in circuit. Many of the Sousees were Mahommedans, and assembled for devotion five times a day. There being several English traders at Woncopo and adjacent, Mr. Thompson officiated there on a Sunday. He also baptized some children at Dixcove Castle and Cape Coast Castle. At the last place Mr. Melvil, the chief, and the other gentlemen behaved very civilly to him, assigning him a room and all accommodations, though he came an utter stranger to them. He at once began to learn the native language, and shortly after his arrival, having obtained the permission of Cojo, the principal Caboceer (magistrate), he preached in the town house, many persons being present. He began with a prayer, then discoursed on the Nature and Attributes of God, and upon Providence, and a future State. The people were very attentive till he came to speak of the Christian religion, when some of them grew impatient and desired him to stop, but he went on and gave them a general view of the redemption of man, and was heard to the end with attention [3]. The use of Cojo's house for service being disapproved of by some of the people, the Castle chapel was next placed at the Missionary's disposal. The King frequently attended the meeting, but continued firm and immovable in his superstition. Nor could the chiefs be persuaded to assemble their men once a week and for a long time [illegible] to make any little impression on them. Some said they would come if he would "give them liquor," but they were not induced by drinking. There were, however, some Mulattoes disposed to receive instruction, they had been "[illegible]

of the blacks." To the soldiers in Cape Coast Castle he also ministered, and extended his labours to Anamayboe* and Santumquerry, composed a vocabulary† in the native language, and succeeded in baptizing some adult negroes as well as others. "All things considered," such "as the Prejudice of the people against him and his frequent interruptions by sickness, he could not well have had better success," he reported in November 1755, when, broken in health, he was arranging his removal to England, which took place in 1756.‡

Meanwhile he had sent to England three "fine negroe boys" (under 12 years of age) to be trained, at the Society's expense, as Missionaries to their countrymen. One of them was a son of Cabosheer Cudjo, the others were "sons of persons of the chief figure" in Cape Coast Town. They reached London in October 1754, and were placed under the care of "a very diligent Schoolmaster," and on examination by the Committee of the Society, after seven weeks' instruction, "one of them could say the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed, and the other two answered well." Their progress continued to be satisfactory, and having undergone a second examination in 1758, and expressing a desire for baptism, two of them (Quaque and William Cudjo) were (on January 7, 1759) publicly baptized in the Church of St. Mary, Islington, which they had regularly attended for four years under their master, Mr. Hickman. They were then placed under the Rev. Mr. Moore, Lecturer of St. Sepulchre's Church, who expressed himself "very much pleased with their teachable disposition and good behaviour." The third boy (Thomas Coboro) had previously been baptized while ill of small-pox, and he died in 1758 of consumption [4]. Cudjo was seized with madness, which proved incurable, and he died in Guy's Hospital [5].

The survivor, PHILIP QUAQUE (son of Cabosheer Cudjo) [6] became the first of any non-European race since the Reformation to receive Anglican ordination, and on May 17, 1765, he attended the Society with his letters of orders, and was appointed "Missionary, School Master, and Catechist to the Negroes on the Gold Coast"§ [6*a*]. His arrival at Cape Coast Castle was reported in a letter dated February 1766. The people were constantly coming to him to know when he would open school, and they expressed great satisfaction that he was "at last come to show them the way to eternal Life." His father also thanked the Society for its care and education of his son, and promised to further the Mission [7].

During the first year Mr. Quaque baptized some European children, including the son of the late Governor Hippesley, also six Mulatto and three black children, in the presence of Cabosheer Cudjo and other natives, on Christmas Day.‖ They all seemed well pleased, but he could not persuade his father to receive baptism. In

* Or, Anambo (now Anamaboe), where he originally designed to settle, as the chief magistrate's son there had been "instructed in the Christian religion while in England, under the care" of "Lord Halifax," who had promised to commend the Mission [4*a*].

† Consisting of "above 1,200 words in this Gold Coast language, besides a great many phrases" [4*b*].

‡ In January 1756 the Society appointed a schoolmaster (Mr. Franklin Neelor) to assist Mr. Thompson; but he does not appear to have taken up the appointment [4*c*].

§ The "African Committee" [Company] also contributed to Mr. Quaque's support [6*b*].

‖ Up to Sept. 1766 he had buried 14 persons, one of whom was "the nephew of the *Bishop of Waterford*" [8*a*].

the following month he visited Anamaboe,* where he was kindly entertained by an English merchant, at whose house he officiated to a large congregation and baptized his host's two mulatto daughters. He next opened a school in his own house for the instruction of mulatto children, who "took their learning surprisingly well" [8]. To the garrison he also ministered when permitted. Sad to say, this was sometimes only twice in a year, and under three successive Governors,† one of whom openly ridiculed religion, he met with great difficulties and discouragements in the performance of public worship, which at some periods was suspended for nearly a year [9]. What the lives of the Europeans were, may be imagined from this and from the fact that on his coming "he could prevail upon none to come to the Lord's table," which they said "they dare not approach" [10]. With the bad example of the Europeans before them it was a matter for regret rather than surprise that the Missionary was unable to make but slight impression on his countrymen, who preferred the white man's vices to his religion, and spent their Sundays in idolatrous ceremonies and drunkenness. For some years at least Mr. Quaque had to instruct the natives through the medium of an interpreter, and in 1769 he was urged by the Society to "indeavour to recover his own language" [11]. It is questionable whether the labours of an English clergyman would have produced any great results under such discouraging circumstances. Mr. Quaque succeeded, however, in baptizing a few blacks (one a man aged 60, who had been "stolen from the coast" 48 years before and carried to Rhode Island), besides several mulattoes, soldiers, &c., and children—the total number of his baptisms up to 1774 being 52. In 1772–3 he spent four months at Accra (60 leagues distant), where he "met with no other success than reading prayers twice, and preaching once to the garrison"; but at "Lagoe" he baptized an infant [12].

In 1774–5, "being weary of confining himself to one spot, with no satisfaction," he by invitation passed eight months with a chief at Dixcove Castle, where he had "constant opportunities of exercising his ministerial functions," and adjusted a dispute between the Dutch subjects and their townspeople, but had "no success in baptism." On hearing this the Society directed him for the future not to absent himself so long without leave, and proposed his removal to some other part of Africa, where he might be "more useful than he appears to have been at Cape Coast" [13].

In 1779 he spent three months at Dixcove Fort "in quality of Itinerant Missionary." The next year he again lamented the "unprofitableness of his Mission," the people being "so very bigoted and superstitious" that it seemed "to require something beyond mere human powers to make any proper impression on them" [14].

Mr. Quaque visited England for a few months in 1784–5 to arrange for his children's education,‡ and with a view to his son succeeding him. He had previously designed sending two mulatto lads to the

* He continued to visit Anamaboe occasionally, and Winnebah, where in 1770 he remained six weeks preaching "almost every Sunday" in the house of Mr. Thomas Drew, who entrusted his son to him till fit to be sent to England for education [8*b*].

† Governor Hippesley was an honourable exception [9*a*].

‡ In this he was aided by the Rev. Mr. Fountayne of Marybone and Rev. Mr Moore, the latter undertaking the instruction of the son of his old pupil [15*a*].

Society to educate—a plan much countenanced by the Archbishop of Canterbury—but just as they were about to leave they were "inveigled to enlist as soldiers" under the African Company. On his return, having narrowly escaped shipwreck, he experienced "much ill treatment from the people," and lost a great part of his effects by a fire [15].

His school, which had been reduced to a "pitiable condition" [16] was revived in 1788 by "a godlike design" of a new Governor and the Council, who formed an association under the name of the "Torridzonians," for the purpose of clothing, feeding and educating 12 poor mulatto children. The care of their education was intrusted to Mr. Quaque and his son, under whom they improved "amazingly." About this time also Divine Service had come to be "publickly held every Sunday" [17].

In 1791 Mr. Quaque received a "peremptory order" from Governor Fielde "to attend him . . . to Anamboe to take up arms in defence of the Fort." For refusing to do so, as being "highly inconsistent with and injurious to his profession"—Mr. Quaque was "suspended by the Governor and Council and obliged to quit the Fort and to go and reside in Cape Coast Town," but on appealing to the African Company he was reinstated in his office of Chaplain with an addition of £10 per annum to his salary—"to the great mortification and shame of his enemies." The Company further issued strict orders that all due attention should be paid to the regular performance of Divine Service "every Sabbath Day," and in 1795 there was still an improvement in this respect [18].

Though his labours did not show much fruit Mr. Quaque continued in the Mission until his death in 1816 at the age of 75. "In token of their approbation of his long and faithful services" the African Company erected a memorial* to him at Cape Coast Castle, testifying that he was employed there "upwards of 50 years" as Missionary from the Society and as Chaplain to the Factory [19].

At the time of Mr. Quaque's death there was due to him from the Society £369—that is, over five years' arrears of salary—which he had refrained from drawing. This sum and another of £100 he bequeathed to his successor, the Rev. W. PHILIP (appointed on the Society's list in 1817), who, however, died before the bequest was realised, consequently the money went to his executors. The Society retained a connection with the Gold Coast up to 1824 by adopting as Missionaries to the natives two other clergymen engaged there as Chaplains also (Revs. J. Collins, 1818-9, and R. Harold, 1823-4). Of the work of these three there is nothing to record, saving that Mr. Harold supervised three schools, baptized "many of the children instructed by the schoolmistress," and obtained from the Society in 1824 a grant of £100 towards the erection of a church without the walls of Cape Coast Castle for the use of the natives, who, "by their attendance at funerals," manifested "a disposition to conform to the usages of the Church" [20].

* The inscription was noted by the Rev. Samuel Crowther (afterwards Bishop of Niger) at a visit in 1841. [*See* Schon and Crowther's *Journal of the Niger Expedition*, 1841.] In 1863 the Society voted £5 towards replacing the monument, which had been "accidentally broken" [19*a*].

From 1824 to 1851 the Society had no permanent connection with West Africa; but before passing on, a second venture, made in 1786-7, must be recorded. In October 1786 the Society was informed by its President (Archbishop Moore) that Mr. PATRICK FRASER had been ordained by the Bishop of Ely in order to accompany a number of blacks who were going to settle at Sierra Leone.* The African Society added a recommendation of Mr. Fraser, and the S.P.G. adopted him as its Missionary. The attempt to form a settlement proved disastrous. Mr. Fraser wrote in July 1787 that the party "had the misfortune to arrive at the commencement of the rainy season, so that the blacks could neither build comfortable huts for their security, nor raise grain to supply provisions when their allowance from Government should be exhausted." The climate "proved fatal to Mr. Irwin, their conductor, the schoolmaster, and 20 other white people and 80 blacks"; besides these "140 died in the voyage, and of the 330 persons then remaining" nearly one-half were on the sick list. This had so prejudiced the blacks that many of them proposed "to work their passage to the West Indies after their provision should be expended." The condition of things was little improved in the autumn; the whites continued sickly, and the blacks, though healthier, were still "far from being reconciled to the place, or attentive to the cultivation of their lots of land; . . . they had sown little or no seed, had built few comfortable houses for themselves, nor any house for Mr. Fraser, or for public worship." Until the dry season began he took up his quarters in Pensee Island, situated nine miles up the river, and inhabited by an English factor, his traders, and 300 blacks. Here Mr. Fraser had on Sundays a crowded congregation, including 30 Englishmen. In September he reported that he had suffered so much from the climate that no consideration could induce him to remain but the forlorn situation of the blacks, who had no other white person to direct them, and the want of the Society's permission to return. "Soon after this" he came home very ill, and his health was not restored for three years [21]. The Mission was not renewed.

After the cessation of the Gold Coast Mission the Gambia† next claimed the Society's attention, and on the application of the Chaplain (Rev. — West) £50 was voted in 1832 in aid of the erection of a church at Bathurst [22].

In 1840 the Rev. Walter Blunt, a member of the Society, enlisted its sympathy on behalf of the Island of Fernando Po. The English residents and traders being willing to provide a house and £100 a year for a Missionary, the Society voted a like sum for the purpose [23]. An appeal of the Dean of Norwich in January 1841 was met by an assurance of the "Society's readiness to avail themselves of any opportunity . . . of extending their Missionary operations to the continent of Africa," and in the following March two Ashantee princes educated in England, viz., John Ansah and William Quantarnissah—about to return to Africa—were introduced at the Monthly Board by their tutor, the Rev. — Pyne, and took leave of the Society, which thereupon voted salaries of £300 a year for "two Clergymen to be stationed at Cape Coast Castle" [24]. Neither this nor the grant

* In the Register of the Bishop of Ely it is stated that Mr. Fraser was ordained at the Archbishop's request "to be sent Missionary to the English settlement on the River Sierra Leone or Sierra Leone."

† *Gambia at that time was a part of the Colony of Sierra Leone; it is now a separate colony*

for Fernando Po appear to have been used. Applications for religious instruction from Eyamba ("the King of all Blackmen"), and "King Eyo Honesty," both of the Calabar district, and with whom treaties had been recently concluded for the abolition of the slave trade—were submitted by Viscount Canning in 1848, and the Society offered to endeavour to provide a Missionary if the Government would undertake his support [25]. To the Government the Society also referred the needs of the Church at the Gambia as stated by the Chaplain (Rev. H. Rankin) in 1844 [26].

The next effort of the Society on behalf of West Africa was to assist a daughter Church in planting a Mission there—the second* instance of foreign evangelistic work undertaken by an English Colonial Church. The idea had been mooted in 1848 by Archdeacon Trew (of the Bahamas) in a letter to the Bishop of London entitled "Africa Wasted by Britain, and restored by Native Agency." It was felt that over and above the general duty of Christian charity, Africa had peculiar claims on the West Indies, on account of natural relationship and the debt incurred by slavery, and that with the aid of Codrington College (Barbados)—itself dependent for support on labour derived originally from Africa, the West Indian Colonies could supply Missionaries of African descent able to encounter with less danger a climate usually fatal to Europeans. The appointment of the Rev. R. RAWLE to the Principalship of Codrington College in 1847, and of Sir William Colebrooke to the Governorship of Barbados in 1848, hastened the realisation of the idea. From the first Mr. Rawle evinced a special interest in Africa, with a strong sense of its claims on the College. From a Parliamentary Report he published extracts showing the good effected by the Government schools on the Gold Coast and the encouraging opening there for Christian instruction, and accounts given by Mr. Duncan having justified a similar hope respecting the kingdom of Dahomey, the question was brought publicly forward through the medium of the Barbados Church Society on November 15, 1850, when it was agreed "that a Mission to Western Africa would be a work peculiarly suitable to the Church in the West Indies, where the population consists so largely of persons deriving their origin from that country," that the time for such an enterprise had arrived, and that it would especially become Barbados to be forward in this great and good work. The co-operation of the whole West Indian Church was invited and a provisional Committee appointed. Subsequently an invitation was received from the S.P.G. inviting co-operation in the celebration of the Society's third jubilee, and in reply the Bishop of Barbados wrote (April 14, 1851):—

"The chief commemoration of the Jubilee which I propose in my own Diocese, and venture to suggest also to the other West Indian Bishops *is to commence an African Mission*; if only in answer to our prayers and efforts, the great Lord of the Harvest be pleased to send forth the labourers, disposing also the members of

* The first was Melanesia. [*See* p. 445.]

the West Indian Church to unite in the work, and others in England to assist it. I am fully aware how far from attractive is the Missionary field which the western coasts of Africa present; how trying the climate, how degraded the people, and how slow probably the progress will be in anything lovely and of good report. Still it is a work which ought to be done, which has indeed in more than one place been already commenced, and in which the West Indian Church should certainly take a part. If the Society's Jubilee should find us at length engaged in it, surely it would be a suitable commemoration of the Society's benefits, to be thus, after a century and a half given to America and Asia, thinking also of Africa."

At the Barbados Church Society's annual meeting, June 16, 1851 (which also happened to be the jubilee day of the Parent Society) it was determined to make the African Mission, not a mere branch of the Church Society's operations, but the object of a distinct organisation, to be called (in the hope of that general co-operation already contemplated) "The West Indian Church Association for the Furtherance of the Gospel in Western Africa, in connexion with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, as Trustees of Codrington College" [27].

Towards founding the Mission the Society (S.P.G.) appropriated (in February 1851) an allowance from the Codrington Trust Property, for the education of Missionaries, and (in 1852) £1,000 was voted from its Jubilee Fund as an endowment, a like sum being at the same time (April 16) granted in aid of the endowment of a Bishopric at Sierra Leone [28].

By an expenditure of £375 (of which £300 was given by his friends in England), Mr. Rawle enlarged a part of the Principal's Lodge at Codrington College as a Mission House for training young men, chiefly of African descent, for the work of the Mission. The building, which contained sixteen students' rooms, school-room, workshop, dispensary and kitchen, was opened in April 1852 with six students, four from the Bahamas and two from St. Kitts. Exhibitions for four students (value £25 each) were granted by the Barbados Mission Board in 1853, and subsequently were founded two Pinder Scholarships, the result of a fund begun in 1851 by some students of Wells Theological College as a testimonial to the Rev. J. H. Pinder, Principal of that College and formerly of Codrington [29].

The operations of the Association in Barbados were interrupted by a visitation of cholera, and up to March 1855 no leader for the Mission had appeared, but in that month the Rev. H. J. Leacock, a native of Barbados, of European extraction, a clergyman of long standing and high repute, offered* himself. Accompanied by Mr. J. H. A. Duport (a black), the first-fruits of the Mission House, Mr. Leacock left Barbados in July 1855, and, proceeding by way of England, re-embarked on October 24 with the second Bishop of Sierra Leone (Dr. Weeks), recently consecrated—under whose jurisdiction they were placed—and arrived at Sierra Leone on November 14. In locating the Mission care was taken to avoid any collision with the existing Missions of the English and American Churches. Quittah and Elmina on the Gold Coast (with a view to operations in Dahomey), Sherboro or Plantan Island, the Chadda junction with the Niger, Fernando Po, and

* In his offer he wrote: "The Church calls, and some one must answer. But few years' service are now before me: I rise therefore to save my brethren of the ministry, the young who are the hope of the Church; the old who are the stay of large families."

Ashantee, were each considered and regarded as unsuitable. Eventually at the suggestion of a trader (Mr. Gabbidon), Mr. Leacock proceeded to Tintima, on the River Pongas, about 130 miles north of Sierra Leone [30].

The prevailing religions in the Pongas country were devil-worship and Mahommédanism. There were also stone-worshippers. The devil-worshippers had images to represent Satan—one in the shape of a man and another in that of a woman, and so hollowed out that a man could secrete himself in them and take them from place to place. Thus the people were led to believe that the idols were really devils, and whenever they appeared great reverence was paid to them. In 1859 there were but two towns in all Susuland—extending 400 miles into the interior—without devil's temples. One at Bakkia was thus described by a Missionary:—

"In the centre and deepest shadow of four magnificent and stately mango trees, I beheld the horrid sight. . . . My horror was increased on observing that a carpet of dark green leaves spread in front . . . was sprinkled with blood . . . the house was round . . . its diameter was, I suppose two yards. . . . Stooping down—for the thatch was brought down . . . within sixteen inches of the ground—I beheld . . . the altar . . . of earth, circular, and six inches high, in the middle of the temple. Bottles of wine . . . were piled up upon and all around the altar. A plate was upon the altar containing an offering of rice. With regard to the leaves sprinkled . . . we learnt that Mrs. Gomez* had that day caused a bullock to be sacrificed to the devil; its throat had been cut over the leaves, and some of the blood sprinkled upon the altar."

Stone-worship was performed in the bush. A smooth stone of a good size having been obtained, a house was built in the bush and the stone placed in it. The worshippers offered khola nuts and rice flour, and after sprinkling the stone with the blood of a fowl, they prayed to it [31].

Landing at Tintima on December 12, 1855, Mr. Leacock had interviews with the renowned Chief, Kennybeck Ali, and King Katty of the Pongas. Strong opposition to the Mission was offered by eight Mahommedan chiefs—Mandingoes—in the hope of obtaining presents, but these Mr. Leacock refused to give, and addressing King Katty he said:—

"I am come to you in God's name to do you and your people good. I shall soon be alone with you. My friends,† who have come to protect me, will soon leave me, and I shall be then entirely at your mercy. Nevertheless, I am not afraid of *you* nor of your Mandingoes. You can do with me what you please. I am not afraid to die, whether it be by fever or by sword. I am come with a message of mercy to you and your people: if you reject me and cut me off, I do not refuse to die—it will be better for me, for then I shall go home."

The King's reply was, "Aye, yease; but if we reject you and send you off, de gret God will reject we and cut we off." The King promised to accept the Mission so far as the children were concerned, but he and his "big people," he said, wanted no teaching. Practically, however, the Missionaries were rejected; but while they were meeting nothing but discouragements at Tintima, an invitation arrived from Chief Richard Wilkinson‡ of Fallangia, to whom Mr. Leacock had sent

* The mother of the Chief of Bakkia.

† Captain Buck of the *Myrmidon*, sent by the Governor of Sierra Leone to arrange for the reception of the Missionary.

‡ A mulatto [32].

an introduction from Mr. Gabiddon. Proceeding to Fallangia on December 21, Mr. Leacock was met by the Chief, who, taking him by the hand, said :—

"'Welcome, dear Sir, thou servant of the Most High, you are welcome to this humble roof.' . . . He seemed greatly agitated and a few moments after, rising from his chair, broke forth with . . . the 'Te Deum Laudamus,' repeating it with great solemnity and accuracy. At the conclusion, after a short silence, he said: 'Sir, this requires explanation. In my youth, I was sent to your country, and placed under the tuition of a respectable Clergyman,* and through him I imbibed the first principles of Christianity. I returned to my native country in 1813, and fell into many of its ungodly practices. In this state I continued till 1835, when it pleased God to visit me with severe illness, from which I with difficulty recovered. From that time I resolved that "I and my house would serve the Lord," and I earnestly prayed that God would send a Missionary to this Pongas country, whom I might see before I died. I have written to Sierra Leone for a Missionary, but could get no answer; and now the Lord has sent me an answer. You are, Sir, an answer to my prayers for twenty years. You are the first Minister of the Gospel I have beheld since 1835. And now I know that God hears prayer and that a blessing is come to my house. Here you are welcome. I know the misery you must have endured at Tintima, left to the mercy of those creatures. It is the most unfit place for a stranger in the Pongas; and if you resolve on remaining there during the wet season, you are a dead man. As you have come to our country, I will find plenty of work for you. The king of this country is Jelloram Fernandez: I am his cousin; and my son married one of his daughters. I know all the chiefs; and I will go with you to visit them as soon as I am able. There are in Fallangia over 30 children, which will be the beginning of a school for you. You can use my house; and next fall I will assist you in putting up a house for you to reside in, and a place of worship. In the meantime I will divide my house with you and not charge you house rent. You can have a private table if you prefer it; and if you should be sick I will help nurse you.'"

On Sunday, December 23, Mr. Leacock held services in the Chief's piazza and had "a serious and attentive little audience." In 1856 a school was opened at Fallangia, and a congregation of slaves at Sharon, Ten., U.S., having heard of the destitution of the children, collected $7 towards clothing them. The Mission received early welcomes from King Jelloram Fernandez of Bramia, and the Chiefs of Domingia (Mr. Charles Wilkinson†), Sangha (Mr. Faber), and Farringia (Mrs. Lightburn‡). From the Cassini district also—160 miles distant—came applications from the Chiefs for Christian instruction. The climate proved very trying to the Missionaries, and after laying a good foundation of the Mission Mr. Leacock died at Sierra Leone in August 1856 [34].

In October Mr. DUPORT was ordained at Sierra Leone by Bishop Weeks, and on his return he baptized 59 persons (including a daughter of the King of the Pongas) and established daily service, and on December 4 the foundation stone of a church was laid by Chief Faber of Sangha, whose address deserves to be recorded :—

"My beloved countrymen, We are all assembled here to-day on a most solemn and important occasion; we are about to erect a temple, in this place and on this spot, to the true and only living God. Hitherto we have had houses dedicated to the service of Satan, being influenced by his diabolical suggestions, and the superstitious traditions handed down to us from our forefathers. The foundation of the Church of the living God is now laid, which I trust will be the means of turning many from their dead works to serve the true God. This day, I trust will ever be remembered by us all; and I trust what we have this day d-

* The Rev. Thomas Scott, the Commentator [33].
† Son of Chief Richard Wilkinson. ‡ Daughter of Mrs

prove a blessing to us all, and to our posterity for ages yet to come. This Church, I trust, will be the overthrow of all heathenism and devil worship. Hither must our children come to worship God. Here must we dedicate them to the Lord. And may the blessing of God rest upon this house for ever."

Turning to the Mahommedans, he added :—

"The people of our country are ruined by their superstitions and diabolical worship. They have degraded themselves by preferring to worship the creature to the Creator. You Mahometans came among them, but they are none the better for it. But now I trust that they, seeing the temple of God erected among them, may no more serve idols . . . but will come hither to serve the Lord."

When he had concluded the people thanked him, and shouted "God bless this house" [35]. They then set to work on the building.

In 1857 the Susu devil-worshippers determined to destroy it, but their attempt was frustrated, and the building was opened on November 15, 1857, and named St. James' Church, and a Mission House was erected near it.* Progress was also made by Mr. Duport in the translation of the Church Services into Susu, the language of the country; but Mr. HIGGS of the Bahamas, who came to his assistance, died soon after landing at Fallangia. The year proved fatal also to Bishop Weeks of Sierra Leone [36].

His successor, Bishop Bowen, visited the Mission in 1858, and reported favourably of its condition and prospects. But the church was not consecrated, as he regarded it as a temporary one.

In December 1859 the Rev. W. L. NEVILLE arrived from England as the successor to Mr. Leacock, and the Holy Communion was celebrated for the first time in the Mission. The baptismal roll now numbered 173, the congregation averaged 300—from 70 to 80 (mostly adults) attending morning and evening prayer *daily*; and of 100 scholars receiving education about one-half were children of Chiefs [37].

When in 1859 the Mission was in considerable danger from an invasion of devil-worshippers, many Chiefs came to its aid; the enemy was suddenly dispersed, and their leader (Simo) was soon after struck with blindness. In May Bishop Bowen died of yellow fever,† but the Mission continued to prosper. Three important Missionary journeys were made by Mr. Neville, who obtained a favourable hearing at Tintima among other places. Mr. Duport's translation of the Church Services was printed by the S.P.C.K., and the S.P.G. granted £300 a year in aid of an additional Missionary [38].

In 1860 the Rev. A. PHILLIPS of the West Indies and the Rev. J. DEAN of England joined the Mission, and the former, with the written permission of King Katty, established a new station at Domingia. In the next year Messrs. Dean and Neville, and the great protector and supporter of the Mission, Chief Richard Wilkinson, died, and Mr. Phillips had to take sick-leave to England. Mr. Duport was now again alone, and, to add to his difficulties, the Church and old Mission-house at Fallangia were destroyed by an accidental fire, with almost all the property of the Mission and Missionaries. The whole neighbouring

* The site on which these buildings were erected was formally given to the Society by Chief Richard Wilkinson on Jan. 8, 1859—the only limitation to the gift being that if the Mission should be abandoned the land (50 acres) should revert to the giver or his heirs [36*a*].

† The Roman Catholic Bishop at Sierra Leone, with five of his staff, perished about the same time.

people, heathen and Mahommedan as well as Christian, combined to repair the loss; aid was sent by distant friends, and Mr. Maurice, a black student of Codrington College,* arriving at Christmas found the restored church "crammed" by the congregation [39].

In 1862 a new church was founded at Domingia by King Katty, at the oft-repeated invitation of Chief Tom. Bausungi, the personator of Satan, attended Fallangia Church from Yengisa, and expressed his desire to become a Christian, saying that he had been terrified by a dream in which he was urged by the "old people" now dead to give up "country fashion" and join the Missionaries. The congregation were filled with amazement to see him in their midst, "bowing the knee to Jesus." A family of African descent, named MORGAN, now arrived from Barbados to conduct an industrial establishment. Mission tours up the River Fattalah and in other directions by Messrs. PHILLIPS and DUPORT met with much encouragement, but in 1863 Mr. Phillips resigned in ill health.

About this time Chief Lewis Wilkinson† began to plant cotton and coffee, with a view to English commerce in place of the slave trade [40].

Under the influence of Christianity industry made such progress that a Frenchman reported in 1864 that he got more produce from Fallangia than from any six towns in the country.

On Ascension Day 1864 the Church at Domingia was opened, on which occasion the mulatto Chief, Charles Wilkinson, who had abandoned polygamy, was, with 27 others, baptized [41].

The results of the first ten years of the Mission showed that a great improvement had been effected in the religious and social condition of the people. Nearly 500 heathen—formerly worshippers of devils—had cast away their idols and their witchcraft and become worshippers of the true God. Service was well attended on week days as well as Sundays; the schools carried on their good work: new and promising openings were presenting themselves, and the Missionaries and teachers—seven in number—and all of African descent, though born and educated in the West Indies, had shown themselves able to live and be useful in a country in which the white man languished and died [42]. The following letter is given as an example of the effect of Church teaching in the Mission. It was written to Mr. Duport by a young African who had been one of the first pupils in the school in 1856, and who, after becoming a communicant, fell ill and went to live far off in the interior:—

"Sambaia, March, 1865.

"MY DEAR MASTER,—I have write to you these few lines, hoping it will find you in good health. I must tell you that the sickness is very hard upon me, and I don't know whether I shall live, for this is a very long-continuance disease, for this month, March, have make now thirteen months since this sickness came upon me, and I have tried to bear it as you tell me in your letter, but sometime it will make me very impatient, and ask the Lord to take me out of this world, but He cannot do me this. And although I be so afflicted, yet the Almighty has helped me not to fail of my duty. I kept the morning and evening service and visitation of sick people, and to ask you of your prayers to the Lord for me, that if it will be that I may not recover from this sickness, to take me out of this world. But one thing make me to be afraid, that if I should die here in the land of the heathen, and no Christian to pray over me, how will that stand with me in the other world. And I am still remembering you all, and thank you very much for

* The first "Pinder" student. † A son of the old Chief Richard Wilkinson.

the instruction which you have given to me, and as you know me to be, so I am the same. And to tell me what day Easter will fall. Your truly and obedient scholar, B. C. K." [43].

Hitherto there had been no confirmation, and candidates who had been under preparation for six years were beginning to be tired of attending the classes. At last, at Easter 1865, Bishop Beckles of Sierra Leone visited Fallangia, and there confirmed 87 persons and consecrated the burial-ground in which the bodies of three Missionaries lay. The visit was short, and 22 candidates at Domingia remained unconfirmed [44].

In 1866 steps were taken for permanently occupying the Isles de Los,* on which, at Fotubah, the Sierra Leone Government granted a site (10 acres) for a Mission station, the situation being considered suitable both as a sanatorium for the Missionaries and a school for the Pongas. The islands are in the possession of Great Britain, and were the homes of pensioned soldiers, but until Bishop Bowen established a school no provision had been made for the instruction of the people. Already there were many Christians in the islands, 87 having been baptized by the Pongas clergy [45]. The Rev. J. TURPIN was stationed at Fotubah in 1868, but in the same year circumstances occurred to induce the Bishop of Sierra Leone to withdraw his licence from Mr. Duport, who came to England in ill-health in 1873 and died at Liverpool [46]. In 1874 the West Indian Bishops formally agreed to make the Pongas Mission the special foreign work of their Church, and Bishop Cheetham of Sierra Leone promised to visit the stations every two years. So far there had been only three episcopal visits—in 1858, 1865, and 1874. On the last occasion chiefs, princes, and ministers flocked to the Mission-house to shake hands with the Bishop, and the church was crowded to discomfort, and the piazzas on both sides and the adjoining schoolroom were filled with Mahommedans and heathens [47].

A remarkable event in 1878 was the conversion and baptism of the great "lady chief" of Farringia, Mrs. Lightburn. The largest slave dealer† in the district, she had "for more than twenty years been repelling the Gospel"; but now her house was thrown open for services and the work of evangelisation aided in many other ways by herself and her son [48].

The results of the Pongas Mission during the first twenty-two years of its existence were thus summarised in 1877:—

"The aiding in the extinction of the foreign slave-trade from one of its chief strongholds.

"The mitigation of domestic slavery.

"The Christian chiefs generally promise not to sell Christian slaves and not to separate members of the same slave family.

"Civilization of the Coast and opening of rivers to trade.

"Improvement in dress, houses, cultivation of the soil.

"Churches, schools, mission-houses built.

"Observance of the Sabbath.

"Portions of God's Word" and "part of the Liturgy translated into Susu.

"Daily Services," and "frequent celebration of the Holy Communion.

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* A corruption of the Portuguese *de los idolos*—"islands of idols" [45*a*].

† In 1859 Mr. Neville estimated that she had "1,000 slaves chained together in her barracoons" [18*a*].

"Many conversions of heathens and Mahommedans.
"Many hundreds of heathen children baptized after careful preparation.
"Four good Schools maintained.
"Large number confirmed; this year . . . 64.
"Many cases on record of the converted who have departed this life in peace" [49].

In 1887 Archdeacon Holme (afterwards Bishop of Honduras) made a tour of inspection of the Rio Pongo Mission and reported that the value and importance of the work exceeded all that could have been hoped for, and that a purer and healthier Mission—one more fitted for its work, and more necessary to its surroundings—did not exist [50, 51].

1892–1900.

Similar testimony has been accorded by Bishop Ingham,* and Bishop Taylor Smith,† of Sierra Leone, both of whom, although the Mission is not strictly in that diocese, have taken a kind and personal interest in it, which has been of inestimable value [51*a*].

At Fotobah there were, in 1893, few of the inhabitants that were not baptized. Refugees fleeing from slavery on the mainland also seek admission into the Church. In 1896 the Mission house was struck by lightning, and burned to the ground, the Rev. J. B. McEwen, who had laboured long and faithfully in the field, losing everything that he possessed, and the sacred vessels also being destroyed [52].

At Cassa, another station in the Isle de Los, the work, which had been neglected, has, since 1893, been revived by the Rev. C. W. Farquhar. The adult population, nominally Mohammedans, had (up to 1898) scarcely been touched by Christianity, but they allow their children to be baptized, and are glad to send them to school. The Mission schools are also educating the sons of leading men on the mainland [53]. There, where four stations had been planted along the coast, the work has suffered from seizure of a portion of the territory by the French, whose demands in regard to education have had the effect of closing some of the schools. But in the midst of all discouragements the people clung to the Mission; the converts appreciated more than ever the privilege of being members of it, and many who for years had kept aloof came forward for baptism.‡

* Consecrated 1883; resigned 1896.

† Consecrated 1897.

‡ Among the old Fallangia Christians residing at Domingia in 1895 was one of the three wives put away by Chief Charles Wilkinson on his baptism. During all the years of her troubles and sorrows she had never forsaken the Church, which demanded the sacrifice of separating from the husband of her youth; and to one of the missionaries she said, "Master, if it were not for the religion which you have brought to us to this country, when my son died I felt I could have thrown myself down, and rubbed my face on the ground until the skin peeled off my flesh" [54]. Among those baptized at Farringia in 1895 were two grey-headed old men and an old woman, domestic slaves, who for a long period had resisted the call, but who at last had yielded like their former mistress and chief, old Mrs. Lightburne. A grandchild of Mrs. Lightburne stood sponsor and witn for many of the baptized [55].

By their own account (1895) the leading Mohammedans at Fallangia have always been glad to have the Mission among them [55].

On the great Scarcies river a new Mission was opened at Kambia in 1895, in a house which was used as a slave store until a few weeks before the missionary occupied it. The benefits of this Mission are great.

"Since your arrival," said one man to the Rev. S. Cole, "we have been obliged to give up this kidnapping and selling of people. We never knew that it was a bad thing before. I used to make about £20 a week from such traffic, although we certainly never did prosper with the profit." Preaching by pictures proved a great aid here, drawing both the king and his people. The Alikarli, though a Mohammedan, voluntarily gave Mr. Cole a boy to be taught. "Teach him well," he said, "I want him to be a Foday, like yourself." The death of the "great priest of the land," in 1897, followed by the burning of the two mosques in 1898, benefited the Mission.

Another new field opened to the Church, by the extension of British territory, was Samooland, the king of which in 1897 welcomed Mr. Cole at his town, "Sorie Bolomia," saying, "You can put schools in as many centres as you like. Both my people and myself have all agreed to this." This king and people were not Mohammedans [56].

The King of Bramaya also welcomed a missionary in 1893, but it has not been possible to maintain a resident clergyman at the new station opened at Bramaya, an isolated place high up the river of that name [57].

At Conakry, on the mainland opposite the Isles de Los, a new station, opened by the Rev. J. B. McEwen, in 1898, already bids fair to become self-supporting, a thing which cannot at present be hoped of any other station in the Mission [58].

Indeed, the position of the Mission in this promising field has been critical of late years. Owing to the continuous commercial depression in the West Indies the income from that source has been gradually decreasing. In 1886 the Association in England known as "the English Committee" assumed the more active management of the Mission and undertook the responsibilities which had hitherto devolved upon the Mission Board in Barbados, but ever since then there has been a continued struggle against financial difficulties, and in 1898 there was serious danger of the extinction of the Mission. The transfer of authority did not, and it was not intended that it should, alter the essential character of the Mission as the special Mission of the *West Indian* Church [59].

While recognising this the Society (to quote the words of the English Committee) "continue to give the Mission not only its unfailing support and countenance, but a most valuable and practical help" [60].

Since 1864 no European has been permanently engaged in the Mission, the work being entrusted to men of colour, to whom the climate has been comparatively harmless. The good results above recorded are therefore all the more gratifying [61]. For the present the Mission remains under the supervision of the Bishop of Sierra Leone, although a resident Bishop has been long called for [62].

Owing to the exigencies of the French occupation on the mainland, the "English Committee," with the approval of the Archbishop of the West Indies, the Bishop of Sierra Leone, and the Barbados Board, decided in 1899 that the Mission should in future find its sphere of work in British territory, excepting in the case of Conakry, where no difficulty with the authorities is anticipated. For a time at least the entire closing of the old mainland stations, viz., Fallangia, Farringia, and Domingia, has been averted by the arrangements made locally, with the people's aid, for continuing services. The partial closing of one door is accompanied by the opening of others in the Kambia and neighbouring districts, affording abundant ground for occupation [63].

A sum of £250 raised for the building of a Memorial Church in the Rio Pongo having been lost through the insolvency of an Estate (Sandy Lane), in which it had been invested in Barbados by Bishop Parry, about 1881, the Society, as trustee of the fund, made good the loss by granting £500 from the Marriott bequest in 1899 to be spent in the building of churches in the Mission by the end of 1901 [64].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 382.)

ST. VINCENT (1890–1900).

At St. Vincent, Cape de Verde Islands (a Portuguese possession), lying off the West Coast of Africa, the Society undertook, in 1890, the partial support of a chaplain and minister to the *English residents* engaged in the service of the Brazilian Submarine Telegraph Company and kindred duties.

The island, which is also a great coaling station, has a native population of 7,000, chiefly Creoles—a very mixed race—with some few educated Portuguese. The women are the chief workers and burden bearers, but the men work at the coal depôts. They are on the whole a very inoffensive and kindly-disposed people, but very ignorant. The work of the Society's chaplain, which is, of course, limited to the English residents, proved too discouraging to the first two occupants of the post—the Rev. E. H. Dodgson, 1890-95, and the Rev. T. P. W. Thorman, 1896—but the present chaplain, the Rev. E. C. Hullett, appointed 1898, takes a more hopeful view. He regards the young and single men as the most important part of his charge, and he has endeavoured to make them feel that he is not only their pastor but their friend. There are many temptations in the place, especially for young men. The Sunday is scarcely observed at all by the native Creole population, and with the educated Portuguese it is just as a Continental Sunday, while the nature of the various Companies is such that their work is and must be done on Sundays.

The Church Committee, consisting of the British Consul, the head of the Telegraph Department, and the three heads of the coaling firms, all show interest in the Church work, and encourage the young men "not to forsake the assembling of themselves together" for God's service, and the result is they attend the services fairly well [1].

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

THE CAPE was discovered in 1486 by Bartholomew de Diaz, whose designation of it as Stormy Cape was altered by his master, the King of Portugal, to what its present name implies. One hundred and sixty-six years passed before any European settlement was effected, although meanwhile it was visited by ships of many nations—especially Portuguese, Dutch and English. In 1620 two English East India commanders took possession of the district; but nothing further was done to secure it to England, and actual occupation by the Dutch East India Company followed in 1652. The aborigines of the country,—Quaiquae, or, as the Dutch named them, Hottentots—were gradually deprived of their land, and in many instances of their liberty; and in 1658 slaves were introduced from Guinea. The arrival of 300 French refugees, mostly Huguenots, in 1685–8, proved a valuable addition to the colony. In 1795, Holland having yielded to the French Revolutionary Government, the Cape was taken possession of by Great Britain, who held it until 1803, when (by the Peace of Amiens) it was restored to the Dutch. In January 1806 it was recaptured, and ever since that date it has been under English rule, formal cession in perpetuity taking place in 1814. The foreign slave trade was abolished in 1807. In 1811–2 the Kaffirs were ejected from the Zuurveldt or Grahamstown division; but their continued ravages prevented its colonisation until 1820, when, by means of a grant of £50,000 from the Imperial Government, 4,000 British immigrants were introduced into the eastern districts. Subsequent Kaffir wars—in particular those of 1834–5, 1846–7, and 1850–3—with the cattle-killing delusion of 1856 [*see* pp. 307–8], have resulted in the reduction of native and the extension of British influence. The abolition of slavery in 1834 was the final cause of a migration of a portion of the dissatisfied Dutch population in 1835–6 &c., which led to the colonisation of Natal, the Orange River district, and the Transvaal. In 1849–50 the colonists successfully resisted the attempted introduction of convicts by the Imperial Government; and in 1853 they were granted representative government, the first Parliament meeting at Capetown in 1854. The colony now comprises nearly the whole of the southern extremity of Africa, which is bounded on the N. by the Orange River, on the N.E. by the Orange River Colony and Natal—Natal having been disconnected from it in 1856 and Basutoland in 1884. Its area, 277,151 square miles, is over five times that of England.

By the terms of the capitulation of the Cape to the English in 1795 the Dutch Reformed Church was confirmed in its position as the Established Church; but more than fifty years passed ere any adequate provision was made for the English Church. During the first British occupation (1795–1803) English services were performed in Capetown by five successive military chaplains, the first two being the Rev. J. E. Attwood, R.N. (1795) and the Rev. H. Davies (1797–9). The Rev. Henry Martyn, while on his way to India, was present at the recapture of the Cape in 1806, and for about a month ministered to the wounded and to the cadets and passengers in Capetown. On one occasion, being called upon to officiate at a funeral, and having neglected to take a Prayer Book, he "sent to all the English families" for one, "but none could be found," until the body was being put into the grave, when (having previously read the psalms

and lessons from the Bible) a copy was placed in his hands by an L.M.S. Missionary. During the next fourteen years (1806–20) three military chaplains officiated in succession at Capetown; and three Colonial chaplains—viz., the Revs. G. Hough, G. W. M. Sturt, and W. Boardman were appointed respectively to Capetown (1817), Simonstown (1819), and Bathurst (1820). The chaplains were under no control save that of the English Governor, who was "*ex officio* the ordinary," and for some time at least his consent was necessary to marriages and to adult baptisms. The title of "Ordinary" was retained by the Governors until 1854—apparently without authority for the last 20 years of the period.

THE Society's connection with South Africa dates from the Colonisation movement of 1819–20 referred to (p. 268.) In order "that permanent means of religious worship and instruction should at once be secured as well to the original settlers and their descendants as to the natives," it recommended in December 1819 the division of the inhabited districts into parishes and the appropriation of land for endowment, the erection of churches and schools, and the provision of "a regular establishment of orthodox ministers with determinate spheres of action under proper superintendence and controll." If arrangements of this nature could be made the Society offered to extend to the Cape the system on which it had "acted with so much success in America, providing a regular supply of Missionaries and School Masters, but looking to Government for pecuniary aid in default of the sufficiency of the Society's funds." Its representation was favourably received by Government, which at once (February 1820) undertook to allow £100 a year to any clergyman whom the Society might send to Capetown "for the religious instruction of the natives and the negroes and the superintendence of the school" [1].

About a year later the Governor of the Cape was directed "to reserve not less than one seventh of the lands in the several parishes in the new colony in Algoa Bay, for the benefit of the Protestant Clergy in such situations as may afford every prospect of their increasing in value with the prosperity of the new settlement" [2].

The Society doubled the Government allowance for a clergyman at the Cape, and in April 1820 appointed the Rev. W. WRIGHT to the charge [3]. At this time there was no church at Capetown for the English residents, and on £500 being voted by the Society (June 1820) for providing one, the local Government represented "that such a building was not wanted in Capetown," and the money was therefore diverted in 1821 to the erection of a church in Grahamstown [4].

Mr. Wright left England at the end of 1820, and arrived at Capetown on March 8, 1821. His first object was to inquire into and improve the state of the "Public Schools," and next to supply religious ministrations at Wynberg, a village eight miles from Capetown, resorted to by the settlers and by invalids from India. Both the Dutch and English in this neighbourhood had "no opportunity of attending Divine Service unless at Capetown," and, a church being desired by them, "one of a number of huts" which had been "erected as a temporary barrack" was "neatly fitted up at the public expense" as a chapel, and Mr. Wright officiated in it for the first time on Sunday, July 22, 1821. Within six weeks the congregation increased from 70 to over 120, and on the arrival of Lord Charles Somerset the building was "duly transferred, and the solemnization of the Sacraments sanctioned by public authority." Holy Communion was first celebrated in it on Christmas Day 1822, when there were 16

communicants. The Society came forward (in 1822) with assistance (£200) towards replacing this structure with a proper church, which would "probably be the first Episcopal place of public worship in that * part of the world," † and an additional service was provided at "Newlands," the Government House in the country, distant about two miles from the Church [6].

Under Mr. Wright's management also the existing "National School" at Capetown, which comprised English and Dutch departments, with slaves in each, soon began to flourish. A second school (an English one) was established there in 1822, and another at Wynberg in 1823 for English, Dutch, Malays, Negroes, and Hottentots. Dutch translations of elementary books were prepared by the Missionary, and in the course of the next five years the entire support of these schools was undertaken by Government [7].

The conduct of Mr. Wright formed the subject of a personal inquiry made in 1827 by Bishop JAMES of Calcutta,‡ who reported that the charges against his moral character were, he believed, without foundation; and though he could not speak so satisfactorily as to his political connections, the existing Government was well disposed towards him. As early as 1823 the Society had notified to Government its intention to remove Mr. Wright to Grahamstown whenever the Church there was prepared for service, and in 1829 it directed him to do so. But two years before he had been nominated to Bathurst as Colonial Chaplain, and his appointment having now received confirmation from the Home Government he removed to Bathurst in 1829, a month before the Society's order was given. At that time Bathurst (about 30 miles from Grahamstown) contained "1,241 persons of all colours." The people had subscribed for building a church, but "great numbers" had been in the habit of having their children "baptized by the Methodists," and one of the local magistrates (Mr. H. Currie) had written to Mr. Wright in 1828: "Leave us to ourselves a little while longer, and all will be Methodists—or, what is worse—nothing." Although by his acceptance of the chaplaincy Mr. Wright was "considered as no longer in the actual service of the Society," the Society allowed him £100 a year at Bathurst, and retained his name on its list up to the end of 1832 [8].

On his way from England to India in 1829, Bishop Turner of Calcutta, being detained at the Cape "a few days," enquired into the circumstances of the Church in the Colony, and in reporting to the Society thereon he stated that there were in all nine clergymen in the Colony. Of these, five were holding Colonial appointments, viz.: Capetown, Rev. Mr. Hough, £700 per annum with £50 for house; Simonstown, Rev. Mr. Sturt, £350 per annum and house; Grahamstown, Rev. Mr. Carlisle, £400 per annum and house; Bathurst,

* [The first English Church built in the Colony is said to have been that of St. George, Simonstown, opened April 24, 1814.]

† The new building was not opened for service until April 14, 1841; and a further grant of £150 was made by the Society in 1840–1 towards its completion [5].

‡ On his appointment to the See of Calcutta in 1827 Bishop James was authorised by a Special Commission from the Crown to commence his episcopal functions at the Cape; and on October 21 he confirmed 450 persons in Capetown, "including the military and some converts from other Churches." During his visit a movement was revived for the *erection* of a church in the city, and a site for the building was consecrated [8a].

Rev. Mr. Wright, £200 per annum and house; Port Elizabeth, "Rev. Mr. Clalland" [F. McCleland, *see* p. 273], £200 per annum and £40 for lodging. The other clergymen were: Mr. Goodison, Chaplain to the Forces, who also (by permission) performed afternoon service at Wynberg, for which he received £100 per annum; "Mr. Fellows" [? Rev. Fearon Fallows], "the Astronomer Royal," who had established "a neat little chapel in an unappropriated Room of the Observatory," where "a small congregation" met regularly; Mr. Judges, master of the Grammar School; and Mr. Cocks, private tutor in Governor Sir L. Cole's family. The last two had "no stated duty" and were only in Deacon's Orders. Mr. Hough, the senior Colonial Chaplain, who had been in the Colony seventeen years, the Bishop described as "a respectable and excellent man and possesses influence." Mr. Sturt was "worn out by age and sickness," and was "anxious to retire." "The three appointments on the frontier" were "but indifferently filled."* Of English churches there was "only one" in the Colony—that at Grahamstown, which had been completed by the "seasonable aid" of the Society, and was "one of the best built edifices in the Colony." At Simonstown, where the church had fallen down some years before and now lay in ruins, there was a good school-house and a comfortable parsonage, but "a sail loft attached to the dockyard" was used for service here, a schoolroom at Bathurst, and apparently the converted Commissariat Store at Wynberg, and an "unfinished" church at Port Elizabeth,† where the people had "come forward very liberally" with funds for the building. At Capetown, where Mr. Hough performed service once a Sunday in the Dutch Church, "the long-talked of [English] Church" had been begun. It was designed to hold 1,000 persons—300 sittings to be free. The subscription opened during Bishop James' visit in 1827 never went beyond £2,500, but recently the affair had been taken up "with great spirit and judgment" by the Colonial Secretary, Lieut.-Col. Bell. The Government had promised £5,000, and "the remainder of the sum necessary, £7,000," had been "raised in shares of £25 each bearing interest at 6 per cent. . . . secured on the pew rents." The measure, "embodied in an Ordinance," was so well received "that the subscription list was filled in three days." [The arrangement, however, proved unsatisfactory. [*See* p. 275.]

In the hope that the "grievous want both of stations and labourers," might gradually be supplied, the Bishop appealed to the Government and to the Society, instancing Port Francis [now Port Alfred] as a case of peculiar urgency, the place being "full of English Protestants . . . most anxious to have a Church and Clergyman of their own." The Society's resources did not admit of its doing more at the time than offer assistance towards the support of Colonial Chaplains at Bathurst, Wynberg, and Uitenhage [9].

In June 1831 the Society placed £20 at the disposal of Mr.

* [It is only fair to state that the Bishop's Report was based not on his own persons' knowledge, but mainly on information supplied by the Colonial Secretary and Mr. Hough and Lady Cole.]

† A grant of £800, voted by the Society for this Church in 1824, was drawn 1831 [9a].

Hough for the Christian education of children whose emancipation had been procured by means of "a Philanthropic Society at Capetown for the redemption of female slaves." At the same time the Rev. Dr. E. J. Burrow was appointed to Wynberg [10], which place, according to Mr. Wright in 1829, contained a congregation "the most orderly and respectable in the Colony" [11]. As Dr. Burrow could obtain no house either in the village or between it and Capetown unless by purchase, or by paying "a rent which would exceed the whole" of his "salary," the Society consented to his temporarily residing at Capetown [12].

For want of Anglican Clergy (Dr. Burrow reported in 1832) some Church people attended Wesleyan, others Dutch services. Mr. Hough, in Capetown, had neither church* of his own nor curate, and was unable to administer Holy Communion more than once in the quarter, "on account of being obliged on every Sacrament Sunday to build an altar after the masters of the [Dutch] Church" had left, which altar had to be "pulled down in time for their next service." The Dutch Reformed Church occupied eighteen stations with nineteen ministers, receiving a total of £4,200 per annum from Government; the English Church six stations [as named by Bishop Turner, pp. 270–1] with six clergymen, and a total Government allowance of £1,850. The Scotch Presbyterians and the Roman Catholics had each one Minister in Capetown, receiving £200 annually from Government. All the Ministers in the town except the English had allowances from their congregations in addition to the above [13].

Though the Cape was not within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Calcutta, Bishop Wilson, on proceeding to his diocese in 1832, was "clothed with a temporary authority," in the exercise of which he consecrated several church sites, confirmed at Simonstown and Capetown, and at the latter place on September 9, 1832, held the first Anglican Ordination in South Africa. In reporting to the Society he said: "This Colony wants a spiritual head. At present everyone does what is right in his own eyes" [14].

In this year the Rev. J. Heavyside, an Indian Missionary of the Society on sick leave, was ministering at Capetown and Stellenbosch, &c. [15]. During 1834–5 the Society was employing no Missionary in the Colony, but a representation from Bishop Corrie of Madras, who touched at the Cape in 1835, inspired a fresh effort, and in the ten years 1836–46 the Society assisted in providing seven Clergymen, viz.:—

Rev. J. Fry (Capetown 1836–7, Wynberg 1838, Vyge Kraal 1839–41, Wynberg and Rondebosch 1842–4); Rev. J. W. Sanders (Stellenbosch &c. 1838–9); Rev. G. Booth (Fort Beaufort† 1840–3); Rev. H. Von Dadelzen (no fixed station 1841); Rev. W. Long (Graaff Reynet† 1845–54); Rev. E. T. Scott (adopted by Government) (George Town 1845); Rev. P. W. Copeman (Uitenhage† 1846–57). (†Places thus marked are in the Eastern division of the Colony.) Fort Beaufort was voted £100 for church building in 1839 [16].

Mr. Sanders was specially engaged in shepherding the apprentices

* But for the intervention of the local Government the Society would have provided an English Church at Capetown eleven years before. [*See* p. 269.] When in 1828 the trustees of the building fund asked for aid, the Society was unable to renew its grant [13*a*]. The foundation stone of St. George's Church, Capetown, was laid on April 23, 1830; and *the building was opened for* service on December 21, 1834 [13*b*].

sent out from England by the "Children's Friend Society,"* which contributed to his support, and his labours extended to the Klapmuts, the Eerste River, Hottentots' Holland, Drooge Vlei, and Banghoek. The good conduct of the emigrant apprentices when under religious instruction he attributed to their excellent training at the Hackney Wick Institution. The Dutch and the coloured population also received some attention from Mr. Sanders, but his ignorance of the Dutch language prevented his doing much for either of these peoples [17].

The Mission at Uitenhage was begun about 1840 by the Rev. F. McCLELAND,† Chaplain of Port Elizabeth, but no resident clergyman was stationed there until the Society took up the work in 1846. A memorial from over fifty Church members there in 1841 stated that they had "seen with regret persons who were brought up in Church principles gradually alienated from her communion, from the simple fact of there being no place of worship where they could assemble for religious purposes" [18].

At Graaff Reinet Mr. Long in his first year (1845) gathered "a most serious and attentive congregation," "two thirds being composed of members of the Dutch Reformed Church . . . acquainted with English." Many of the Dutch were "quite enchanted with the beauties of our Liturgy," and contributed liberally towards the erection of a church [19]. A "very large proportion" of the Georgetown congregation also consisted in 1847 of "those belonging to other bodies" [20]. Up to this time the majority of the members of the English Church on the frontier of the colony were unconfirmed [21]; and how greatly an ecclesiastical head was needed will be seen from what the Rev. E. T. Scott wrote to the Society in 1846 :—

> "We want a Bishop out here very much. The young people think a great deal of being confirmed, and as the Dutch make it the mode of admission into their Church, many if they are not confirmed, think that they belong to no Church. Most of the children of English parents who have married into Dutch families have been confirmed in their Church, and do not now like to leave it" [22].

The episcopal functions that could be performed by a passing Bishop were few and far between. The visits of Indian Bishops have already been mentioned [pp. 270–2], and in 1843 Bishop Nixon of Tasmania "confirmed a large number of young persons" (May 18) and ordained one priest [23].

That "proper superintendence and controll" for which the Society strove from the outset [24] was not, however, secured until 1847, when an episcopal endowment having been provided by Miss Burdett-Coutts, the See of Capetown was founded, and the Rev. R. Gray was consecrated its first Bishop in Westminster Abbey on St. Peter's Day, June 29, of that year [25].

The Cape Colony at this period was as large as England, Scotland, and Ireland, but the diocese (in all 250,000 square miles) included also the Orange River Sovereignty [p. 347], Kaffraria [p. 305], Natal (1,000 miles from Capetown in one direction [p. 328], and the island of St. Helena (the same distance in another direction) [p. 319]. To visit the

* Founded in 1830 for the rescue of destitute and neglected children in London.

† Mr. McCleland reported in 1841 that he had been instrumental in opening three churches on the frontier of the colony—the last being at Sidbury on May 5, 1841 [18*a*.]

whole would occupy a year. The total population of the diocese was from 700,000 to 800,000, and of the 200,000 or 220,000 belonging to Cape Colony more than one half were "coloured" and by far the larger portion of the remainder were of Dutch extraction [26]. The bulk of the English population of the colony resided in the Western Province in the neighbourhood of Capetown, Stellenbosch, and Swellendam, and in the Eastern Province in the districts of Albany and Uitenhage. The intermediate districts were chiefly occupied by the Dutch colonists, who had their own congregations and who had "ever shown a kindly spirit to the members of the English Church scattered amongst them." In the Western Province the English Church had three clergymen at Capetown and one each at Rondebosch, Wynberg, Simon's Town, and George; and in the Eastern Province one each at Grahamstown, Fort Beaufort, Bathurst, Sidbury, Uitenhage, Algoa Bay, and Graaff Reinet. Of churches there were two in Capetown and one at each of the other places named except George and Uitenhage; and another was building at Zonder Ende. In all therefore there were but 14 clergymen and 11 churches. The Bishop's first object was to increase the number of clergy, and to provide churches, schools and teachers for "the members of our own Communion"; his second "to wipe off the reproach hitherto attaching to the Church of England for being almost the only communion of Christians which" had "not attempted to establish Missions among the multitudes of heathen . . . within and around the colony" [26*a*]. Prompt and powerful assistance in raising the necessary funds was rendered by the Society [27], and on the eve of his departure from England in December 1847 the Bishop wrote:—

"I have been enabled to bear my testimony in many places to the fact that the Society is the main-stay of the whole Colonial Church. That in proportion as its means are enlarged, so will the Church in each distinct extremity of the British empire expand, and enlarge her borders—while if it be feebly supported the daughter churches in distant lands must proportionably suffer. That the Society has the strongest claims upon the hearty sympathy and support of the Church at large, inasmuch as it comes recommended to it by the whole Episcopate, whether of the mother country or of the whole Colonies; and has been beyond every other merely human institution most abundantly blessed in its labours, so as to have been the honoured instrument of planting flourishing Churches in many of the Dependencies of the British Crown. Were there indeed one thing which, as a Missionary Bishop just about to depart for the field of his labours I would implore of the Church at home, it would be to place at the disposal of the Society a much larger income than it has hitherto done, that it may be enabled to meet the ever increasing necessities of the Church in our Colonial empire" [28].

With the appointment of Bishop Gray the Society looked forward "to the commencement of a new era in the ecclesiastical history" of the colony, which had "hitherto been so unhappily neglected by the Church at home" [29]. The Bishop was accompanied from England by the Hon. and Rev. H. DOUGLAS, the Rev. H. BADNALL, Dr. ORPEN, and Messrs. DAVIDSON, WILSON, STEABLER, and WHEELER, and arrived at Capetown on Sunday, February 20, 1848.

Thirteen other workers preceded or followed him in the same year [30]. Some of these had prepared themselves for their new work by learning a manual trade, and Archdeacon Merriman wore a pair of boots made by himself [30*a*].

On March 20, 1848, the Bishop wrote from Wynberg :—

"Things are, I hope, going on well, in spite of a sharp attack from the Dutch, who are angry at a mis-reported speech of mine; their chief ministers, however, come to my defence. Our Governor is most hearty in his support of the Church and its Bishop, and nothing can be kinder than he and Lady Smith. I have never a quiet moment, and have upon my shoulders all the accumulated neglect and faults of half a century. Church building, however, is being talked of, and meetings ad nauseam. The liquidation of debts on churches—£7,000 on the Cathedral and £1,700 on Trinity (which the Colonial Church Society regarded as theirs, but which I have got transferred to me, and with a fund to liquidate the debt)—the formation of parishes and vestries, and the correction of disorderly proceedings, are my chief occupations just now. This parish has a Chaplain quite useless *—an Infant School where morality is taught as a substitute for the Christian Faith—a Government School from which the Catechism is excluded—a Church Girls' School where the Catechism is mutilated to suit the Methodists—a Sunday School held in Church from which it is excluded. Into this last I walked up last Sunday week to hear the children, but instead of this I heard a long extempore prayer from an Indian layman who had turned the Church into a Conventicle. . . . The Cathedral is a Joint-Stock affair, some of the Proprietors Jews or Atheists, and the offerings of the Holy Communion have before now gone to pay interest on shares.* Still I think things look very promising, and I am in good heart. People quite appreciate the restoration of things upon the principles of the Church of England" [31].

During the summer the Bishop was laid up nearly two months by a severe attack of rheumatism in the brain, but in August he was enabled to confirm and ordain in the Cape district and to hold "a Synod of the Clergy of the Western Province," at which steps were taken for organising and regulating the affairs of the Church, including the formation of a Diocesan Church Society [32].

After this the Bishop commenced his first great episcopal visitation, which was limited to the Western and Eastern Provinces and occupied from August 24 to December 21, 1848—his mode of travelling being "in a good plain English wagon, drawn by eight horses" [33].

Writing from Uitenhage on September 23 he said :—

"I have now travelled nearly nine hundred miles since I left Capetown and have not yet met with a single English Church, or more than one English Clergyman previous to my arrival here. This simple fact is the best evidence and illustration I can give of our past unfaithfulness, and our sad neglect of this most interesting Colony." Yet "intense gratitude has been the feeling uppermost in my mind during the whole month that I have been passing through successive scenes of spiritual destitution. . . . I have felt grateful to Almighty God that He has not for our past indifference cast us off as a Church . . . grateful at finding the wonderful hold which the Church has upon her members, even under the most disadvantageous circumstances . . . grateful that God should have put it into the hearts of all wherever I have hitherto gone, to feel deeply sensible of their destitute condition; and to make great exertions to supply their own spiritual wants . . . grateful for the hearty welcome with which our people have received their Bishop, and the earnest way in which many have expressed their joy on seeing at length their hopes realized in the completion of the constitution of the Church in their land. Far therefore from being dejected or cast down, I am full of hope: for I believe that God is with us of a truth; and that His Blessed Spirit is influencing for good many a soul within this great diocese. If we only prove faithful to our trust, He has yet, I feel assured, a great work for us to do in Southern Africa. . . . Though I have not yet passed through a third of this portion of the diocese, I have been enabled to arrange for the erection of ten additional churches, and the support of six additional Clergy" [34].

* [Neither of the clergy at Wynberg and Capetown at this time was connected with the S.P.G. [31*a*].]

Frequently during his journey the Bishop "had to listen to the painful tale" of many members of the English Church "having joined themselves to other communions"—to the Dutch Church and "the various sects"—in despair of ever having a minister of their own established among them, some not having even seen one for nearly forty years. Several persons spoke "with much feeling of their wretched state in the entire absence of all means of grace, and contrasted their condition with what it had been in this respect in our own dear motherland and in the bosom of our mother Church." One man brought two of his daughters 25 miles to Caledon, and "entreated" that they might be confirmed. Another, an English farmer, came 180 miles seeking confirmation, but before this could be administered it was necessary that a coloured woman with whom he had been cohabiting fifteen years should be prepared for baptism and that they should be married. The Dutch ministers readily placed their churches at the Bishop's disposal for services, and in that at Colesburg Dr. ORPEN was ordained Deacon. At Graaff Reinet, where Mr. Long had been labouring zealously, the Bishop's address elicited a contribution from some Jews towards the erection of a church. Here and wherever held the confirmations excited "very great interest." At Grahamstown on October 11, where 112 candidates assembled, "the Church was crowded—the candidates much affected—whole rows of them weeping and sobbing together." Many dissenters were present "and seemed as much impressed as our own people," and the editor of the local Methodist newspaper printed the Bishop's address free of expense for distribution. On the two following days a Synod of the Clergy of the Eastern Province was held at Grahamstown.

At Kingwilliamstown, "Churchmen, despairing about their own Church," and "raising funds for a Wesleyan Chapel," were roused and encouraged by the Bishop's visit to attempt the erection of a building to be occupied by a clergyman.

The Bishop visited Kingwilliamstown specially in order to be present at a meeting of the Kaffir chieftains with the Governor, Sir H. Smith. About 80 chiefs were present, and after political matters had been discussed the Governor told them

"that the great Father of the Christians—the Lord Bishop—the Chief Minister in this land, of the Church and religion of our Queen, who was appointed to teach him and all in this land the way to Heaven, and to whom all the Christians looked up as their great chief (Inkosi Inkulu) in religion had ridden ninety miles yesterday from Grahamstown, to be present at this meeting; that he had come to ask them how he could do them good, and especially to see if he could establish schools amongst them, or send ministers to them, and that they must talk the matter over amongst themselves, and promise to help to support their teachers, by giving a calf or something else to feed them,"

and let him and the Bishop know in what way they could serve them. The Bishop having addressed them to the same effect, a female Chieftain and Umhalla, the ablest of the Chiefs, replied "that they never had so great a man of God come before amongst them, and they knew not what to reply; but they wished for schools, and to be taught to know God." John Chatzo, who had been to England, and Sandili, a notable Chief, were also present; and on the next day (Sunday, October 8) the Bishop had long conversations with Kreli, the paramount Chief, "who did not appear to believe in a future state or in fact in anything."

In recording his gratitude for having been brought safely back to his home and family after a journey of nearly 3,000 miles through a strange land, the Bishop said:—

"I cannot be too thankful for the many mercies which have attended me throughout. I left home enfeebled and worn: I return in strength and health. I have been enabled to keep every engagement I have made, and in almost every case to the day. I have never been prevented from officiating on any occasion, either through sickness or accident. I have seen our people, whom long and grievously neglected, still clinging to their mother Church, and ready to make great personal exertions and sacrifice to share in her ministrations. I have seen very remarkable effects resulting from the mere celebration of our holy services, especially Confirmation and Holy Communion: sufficient, were there no other evidence, to prove them to be of God, and apparently showing that God has been pleased to bless the first administration of the Church's ordinances in this desolate land with a double measure of His gracious presence. I have seen with my own eyes the confirmation of the greater portion of the Diocese, and have been convinced that our day of grace as a Church has not passed away: but that God has still a great work for us to do in Southern Africa, if we have but the heart and the faith to enter upon it. I have been enabled, I trust, to pave the way for the erection of Churches, and the support of ministers, in almost all our towns and large villages. I have been able to confirm, altogether in this Visitation, near 800 candidates, and I return home to meet a little band of faithful and devoted men, whom God has been pleased to raise up for the support of our feeble Church in this land" [34].

The visitation raised a strong feeling in the minds of the long-neglected settlers. On all sides they entered into subscriptions towards the support of clergymen and the erection of churches, in the belief, encouraged by the Bishop, that they would obtain assistance from the mother Church. The Colonial Government, which had already voted £1,000 a year (including a £400 each for the Bishop and Archdeacon), now promised £500 a year for nine additional clergymen on condition that it was met by an equal sum; and as the Bishop's request the Society (May 1849) raised its annual grant to the Diocese from £500 to £1,000 a year. But even with this provision there were very few clergymen in the colony "within one hundred miles of each other" [35].

Generally speaking the Missions contained coloured and white people [35a]. In Capetown itself the year of the Bishop's arrival 1849 was marked by special Missionary efforts on behalf of 1. the "poorer population," including emigrants and sailors, 2. the coloured classes, and 3. the Mahommedans. For the benefit of the poorer inhabitants, who were "much neglected and . . . shut out from the means of grace," a room was fitted up for service by the Hon. and Rev. H. Douglas, and steps were taken for the erection of "an entirely free" church—which made the third church in Capetown, the others being St. George's the Cathedral and Trinity [36].

The baptism of 70 adults in St. George's Mine within fifteen months—"all heathen save three who were Mahommedans"—showed that a good impression was being made on these two classes [37].

At this time there was "a very great number" of Mahommedans "in and around Capetown," and hitherto their conversions had been made "chiefly from amongst the liberated Africans, but occasionally also from the ranks of Christians" [38]. The Bishop of Capetown, April 11, 1849.

Previous missions reported by the Society showed that in the case of the emancipated negroes the "greatest effort must be attributed to the want of Christian instruction" for the white settlers "and to

the consequent bad conduct of the nominal Christians from whom the negroes have acquired their ideas of the Gospel system" [89]. In 1838 the Rev. J. W. SANDERS reported:—

"At present, the great majority of the coloured apprentices show a decided preference for the Mahometan religion, and it is generally believed that by far the greater number of those who shall be liberated on the 1st of December next will also become professed Mahometans. This will be startling, and distressing information for you, nevertheless it is the truth. It may be difficult fully to trace all the causes which have given this bias to their minds, but some of them are obvious.

"In the first place, no desire has been shown (generally speaking) on the part of professing Christians for the conversion of the coloured population. By some of the Masters, the slaves have been looked upon not as human beings, but as a link between Man and the brute creation; and by all, they have been considered as outcasts, as being under a curse, and having neither part nor lot with the people of God. Ignorant that in the early ages of the Church, there were many persons of colour eminent for their piety and zeal, and that in ancient times the black population attained to a high degree of civilization, the slave holders have brutalized and degraded these poor creatures by their treatment and then pointed to that degradation (the result of their own cruelty) as a divine curse inflicted upon the descendants of Ham according to the inspired predictions. They do not suppose the prophecy to have been intended for merely the immediate descendants of Ham, to the third and fourth generations, but that it is to remain in all its fulness unto the end of time, and they seem wholly to have forgotten the promise that in Christ all the nations of the Earth are to be blessed.

"Secondly. The church established in this colony is the Dutch reformed church; and high Calvinism is preached and believed in very generally. Hence it is believed that God will, in his own good time, gather His Saints together, and that there is no resisting His Sovereign will. They seem to have lost sight of the forcible appeal of St. Paul; 'How shall they believe in Him, of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher?'

"Thirdly. The slaves oppressed by their heavy yoke, excluded from partaking of the privileges and comforts of our holy religion, torn from their children, cruelly beaten, and badly treated, have in return no love for the white man, no predilection for his faith. Yet they feel within them the stirring of an immortal spirit, they feel that there is a reverence due to that great and eternal Being by whom all things were created, and are *predisposed* to receive some *form* of religion. Now many slaves used to be imported hither from Malacca, Java, and Batavia, professing Mahommedanism. Being far superior in intelligence to the Negro, and the Hottentot, they have given them an account of their faith, taught them doctrines suited to their depraved lusts and appetites and imbued them with a love for their feasts and ceremonies. Marvellous tales have been told of the deeds of Mahomet, and the paradise of sensual delights opened for the Faithful. Many too of these same Malays by their industry and skill have purchased their own freedom, and acquired considerable wealth, but they have always deeply sympathized with their brethren in slavery. They have raised a fund to make as many as they could free, and have opened schools for the instruction of the coloured children. Then there has been so long such a deep gulph of separation between the white, and the black man—that the black man has no desire to enter into the Christian church whose gates have been so long shut against him, he prefers joining with those who have been his friends in his distress, who invite, and encourage him to bring his children to the same school to attend the same Mosque, and to look forward to meeting again in the same paradise. Among the Mahometans, they can be treated as equals. Hence they flock to the standard of the false prophet. And multitudes who but for the folly and inconsistency of professing Christians might now 'have been worshipping the Father in spirit and in truth,' according to the teaching of him who is 'the way, the truth and the life,' are yet in darkness upon many of those points which deeply affect their everlasting welfare.

"There is, however one circumstance which may inspire the hope and belief that a brighter day before long may dawn upon the Christian church. The coloured

people are grateful, and affectionate, and when they become a little more educated, when the English language and English books are diffused among them, and when they fully know the interest manifested in their welfare in Christian Britain, they will, we hope, calmly consider the evidences of our faith, and embrace and lay hold of the hope of everlasting life set before them in the gospel" [40].

As will hereafter be shown these hopes have been fully realised.

Encouraging too has been the progress of the Mission to the Mahommedans in Capetown begun by the Rev. M. A. CAMILLERI in 1849 and carried on by the Rev. Dr. M. J. ARNOLD and others to the present time. Within eighteen months (1849–51) Mr. Camilleri baptized 28 Malays and prepared for baptism 100 heathen (some connected with Malays), besides carrying on other works, including a district parish formed by him at Papendorp [41].

Early in 1849 Bishop Gray visited St. Helena. [*See* p. 819.] During his absence a Diocesan Collegiate School was opened (March 15) [p. 788*b*] partly under his "own roof and partly in premises adjoining," the education given being "such as to fit the pupils for secular employments and professions as well as for the ministry of the Church." "The work of education" was "as yet almost untouched" [by the Church], and "nothing" could be "worse than the whole existing system, or more ruinously expensive to Government" [42].

The opening of a church at Fort Beaufort on June 24 of this year is noteworthy as the church was (according to the Rev. E. S. WILSHERE) "the first in which a Kaffir has partaken of the Holy Eucharist . . . the first of which all the sittings are open and free and . . . the congregation is the first in which the weekly offertory has been adopted." The building "turned out very different from what it was intended to be, a mere speculation with some." The "shares" having been "made over to the Bishop" there was "no bar to consecration," and Mr. Wilshere could "put aside the ordinance in the election" of officers by which the Clergy were "compelled to admit even a Dissenter to the office of Churchwarden if elected by a majority of shareholders." Archdeacon Merriman styled the building "the model church" [43].

In 1850 the Bishop sought the Society's "advice and co-operation" with a view to founding a Mission in British Kaffraria. From "almost the first hour" of his landing in the colony * he had felt that the Church there "had a solemn call to preach the Gospel to the Kaffirs, and that she ought not to delay entering upon the work longer than was absolutely necessary."

"These poor Kafirs" (he wrote) "are brought up generation after generation, amidst scenes of depravity and vice which could hardly be conceived by those unacquainted with heathenism; they have nothing about them to raise and improve them; they have been nurtured amidst war and rapine and have been in deadly conflict with us from childhood; the greater number of Europeans with whom they have mixed, and do mix, have not sought to do them good, but have let them see that they despise them, and regard them as no better than dogs; and it is we that have taught them to drink." †

* One of his first acts was to order "Services [? Sermons] for a Mission Fund to the Heathen to be preached throughout the Diocese" [44*a*].

† [The good work that had been done among the heathen in South Africa by other Christian bodies—the Moravians, the Wealeyan, and London Missionary Societies, &c.—received due acknowledgment from Bishop Gray, who, as well as the S.P.G., regarded their exertions partly as a reproach to the Church for her neglect [44*b*].]

The Bishop's feeling was so generally shared that the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Grahamstown on January 1, 1850, petitioned him "to take immediate steps for the formation of a Mission, and pledged themselves to raise £100 a year towards it." The Clergy of the Western Province were "prepared to make a similar promise," and shortly after an invitation was received from the Governor to found a Mission in Umhalla's territory about thirty miles to the east of King-williamstown. In reply to an enquiry if he knew of "a fit man to head the Mission," Archdeacon MERRIMAN wrote to the Bishop: "I really do not: but I can say that I know a willing man, and what is of more consequence, a man willing with his whole house. Myself, my wife, Miss Short, Jetters White and Kaffir Wilhelm, would all think ourselves honoured if we were sent on this Mission together." And he added that the Missionaries "should go and live a hard self-denying life in a Kaffir Kraal—eating like Kaffirs, sour milk and melies, and working *with and for* Kaffirs—till they have mastered the tongue and acquired influence" [44].

During his great visitation tour of 1850 the Bishop had another interview with Umhalla, who repeatedly asked that Archdeacon Merriman might be sent as his teacher; and wherever he went the Bishop stirred up among the Church settlers such an interest in Missions to the Kaffir tribes that "every parish in this diocese," he wrote, "will contribute according to its ability." The children at Port Elizabeth had been forward in raising by their weekly pence £6 for the object, and in a Clerical Synod at Grahamstown another clergyman offered for the work. Already the first "direct attempt at Missionary work" among the Kaffirs (on the part of the Anglican Church) had been made by Mr. H. T. WATERS (then a catechist) at Southwell; and among those confirmed at Graaff Reinet on Sunday, April 21 (1850), was Archdeacon Merriman's servant "Wilhelm . . . the first Kaffir . . . thus received into the Church." Among the mixed heathen races the Church was gaining ground. At Plettenburg Bay "a party of twenty newly baptized coloured people" came out to meet the Bishop "quite of their own accord," and having sung a hymn they welcomed him. Thirty-seven persons (18 adults) were baptized here and 12 confirmed in one day; the congregation of nearly 80 being all coloured people except two. One of those confirmed was a woman of 90 years of age, whose first conception of the being of a God arose from the following circumstances. She was a slave, and while walking with her mistress one fine night, the latter asked her if she knew who made the stars and the moon. She replied, "Yes, the white man." Upon being told that "it was a far greater Being than man, who lived in the heavens and who was called God, she was deeply impressed and from that hour believed in God." At Melville the Bishop alone baptized 15 Hottentot, Fingo and Mozambique adults. On reaching George application was made by "Mr. Niepoth, Voor-lezer of the Dutch Church, and missionary to the heathen, to be received into the communion of the English Church." For eleven years he had been teacher of the coloured people, and his congregation now numbered 800, but he had long been dissatisfied with his own Church, and he believed in episcopacy and highly approved of the English Church services. His "ground of dissatisfaction with the Dutch Church"

was "their neglect of the coloured people, and their unwillingness to admit them to Church privileges." The despised race were not allowed to communicate with the white people, or to be confirmed at the same time"; they were also "refused burial in the Dutch Church ground," and many of their children remained unbaptized. Mr. Niepoth's congregation were "equally desirous" to be received into communion, and "full inquiries" as to his character and usefulness having proved satisfactory the Bishop did "not feel at liberty to repel him" or his flock. In connection with this subject it is interesting to record that at a previous stage of the Bishop's journey at Burghersdorp, a district in which "the farmers' families" (whites) "were sinking gradually into practical heathenism," a Hottentot, who had been baptized in Capetown, was the first to subscribe towards the erection of a school-chapel there. "He gave £5 and said he should rejoice to have a church to which he might go without fear of being turned out for being a coloured man; that he had not ventured for this reason to set foot in the Dutch Church" since he had been at Burghersdorp. The Bishop generally met with a friendly reception from other religious denominations; the Dutch lent him their churches, and on several occasions he addressed congregations of natives at the Wesleyan stations at the request of their ministers. The Moravian Mission establishments showed a vast superiority, so far as civilisation and improvement were concerned, over all other similar institutions in the Colony.

The tour now under notice occupied nearly nine months (April 1 to December 24, 1850), during which the Bishop travelled in cart, on horseback, or on foot over 4,000 miles, his journey extending to the Orange River Sovereignty [*see* p. 347], Natal [*see* p. 328], and (what was then) Independent Kaffraria [*see* p. 306]. He passed through large districts in which no vehicle drawn by horses had ever been before, and in one period of twelve days walked nearly 250 miles.

Although some of the mountains in his route had been pronounced to be "almost impassable," the Bishop "had no conception of the extent of the difficulties of the road"; and there were places with "not even a track or path to guide." Thus after leaving Maritzburg for Faku's country "some of the descents were fearful." Several times it seemed "that cart and horses would all have rolled together down the mountains." The ascents were "no better." At one place, after several vain attempts to get the horses up, the cart was partially unloaded, and the Bishop ran before them leading them with a rein, until his "legs quite gave way," and he nearly fell with over-exertion. Two days later the cart was upset and so damaged that the Bishop could no longer occupy it, although he was enabled to make his bed under it.

"This loss" (he wrote) "seems to me like the loss of a home. I read in it, slept in it, in fact lived in it,—for it has been my chief home for some months. Now I am without shelter, but thank God, it is not a season . . . when we may expect much rain. It is singular that the two worse accidents which I have had in all my South African travels, should have happened in coming into and going out of Natal. My exit was not much more dignified than my entrance, for I drove on foot four of my horses for a considerable distance, and had a knapsack on my back and two . . . packages in my hands."

At the end of "another most anxious, fatiguing, wearisome day's

journey over a country still uninhabited and burnt up," his journal records :—

"We consider ourselves as lost on the mountains. The horses are getting sensibly weaker from want of food. . . . The only way to get them through a difficulty is for me to walk before them and lead them. I pet them a good deal and they will follow me almost anywhere. Nearly the whole of this day I have been thus employed or in holding down the cart where it was likely to be upset. . . . I am consequently getting as much out of condition as my horses. . . . In ascending the Zuurberg range . . . I took my usual post at the head of the leaders but when we got well off, could not keep up with them, and was trod upon. By our joint efforts we afterwards brought the luggage up. On these occasions I am sometimes much amused at thinking how people would stare in England at seeing a Bishop in his shirt sleeves with a box or bag upon his back ascending an African mountain."

In spite of all difficulties, however, the Bishop was enabled to go through "every duty" to which he had "been called" on this journey, "without having ever been hindered by sickness!" In recording the progress of the Church he wrote :—

"There can be no doubt that it has pleased God, during the last three years, to bless in a very remarkable manner the work of the Church in this land. The increase of life within our Communion has been observed by all. . . . Unhappily our efforts to provide for the spiritual wants of our people, and to the work God has given us to do, have not always been regarded in a Christian spirit by those who are not of us. We have been met not unfrequently with misrepresentation, and bitter opposition; and efforts have been made through the press, and in other ways to excite the prejudices of the ignorant against the Church. From this wrong spirit most of the foreign Missionaries, and I think I may add, the Wesleyans generally, have been exempt. From some of the ministers of the Dutch Church much kindness and co-operation have been experienced. Independents, Baptists, Romanists and some other self-constituted Societies and sects, have been the most bitter. I am thankful to say that the great body of the Clergy have both felt and acted with real charity towards those who differ from us. They have ever sought and desired to live on terms of amity with all who are round about them, and have, I believe, been uniformly courteous to all. Still, I repeat, amidst the jealousy and opposition of others the work has prospered. It is not yet three years since I landed in the Colony. There were then sixteen clergy in the diocese. At this moment there are fifty, notwithstanding that three have withdrawn. Several more are expected." ("There is not one of the Clergy whom I have brought out who is not doing well in his parish and some have been eminently successful in rearing up infant churches in fields too long neglected.") "It is impossible not to feel anxious about the future maintenance of the extensive work which has been undertaken in this land. There are circumstances peculiar to this colony which render the establishment of the Church upon a secure foundation singularly difficult. Amongst these we must reckon the distinctions of race and class with all its prejudices and antipathies. There are three distinct races at least in each village or parish, and there is no drawing towards one another on the part of any. Of these the English are fewest in number, and they are again broken up by religious divisions. The Churchmen are indeed in most places of the colony more numerous than the dissenters, and many of these latter have already joined our communion. But we are in most places the last in the field, are regarded as intruders, and have lost, through our previous neglect, many valuable members. The scattered nature of our population offers another great difficulty. . . . The critical question for us is, How are we to maintain our ministry for the next few years, until our numbers are increased by immigration, by converts from the heathen, or the return to our communion of such of our members as at present are separate from us? Our people are generally doing as much as, or more than I could have expected. Notwithstanding the efforts required to erect their churches, they are coming forward to maintain a standing ministry; but the amount thus raised is wholly inadequate, and will be so for some years to come. The Colonial Government renders some assistance but support from this quarter

is likely to be diminished rather than increased in years to come. Under these circumstances we must continue to look to the mother land and mother Church to aid us. That she disregarded her responsibilities towards this colony for well nigh half a century, and thereby made the work more difficult when entered upon in earnest, is an additional reason for pushing it forward with unremitting zeal and vigour during the first few years. There is good reason to hope . . . that from year to year each parish will do more and more towards maintaining its own work. But Churchmen, who at home have had their spiritual wants supplied through the bounty of their forefathers, are slow to learn the lesson that their own offerings are the only endowment to be depended upon here, and many are really not capable of doing much, for the colony is after all a very poor one."

At this time there were in South Africa "altogether upwards of 200 ministers of religion." Many of these were engaged in Missionary operations far beyond the countries visited by the Bishop. But there was "no unity of design in their efforts," nor "any adequate system of supervision established"—they acted "independently of each other, "without much mutual consultation or intercourse." So wide, however, was the field that it was "very rarely" that one Society interfered with another. So far as the Bishop had been able to judge, "a kindly and brotherly spirit" prevailed amongst those Christians dwelling "in the very midst of the kingdom of darkness." But the fact that there were "not less than twenty different religions* in South Africa" could not but be "a subject for anxious consideration" for the future [45].

A cause for far greater anxiety, both for the spiritual and material interests of the colony, was a fresh Kaffir war. In this several of the clergy encountered "much danger," but not one deserted his post when the country was threatened by the advance of the hostile tribes. Archdeacon Merriman had a "merciful escape." He had been out on visitation, during which he accomplished 800 miles on foot, and passing through the most dangerous district had walked into Grahamstown on the day the war broke out, which was also the day of the Bishop's return, viz. Christmas Eve 1850.

The war, which necessarily delayed the formation of a Mission in Kaffraria, was regarded by the Bishop and his Clergy as calling for the appointment of a day for special "humiliation before God, with prayer and fasting." The co-operation of the Dutch Church was sought, a service was prepared, and the observance of Christmas Eve 1851 was recommended to all Christians in the Colony [46].

In the same year the Society's jubilee was observed, and though "one-half of the Colony" was "well-nigh ruined," and "the country from one end to the other . . . thoroughly impoverished," "the celebration was carried on with a cordial sympathy, such as has nowhere been exceeded." Every parish contributed, several of the collections were made in "the camps of the farmers . . . living in the open veldt, surrounded by their wagons for a defence," and, "trifling as the offering is," being only about £180 (the Bishop added), "I trust it will be accepted by the Society as a token of gratitude on our part for the many favours it has conferred upon us, and of the interest which we

* Church of England, Dutch Church, Roman Catholics, Independents (London Society), Wesleyans, Baptists, Scotch Establishment, Free Kirk, United Presbyterian, Moravian; Berlin, Rhenish and Paris Societies; Americans, Swedes, Lutherans; single congregations separated from Lutherans and from Dutch Church; Apostolic Union, S.A. Missionary Society, Church Instruction Society; and besides these, there were Jews and Mahommedans.

take in it, and the blessed work which it is striving to help forward, in every portion of the Colonial Empire of Great Britain" [47].

In 1852 Bishop Gray visited England in order to raise funds for the subdivision of his diocese, for the establishment of Missionary institutions, and for the general advancement of the Church in the Colony [48]. How greatly episcopal assistance was needed may be illustrated by the fact that the Archdeaconry of George (which was constituted and placed under the Rev. T. E. WELBY on December 7, 1850), although limited to the central part of the Colony, was yet, "in point of extent, equal to several European dioceses" [49].

From the Society Bishop Gray obtained in 1852 special grants towards the establishment of Missions to the heathen (£500 per annum), a College at Woodlands (£1,000), and two new Bishoprics, viz. "Grahamstown" for the Eastern Province (£5,000), and "Natal" (£1,500), the endowments of which were completed in 1853 by the Colonial Bishoprics Council on the Society's representation [50].

The new Bishoprics were filled by the consecration in England on November 30, 1853, of the Rev. J. Armstrong for Grahamstown and the Rev. J. W. Colenso for Natal [51]; and to Bishop Gray "the one cheering feature" of 1854 was their arrival in their dioceses "and the establishment of Missionary institutions in each of them." Had the erection of either see been postponed

"the Church's work in that portion would have failed" (he wrote), "and I should have broken down in a vain attempt to effect impossibilities. . . . With a Governor who feels deeply interested in the coloured races—who is convinced that the labours of the Missionary are of the greatest importance to their well-being—and is prepared to encourage and assist those labours to the utmost of his power we may well expect that the Church will have full scope for her exertions amongst the Hottentots, Kafirs, Fingos, and Zulus. God grant her grace to rise up to her work and to enter heartily and on a scale worthy of her name and position amongst the Churches of the earth, upon the great field of labour which lies open before her." [L., Jan. 22, 1855 [52].]

Thus far the Society's South African records (especially Bishop Gray's communications) have been of such a general character as to render it impossible to deal satisfactorily with the Western and Eastern Provinces of the Cape Colony under distinct heads, but with the formation of the Diocese of Grahamstown the case becomes the reverse. The next chapter will therefore (saving a few necessary references) be confined to the Western Division—the Eastern and the other portions of the Cape Colony and of the original Diocese of Capetown being reserved for separate treatment.

THE RIGHT REV. ROBERT GRAY, D.D.
First Bishop of Capetown.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

CAPE COLONY—THE WESTERN DIVISION—(continued).

BISHOP GRAY returned to the Cape early in 1854 [1]. In his reduced diocese, which still included St. Helena, there were now 32 clergy. On the continent he had 18 parishes, and in all of these, except Worcester, churches had been erected or were in course of erection.* Altogether £38,000† had been spent upon churches in the *undivided* diocese since its erection, and seven schools had been built. No parsonages had yet been provided, nor could they be expected until churches and schools had been raised and cleared of debt. Every parish, except where the clergyman's income was altogether provided by Government, contributed towards the support of its minister, and chiefly through the weekly offertory, which could be "really depended upon" and seldom failed. "The more pressing wants of the English people" having been now "provided to a certain extent," more attention could be directed to the conversion of the heathen and Mahommedans. In Capetown this work had been checked by the loss of labourers, but in the country "some progress had been made," especially at Wynberg, where 30 adults were baptized on a single occasion in 1853, and in the George and Knysna districts.

At George Mr. NIEPOTH'S flock [*see* p. 280] had built a school-chapel for themselves, and purchased a burial ground; they attended their services "most regularly," and were advancing "in knowledge, in faith, and in Christian conduct." On Christmas Day 1854, at the commencement of the Ante-Communion Service in Archdeacon WELBY'S church, Mr. Niepoth came in with many of his congregation, having concluded his own Dutch Service, and 20 of them joined with the white communicants (41 in number) in partaking of the blessed Sacrament. "The blending of the two races was a sight to make one thankful."

As yet, however, the Missionary efforts of the Church were on a "small" and "utterly unworthy" scale. "Scarcely any of the clergy" had "acquired sufficient knowledge of Dutch to officiate in that language," and till that were done the coloured people could not "be widely impressed." And how wide was the field Bishop Gray thus tells:—

"Notwithstanding all that has been done, by other religious bodies, to whom all honour is due for their abundant labours, the Heathen in this diocese are not yet half converted to the faith, nor is there anything like an adequate system of instruction provided for them; and yet they are craving for more light and knowledge. . . . In this same neighbourhood [Paarl] I recently heard that the labourers on several farms had clubbed together to maintain a crippled fellow-labourer of the same race, but a little better instructed than themselves, as their religious teacher; and in my own immediate neighbourhood the poor have come out of their huts to meet me in my walks, and beg me to provide additional schools for them,

* Churches were opened in 1853 at Stellenbosch, Zandoliet (?), Claremont, and Belvidere [2].

† The wages of the workmen were 9*s.* a day in 1854.

offering to contribute money and labour to erect the building and maintain the teacher." [L., Jan. 22, 1855.] [3].

"Taking the country *as a whole*" the Bishop was of opinion after his visitation in 1855 that "the Church of England" was "doing more than any other religious body in the land." She was "the only body" caring "for the English portion of the population" in the Western Province, including "Presbyterians, Methodists, Independents, &c.," who were "for the most part being gradually drawn into the Communion of the Church." In the country parts the Church was "happily absorbing all the English religionists, whatever may have been their former profession." At George the candidates for Confirmation (95) outnumbered the whole congregation there on the Bishop's first visit. Seven years before there was "a feeble, divided, listless handful of people—no Church, or School, or Mission." Mainly owing to Archdeacon WELBY'S labours, there were now a Church, a Mission-Chapel and School, and 125 communicants. White and coloured were confirmed together, and in helping to administer to fifty coloured Communicants the Bishop, for the first time in his life, officiated in Dutch.

By the ordination of Mr. NIEPOTH the number of Clergy in the George Mission was now raised to three. (It is singular that on the same day that Mr. Niepoth was ordained (Sept. 23) the Bishop of Grahamstown was ordaining another member of the Dutch Church, formerly a Missionary of the London Society, "who with his whole congregation . . . sought to be received into the Communion of the Church.") Up and down the country, however, were still scattered many hundreds of Englishmen living "without God in the world," bringing "misery upon themselves and discredit upon all Englishmen" by their lives. Some of the "Juvenile Emigrants" sent out by the "Children's Friend Society" [*see* p. 273] and settled at Bredasdorp had "sunk into a low and degraded condition, little, if at all, better than that of the heathen" whom they had married, though others had "succeeded well and were in a thriving condition." In the case of a coloured woman whom the Bishop baptized at Beaufort, her master said "that she had taught his children nearly all they knew of religion—the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Church Catechism." "What a sad confession!" (was the comment). "A Christian master owns that his children have imbibed their instruction in the faith of Christ from a Heathen servant." That the Church was winning her way among the heathen was frequently manifested during this visitation. The Fingos and Hottentots at Belvidere were "quite as willing as their white brethren to contribute to the support of the ministry." At Buccleugh, of 48 persons confirmed the greater number were coloured people, baptized within the previous few years, and the same race furnished one half of the communicants—the Hottentots especially showed much feeling, and "wept aloud." In another place (Newhaven) 35 communicants drew nigh—some being "not only of English and Dutch blood, but Indian and Mahommedan, Kafir, Fingo, Hottentot, Negro."

"In this country" (the Bishop added) "one feels more than at home, how the Church of Christ knits men of all races and languages into one body and brotherhood. It has been one of my greatest comforts in this visitation, more than on former occasions to realize the Communion of Saints; to have real communion

with believers of various races, through the precious body and blood of Christ which joins us all in one."

In the methods pursued by the Church care was taken to avoid proselytising or any interference with others' labours. It was frequently the custom of Bishop Gray to visit the Missions of other Christian bodies—the Dutch, the Moravian, the Berlin, London, and Wesleyan Societies, &c., and his journals show that he not only received much personal kindness on these occasions, but was often encouraged and stimulated in his work. On this present visitation, while he was with the Moravians at Elim, a Hottentot deputation representing from 80 to 90 families there were praying a member of the Cape Parliament living at Nether Court to urge the Bishop to found a Missionary institution for them and take them under the Church's charge; but when the Bishop heard of this he expressed his unwillingness to plant a village within 20 miles of the Moravian Institution. In other places also the coloured people were eager for such establishments, and at Oliphant's Fontein arrangements were made for the foundation of a Missionary institution and village "based upon self-supporting principles," on a farm purchased by the Bishop for the purpose.

At a series of confirmations held in the neighbourhood of Cape-town shortly after, one-third of the candidates were generally coloured people, and in concluding a summary of his previous tour the Bishop wrote:—

"This whole Visitation has been to me one of deep interest and encouragement. Amidst very great difficulties, a considerable work has been accomplished. In many districts the Church is, I trust, firmly rooted and established. There is no place, save Worcester,* where the English are congregated together in any numbers, where there is not already a clergyman, a church, and, in many instances, a school. And in those places where their numbers are too few to justify the erection of a church, and the appointment of a clergyman, there is a fair prospect of our being able to plant school-chapels, and deacon school-masters, for a combined work amongst the English and the Heathen—if only we can raise the funds necessary for such a purpose. In other districts, where there are no English, the coloured people are very anxious that a purely Missionary work should be undertaken for their good. There is, I believe, a growing desire, in many quarters, for the ministration of the English Church. When I remember what the condition of the Church over the whole country was on my first Visitation, and look at it now, I cannot but feel very thankful to God, who has done so much for us. It is a great comfort, too, to think that, throughout that large portion of the Diocese over which I have travelled, a good hearty Church spirit, and a growing religious feeling, prevail. The aims of those who have unceasingly exerted themselves by anonymous writings in the public prints to injure the Church, are seen through. Their assaults have led, in many cases, to a more diligent study of the principles and doctrines of the Church of England, through her own recognised formularies; and thereby to increased knowledge and faith, and a firmer attachment to the Church. The seven years we have passed through have been anxious, and, to me, exhausting years; but, if it please God to bless the work of his servants in future time as largely as in the past, there need be no fear but that the true faith of Christ will have a firm hold upon the mind and conscience of this land; and that multitudes, who, alas! have still but a faint knowledge of the one true God and Jesus Christ whom He hath sent, will rejoice in the full light of the Gospel, and truly know, to their great joy, Him, whom to know is life eternal."

* [In 1857 two Lutherans and one minister of the Dutch Reformed Church joined the English clergyman and his churchwarden in arranging for the erection of a church at Worcester, making themselves and their property chargeable for £1,000, the estimated cost of the building [4].]

Among the difficulties referred to were "the suffering and ruin' occasioned by recent epidemics among the cattle and horses. The former died by thousands from a disease, said to have been imported from Holland, which entirely destroyed their lungs, and such a proportion of the latter died from the "horse sickness" that farmers were "reduced to walk"—a proceeding which had "been hitherto considered as disgraceful to all but Hottentots and Kafirs." No sooner was one scourge removed from the land than another appeared, and as yet the country had not been "free from some general affliction of want or pestilence any year" since the Bishop had known it [5]. The Clergy of the Diocese also had been diminished (by death, sickness, and other causes) nearly one-third since the Bishop's return, while an increase was needed. The discovery of copper mines in Namaqualand, near the mouth of the Orange River, 300 miles from Capetown, attracted a considerable population of English labourers in 1854, no less than thirty companies having been formed. The "very shocking" moral and religious condition of the people, without a minister of any religious denomination, received early attention from Bishop Gray, who could not, however, provide a clergyman for them (viz. Mr. Whitehead) before the end of 1855 [6].

The village of Clanwilliam was subjected to much longer neglect. In this district a great number of the English settlers of 1820 "were most unwisely and improperly sent," and with them the Rev. F. M'CLELAND, who after remaining three years migrated with a portion of the settlers to Port Elizabeth. From that time to 1857 the remainder had been "neglected by their Church," with the result that their children had been baptized and confirmed in the Dutch Church, and only a few of the old settlers were now in nominal communion with their mother Church. Bishop Gray had always been told that "all the English had left the district," and on his first visit (in 1857) he was surprised to find "so English a spirit pervading the people and so strong an attachment to the Church of their fathers, after so long a neglect." In the Dutch Church after the Dutch service the Bishop held English service twice on the Sunday in his visit. "The congregations were very large," and "seemed to feel the service a good deal."

"The younger joined in the prayers of the Church of their fathers, for the first time in their lives. The elder people had not heard them offered for half their three-score years and ten. One of these, an aged widow, wept aloud at the Holy Communion, and bade her fellow-communicant, also an aged widow, remember that it was thirty-four years since they last had knelt together to partake of that spiritual food. She said, she had nearly now completed her forty years in the wilderness, and trusted that a brighter day would now dawn upon them. . . . The lesson for the day was Deuteronomy viii. . . . Several were much struck with this, and applied it to their state. . . . I have promised . . . that they shall be at least occasionally visited by a Clergyman." [L., Bishop Gray [7].]

In this and the next year (1858) the Society raised its annual grant to the diocese from £600 to £2,600 [8]. Great exertions were also made in the colony for the support of Clergy, and in 1861 the Bishop was able to write to the Society:—

"It is quite understood I think in this Diocese that the existing European population whose wants are almost supplied is to look to you for nothing more than it now receives. Should immigrants flow in very largely the case might be

altered; but I do not expect this; and I think the English can now stand alone with such assistance as they receive" [9].

The paramount importance of this branch of the Society's work has been forcibly demonstrated by the Rev. J. BAKER. On his proceeding to the Diocese of Capetown he had wished to become a Missionary to the Kaffirs, but "the Bishop, knowing the country better," saw that he could be "more advantageously occupied in other work," and placed him at Swellendam in 1849 to minister to the colonists, in a district "practically unlimited." Reviewing his work, which had resulted in the foundation of stations at Riversdale,* Port Beaufort,* Robertson, and Montagu, he wrote in 1862:—

"I feel more than satisfied at having my own first views overruled, so that I am working generally among our colonists. That is the one feature of the Society which makes it so valuable in comparison to many others—that the work is first Colonial—the wanderers from England are to be followed by the Church of England; and the influence of these energetic men, controlled by religion, and disciplined by our Church system, is regarded as the most important element in acting upon the native races with whom they are brought in contact. It is here seen more and more daily. The masters are the Missionaries for good or evil of the people in their employ. The trader is more powerful than the clergyman, the farmer is like a patriarch among the agricultural labourers, and the English mechanic is most influential by his example.

"Fearful are the wrecks of English people in this land. Our own countrymen require our first and greatest efforts. I have given much attention to these poor fellows; and, wretched as they are, they are much to be pitied. A mere labourer has little chance of any success; and the treatment he too commonly receives, is most degrading. They wander, truly vagabonds, from village to village. On their arrival in a new place, they can find no shelter but that of a canteen; no refreshment but that of Cape brandy and bad wine, with dry bread, bought it may be at the same place.

"Many sink under temptation, and fall into despair, under such circumstances. They are without friends or acquaintances, and society has neither place nor care for them. Such work as this makes no appearance, yet it is most important, and gives much trouble" [10].

In Advent 1860 "the largest ordination" that had "yet taken place in South Africa," was held, when Bishop Gray ordained nine priests and deacons. On that occasion the men trained at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, "far surpassed, in their knowledge of Divine things, the other candidates," and did "great credit" to their training. [L., Bishop Gray, Jan. 14, 1861 [11].]

The Church in the diocese had now become well grounded in its organisation, having in January 1857, through its Bishop, Clergy, and Lay Delegates assembled for the first time in representative Synod, agreed upon certain Constitutions and Acts, by which they declared themselves in union and full communion with the United Church of England and Ireland—an integral portion of that Church, also that they received the Authorised Version of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, and maintained the doctrine and sacraments of Christ as the Church of England receives them, and that they disclaimed the right to alter the Standards of Faith and Doctrine, the formularies in use in the Church [12].

* At Riversdale, Captain Rainier, the magistrate, had "regularly officiated as catechist" to the few English who assembled in the court-room for worship. A similar duty was performed at Port Beaufort by Mr. T. Barry, a merchant, who added a service *in Dutch for the coloured people.*

In 1859 St. Helena was constituted a separate Bishopric [13], and in December 1860 the Bishops of that diocese and of Capetown, Grahamstown, and Natal met in conference at Capetown—the Metropolitical See; and in acknowledging the provision made by the Society for the foundation of a fifth diocese—the Orange River—in the Ecclesiastical Province, they expressed "the grateful sense which the members of the Church" therein "entertain of the great benefits conferred upon South Africa through means of the Venerable Society," the Metropolitan adding: "We desire to express our belief that it has pleased God to make the Society a great instrument of good to the heathen of this land, and for the advancement of our Lord's kingdom upon earth" [14].

Among the agencies employed for the evangelisation of the heathen in South Africa, one of the most effective has been the College established near Capetown in 1858 for the education of the sons of native chiefs, and which has ever since been supported with the Society's aid [15].

The Rev. W. E. Belson, who had temporary charge of the College, reported in 1867:—

"A marvellous change has taken place in the boys who have been some years resident. . . . They came wild little savages; they are now to all appearances civilized, and many of them are Christians. Their manners are most polite. . . . I am not aware that a complaint has ever been made by any one that they have misconducted themselves when in Capetown; and this is saying a great deal, for all eyes are upon them, and many would be only too glad to find them tripping. With the majority of the inhabitants, the education of Kafirs is a sore subject. The Dutch would never think of undertaking it.

"As regards their intellectual powers, some of the boys are decidedly clever, some the reverse; but with all there is an inability to express themselves grammatically in English, which no doubt is owing to their speaking amongst themselves always in Kafir. One boy, the eldest son of a great chief, lately visited his father in Kafirland, and was urged by every possible means to become a heathen again. His father offered to make him chief, but in vain: the boy returned to the college, and is now at St. Augustine's College" [16].

The institution (Zonnebloem) is further noticed in the proper place. [*See* p. 784.] The formation of a school for Kaffir girls in connection with it was reported in 1860 [17]. In the same year the Rev. W. E. Belson of Malmesbury stated that his charge included over 2,000 coloured people, Hottentots, &c. Nothing had been done for them "till lately," but now from 400 to 500 heathen were receiving instruction; numbers had been baptized; thirty-five had become communicants, eighty couples had been married, and the contributions of the people to the Mission had amounted to £150 [18]. The Mission farm purchased by Bishop Gray, situated in the Malmesbury district, and since referred to as "Abbotsdale," was "the first experiment of the kind" that had been "tried in connection with the Church of England." The plan had been found to work well with the Moravians.

The farm, about 1,600 acres, was rented until the capital was paid up by the Hottentots, when they would become the possessors of the land. In 1858 there were 76 families living on it under certain rules. They attended the Church services, sent their children to school, and seemed thankful for the care manifested in their behalf [19]. Three years later the experiment did not seem to be proving successful [20]; but in 1866 Mr. Belson was residing there and conducting

missionary operations in "fourteen stations covering an area of about 40,000 square miles" [21]. In the next year he reported that up to that time he had "baptized upwards of 1,200 coloured people," and had he not been "very particular" he might have baptized "at least half as many more." "Taken as a body," those who had been "lately brought out of heathenism" would bear favourably comparison with those born of Christian parents and baptized in infancy. In some cases men and women commonly walked 20 miles to be present at the services. In others, though the services were on weekdays, the fishermen gave up their day's fishing and loaded their boats with people to cross the bays and join in worship [22]. At one of these stations—St. Helena Bay—there was in 1858 "hardly a baptized person," and hitherto a clergyman had never been seen there. But the establishment of a school under a coloured schoolmaster, who also held short services, supplemented by occasional visits from Mr. Belson, drew people from a distance of 18 miles, and in 1861 "the usual number of communicants" was 18 and the Missionary could say: "Not unfrequently these blacks, whether Christians or not, put to shame those who boast of their European descent and Church membership" [23]. On taking charge of the Mission in 1862 Mr. Nicol reported: "It is quite astonishing how well the services are attended," although held in a large salting house. In the course of a year a school-chapel was opened there [24]. The black schoolmaster was now transferred to Hooge's Bay in Saldanha Bay, where, at the urgent appeal of a coloured patriarch who built and offered a school-room, with "a prophet's chamber," another out-station was established, and the old man was the first of the adults to receive baptism [25].

On the occasion of the ordination of the Rev. T. F. LIGHTFOOT of Capetown as priest it was proposed in 1860 that 100 converts in his Mission should contribute 2*s*. each to maintain an additional Missionary; and the Bishop having represented that Mr. Lightfoot was much overworked and that large numbers of Mahommedans and heathen were waiting to be gathered in, the Society provided one-half (£75) of the salary required, thus giving "a great impulse to the Mission work" [26].

Three years later the Missionary at Malmesbury reported that while "the European part of the population" there led the heathen and Christian coloured people into sin, some Christian Kaffirs from Mr. Lightfoot's Mission "set an excellent example" [27].

The Clergy in the diocese now numbered 45, and more than one half were "engaged in Mission work." "The members of the English Church in South Africa" had "increased more than three-fold since the appointment of a Bishop," and the "English people" had "long been provided with their full means of grace." "In all the villages along the whole line of coast" from Capetown to Plettenburg Bay "the work of education" was "being mainly carried on" by the Church of England. The Dutch were "possessed of nearly all the land," and were five times as numerous as the English, but both were outnumbered by the coloured races [28].

A period of drought and famine extending from 1861 to 1865 forced a large migration of the English to New Zealand and other parts, and made it necessary for the Society to come to the relief of the *diocese and of the* more necessitous of its Missionaries in 1865. The

colony being "nearly ruined," only two congregations were able to pay their promised contributions, but though the sufferings of the clergy were "very great," the trial was borne by them "with a noble patience." The destitution of the coloured people during the distress was most deplorable, and many were unable to attend church or school for want of clothes [29].

In 1866 the coloured congregation of Wesleyans at Swellendam "came over in a body, with their teacher, to the Church," and three years later 82 of them were admitted to confirmation [30].

From Somerset West to Plettenburg Bay there was now (1869) "not a Dissenting Chapel in any" of the villages. The London Missionary Society had several Missions in the country, but the Dutch and the English Church, with the single exception of a Roman Catholic chapel at George, divided "the population along the whole coast line." So wrote Bishop Gray from Knysna in 1869. When he first knew this place there was no English church within 300 miles of it. The nearest clergyman was at George, 60 miles distant, and separated by several deep rivers, impassable at times. "The ordinary Sunday occupation was bowls, and drinking and dancing." "Now," the Bishop could say, "nearly everybody goes to church, and the whole state of things is changed. God be praised, there has been a marvellous alteration for the better" [31].

The above may be taken as a specimen of what had been wrought throughout the diocese during Bishop Gray's episcopate now drawing to a close.

In 1872 he reported: "At nearly every place I have found the work in a healthy state, and advancing. The Church is growing in the confidence and respect of the country" [32]. The confirmations held in this year were attended by some candidates who walked from 30 to 60 miles in all; and at Beaufort three Kaffirs who had gone to the Diamond Fields "came back all the distance, 350 miles, to be confirmed where they had been baptized," returning again after the service [33]. This visitation of 1872 occupied over eleven weeks, "amidst great discomforts, and much trial and labour," and after a recovery from a "dangerous illness" contracted during yet greater hardships in Namaqualand in the previous year. At the end of the journey, moved by the sight of the finest sunset he had yet beheld in Africa, the Bishop wrote: "This evening seemed to me almost a prophecy of work done in that dark land, and the sun of my life setting; would that it had been done better!" [34].

Neither forebodings nor weariness, however, stayed plans of work, and having "travelled six months out of the last nine," he arranged for a further visitation of his diocese as soon as the winter rains of 1872 were over [35].

But a better journey lay before him. In August he had a fall from his horse, and after three weeks' illness, during which "his one craving . . . had been rest," he passed to his rest on Sunday, September 1.

Two days later the church and burial-ground at Claremont were thronged by "all classes, ranks, and denominations," waiting "to do honour to his memory," and "representatives of the Dutch Reformed, the Congregational, the Wesleyan, the Roman and other Christian

communities, stood in affectionate and respectful sorrow at his grave, in acknowledgment of his fervent and large-hearted Christian love towards all of them "* [36].

"His funeral was a marvellous sight" (wrote Archdeacon Badnall), "just what one would have wished for a man who never thought of his own glory—a thing to live in one's memory for ever. All South Africa will feel his death . . . as I believe it never felt anyone's death before. I should suppose a larger crowd was hardly ever assembled round any grave; absolutely never a larger number of genuine mourners. The dear Bishop's old black man-servant standing weeping at the foot of the grave was as significant a token as any of the work of his life" [37].

In the Society's opinion, "the greatness and completeness" of the work of Bishop Gray, who was "the foremost Prelate in the British Colonies" "can hardly be over-estimated."

At his consecration in 1847 there was in South Africa "no Church organisation. Fourteen isolated clergymen ministered to scattered congregations." In the quarter of a century which had elapsed "a vast Ecclesiastical Province" had been created,† containing five dioceses complete with Synodical, Parochial and Missionary organisations, administered by [over] 127 clergymen, besides lay teachers. In all there were now six dioceses in South Africa. "For those great talents . . . the use of which was so long granted to the Church," the Society recorded its thankfulness to God, adding that Bishop Gray's

"single-minded devotion of himself and his substance to the work of God, his eminent administrative ability, his zeal, which never flagged, his considerate tenderness in dealing with others, his undaunted courage in grappling with unexpected obstacles in the defence and confirmation of the Gospel, will live in the records of the African Church as the qualities of her founder, and will secure for him a place in history as one of the most distinguished in that band of Missionary Bishops by whose labours in this generation the borders of the Church have been so widely extended" [38].

As a further token of its regard the Society raised a sum of £600, which with £1,000 contributed in the diocese was there invested in 1876 as the "Bishop Gray Memorial Clergy Endowment Fund" [39].

The Clergy and laity of the Diocese of Capetown (with the consent of the Bishops of the Province of South Africa) delegated the choice of a successor to Bishop Gray to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Edinburgh (formerly Bishop of Grahamstown) and the Secretary of the Society; and the Rev. W. W. Jones was elected to the office. Previous to his consecration, which took place in Westminster Abbey on May 17, 1874, a document was drawn up (and afterwards published) explaining the sense in which he took the oath which is required by the English Ordinal to be administered on the consecration of a Bishop, but is ill adapted to the circumstances of a Colonial Metropolitan [40].

On his arrival in his diocese he found "only one prevailing wish . . . to work heartily and harmoniously" with him. He was publicly welcomed at a luncheon, and among those present to shake hands with him and to wish him God-speed were "numbers of Nonconformists and nearly all the ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church and of the Dissenting bodies" [41].

* A similar mark of respect was shown at Mrs. Gray's funeral in 1871 [36*a*].

† *The first Provincial* Synod for the Province of South Africa met in 1870.

From personal inspection the Bishop was "convinced that the Church" had "gained," and was "daily gaining a powerful hold upon men's minds and hearts." And he was much struck with "the thorough work" which was being done in some of the Missions.

Thus at the Paarl, said he:

"I confirmed no less than fifty-four persons, whose attention and reverence of manner were very remarkable. In these congregations there is a regular parochial machinery, churchwardens, sidesmen, schoolmaster or mistress, harmonium player, &c., all coloured people—indeed, in most cases, the clergyman and his family are the only white people in the Church. The same may be said of Abbotsdale, where the only place of worship is a miserable old barn . . . the people seem thoroughly in earnest, and are most forward in contributing week by week their little sums towards the erection of a good and suitable Church.

"One sign of progress, again, is the large number of candidates presented to me for Confirmation. During the short time I have been here, I have confirmed exactly 800 persons; certainly the larger proportion of them being coloured people. I have noticed almost uniformly among the candidates (though I regret to say not among the congregation, many of whom are not of our own Church) a very great amount of reverence and an earnestness of manner which seem to indicate plainly the pains which had been taken in their preparation" [42].

Another mark of the progress in South Africa was "the revolution in public opinion as regards the action of the Church." The first representative Synod (held under Bishop Gray in 1857) met after a severe conflict of opinion, and under a storm of obloquy [43]; that to which Bishop Jones was called to preside in 1875 dispersed amid general approval and good-will.

"It is most gratifying" (the latter wrote), "and I cannot but be very thankful to Almighty God that He seems really now to have drawn men's hearts together so that we are, I think I may safely say, a thoroughly united Diocese. . . . The session lasted through nearly 3 weeks, and during the whole of that time, I am speaking the strict truth when I say that not one hard or angry or factious word was spoken by any member of the Synod. I never, I think, felt so much cause for thankfulness as in the result of the Synod.* During the course of it we had a large crowded public meeting, the Governor in the chair, to take steps to organize a fund for the better payment of the clergy. It was very enthusiastic, and already about £6,000 has been promised" [L., Aug. 9, 1875 [44].]

A year later the Rev. J. MAYNARD of Worcester reported: "The Church is progressing throughout the length and breadth of the colony, and in fact throughout the whole of South Africa. Evidence of this is seen almost everywhere" [45]. The older parishes in the western division of the colony were now "firmly consolidated," and amid the schemes set on foot by the Clergy were to be noticed the counterparts of the organisations of well-worked parishes at home. Church building and Church extension were the rule and not the exception [46].

The Mission to the Malays at Papendorp, a suburb of Capetown, under the Rev. Dr. M. J. ARNOLD, had been "greatly blessed"; the

* In 1884 the vote of the laity of the Synod saved the clergy from the necessity of having to veto a resolution which advocated the alteration of the Provincial Constitution in such a way as to bind the Church of South Africa "to accept all decisions, past and future, as obligatory upon her tribunals, of a Court in England which has been attached to the Church at home purely as an accident of her established condition, and which is almost universally felt to be a most unsatisfactory body for deciding what is and what is not lawful in the Church at home; and this more especially since the Grahamstown Judgment declared the decisions of this Court to be part and parcel of the standards of the Church's faith and doctrine." [L., Bishop of Capetown, Jan. 2, 1885 [44a].]

village once "a disgrace to any land" was now to be "scarcely recognised as the same" [47]. As yet, however, "not many conversions" had been made among the Mohammedans—of whom there were about 5,000 in the diocese—though many of them were "inquiring anxiously after Christian truth."

In some parts the opposition of the Dutch farmers was still "one of the greatest hindrances to the conversion of the coloured people" [48]; but nevertheless during the next ten years the coloured inhabitants were seen to be "pressing into the Church by hundreds" [49].

At Zuurbraak, a village which had been only occasionally visited by a Missionary (the Rev. F. D. EDWARDS), a Mission was organised by the Rev. W. SCHIERHOUT in September 1883. The coloured people, though "miserably poor," erected the principal part of a school-chapel with their own hands, and a year later the Bishop confirmed there no fewer than 172 persons, mostly adults, all but six of whom communicated on the next morning. Many had come a great distance, and their "attention and reverence . . . was quite remarkable" [50].

So far from the Church's work in the diocese being, "as many in England believe, a work among the settled English population," its strength "is among the poor coloured people." Thus, out of 1,300 candidates confirmed in 1886 "at least 1,000" belonged to coloured races [51]. This branch of the work continues to advance [52].

Excepting Capetown and its suburbs, the Western division is "essentially the Dutch end of the colony" [53], and the Bishop has placed it on record that "except in a very few favoured spots," the diocese owes "everything to the Society."

"If it had not been for the help thus extended to us" (he wrote in 1881) "we could have done simply nothing in the work of Heathen Missions, and very large numbers of our own fellow-countrymen, whether scattered about in isolated spots, or settled in small villages among an overwhelming number of Europeans of Dutch extraction and of coloured people, would have been absolutely and entirely deprived of our Church's administrations: for do what they would, this handful of English Churchpeople could not possibly have maintained a clergyman to visit them even occasionally, while the funds raised by the late Bishop and myself in England could have done next to nothing in furnishing this enormous diocese with the means of grace. . . . Still each year the amount contributed by the people increases, and each year we hope to carry on our work with a diminished grant from the Society" [54].

1892–1900.

In 1895 the Society felt that the time had come when its annual grants to the diocese must be *regularly* reduced.* This policy, which is absolutely necessary if aid is to be extended to more necessitous regions, led to the introduction of a thoroughly organised system in the diocese, whereby all, to the very poorest, may be induced to give of their means to the Church's support, and within three years there was a distinct development of the missionary spirit in the various parts of the diocese; the richer parishes exerted themselves freely on behalf of the work as a whole, a Dock Mission, doing invaluable work among the sailors and immigrants at Capetown, was founded (in 1897), Parochial Missionary Associations increased, and the result was a considerable amount of pecuniary help given

* Reductions had begun some twenty years earlier.

to other dioceses in the Province or elsewhere, as well as to the Missionary Societies at home [55]. While gradually withdrawing its annual grant the Society gave special help to the diocese in 1897–98 for the erection or enlargement of churches and educational institutions (including the Diocesan College, Rondebosch) [p. 783*b*], also for the maintenance of St. Mark's College, George [p. 783*a*]. The aid to the Colleges was of special value, as in the education of their middle and upper classes Churchmen were at a tremendous disadvantage, obtaining little or no assistance from public funds, while compelled to contribute their share towards the maintenance of institutions to whose methods they object on principle [56].

Another special object aided by the Society (1899) was the provision of spiritual ministrations for the people at Walfish Bay* and the English guano diggers at Cape Cross, some hundreds of miles away. These places do not strictly come within the limits of Capetown Diocese, but can be conveniently visited from those parts only. The visits of the Clergy and of the Coadjutor Bishop are of the utmost value and are welcomed [57].

Some of the "parishes" in the diocese are still of enormous size—Malmesbury, for instance, being as large as Yorkshire. On a recent Easter Day one clergyman conducted seven services in Malmesbury district, commencing with a celebration of the Holy Communion in Abbotsdale Church, combined with a special service held in the cemetery, where the people, after the prayer for the Church Militant, marched in procession, singing hymns, a wonderfully impressive testimony to the Christian belief in the doctrine of the Resurrection. The service (which had been sanctioned by the Bishop) was in the Dutch language throughout, the congregation being coloured people [58].

For many years almost all the S.P.G. clergy in Capetown Diocese have been working largely among the heathen or converts from heathenism. There has been a great ingathering of coloured converts into the Church at such places as Capetown and Malmesbury, and in the whole district between Swellendam and Mossel Bay [59]. The prejudice of the whites against coloured people is very strong in the Colony, "and exhibits itself in various ways, and at times in a most unreasonable and unchristian-like fashion," but it is significant that in the year this was reported (1894), while the white population of Prince Alfred's Hamlet (Ceres) all belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church, the mixed population of 150 persons, representing Bushmen, Hottentots, Fingoes, and Kaffirs, nearly all belonged to the Anglican Church.

The increase of the Church's work among the coloured people in the above districts is almost startling. Of five hundred people confirmed in one district in 1900, all but fifty were coloured people [60].

During a Confirmation at Barrydale in 1892 an old coloured woman came forward, having walked for three days "rather than that she should lose God's heavenly gift." Her aged husband had previously been confirmed, and as the Bishop left the next morning he saw them trudging their sixty miles back. "People," he said, "sometimes question the reality of the faith and goodness of our converts. Such instances

* Walfish Bay was annexed to Cape Colony in 1884.

as these, and they are not rare, are the best answer that we can give." *

Zuurbraak was for many years a station of the London Missionary Society, but that Society desiring to relinquish it, the Dutch Reformed Church took over the Mission without asking the consent of the people, and much to the dissatisfaction of a large proportion of them. The Dutch Reformed Church, however, placed a Missionary there, and by agreement with the London Missionary Society took over the church, the school, and the Missionary's house. The opposition to this arrangement steadily increased, and again and again application was made to the Anglican Church to take over the dissentients, to send a Missionary to establish a school, and to provide Church privileges for them. Several times the Bishop declined to intervene, and tried to point out to them that his entrance on the station would only increase existing differences. At last the movement became so strong, and the feeling so determined, that he informed a deputation that, if they could show that they represented a majority of the inhabitants, he would give their petition consideration. The result proved that the movement was approved of by persons representing 900 out of a total population of 1,100. Such a petition could not be ignored, and therefore the present Mission was established, the Dutch Reformed minister of Swellendam, in whose parish Zuurbraak lies, acknowledging that under the circumstances we could not have acted otherwise [60*a*].

In Capetown Archdeacon Lightfoot's congregation contains representatives of nearly every tribe south of the equator, including even descendants of the old Mohammedans. There are still some 10,000 Mohammedans in or near Capetown, and converts are won from them by appeals less to the intellect than to the heart; but such conversions are rare [61].

According to the last census there are still as many heathen and Mohammedans in *Cape Colony* as there are Christians.

Here, as well as in many other parts, "not only has the work of discovery" to be done "to bring the light of the Gospel to the heathen," but "we have also the work of recovery, to bring back to the Church and to a care for religion those who once enjoyed the privileges of the Church in this country, but have now lost them almost altogether." And this, said the Archbishop of Capetown in 1897, is what the Society is helping our Bishops all over the world to do [62].

In contrasting the state of the Church in South Africa at the time of Bishop Gray's consecration (1847) and fifty years after, the Archbishop said he did this "specially in connection with the Society, because . . . .

"it is the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel that has from first to last been the fostering mother of our Church in South Africa. We have had, as everyone knows, a hard battle to fight. We have had a good many great principles to contend for. We have had a struggle from time to time in which we have been

* The coloured people in Capetown Diocese receive as wages about 10*s*. a month and a little meat and a few mealies, "not enough to feed their families." And yet their contributions towards the Church amount to 10*s*. a head per annum [60*a*].

compelled to engage much against our will. But in all this, as well as in the direct teaching of the Gospel of Christ, and in bringing home the privileges of the Church to those who are our own fellow-countrymen and to the natives of South Africa, we have throughout had the great assistance always ready at our back of the S.P.G. We can never be too thankful for what that Society has done for us."

During the period the one diocese of Capetown had become ten, but even now (after nine dioceses had been taken away from it) it was as large as the whole of Great Britain [63].

The burden of this charge, combined with the many anxieties connected with the office of Metropolitan, rendered further relief necessary, but as the diocese did not readily lend itself geographically to division, and the appointment of a Coadjutor-Bishop seemed the most obvious way of meeting the difficulty, the Society contributed * to the increase of the Bishopric Endowment Fund, and the Rev. Canon A. G. S. Gibson, an ardent Missionary in Kaffraria, was selected for the office, with which the incumbency of Claremont was temporarily associated. His consecration, which took place in Capetown Cathedral on St. Michael and All Angels' Day, September 29, 1894, was the occasion of the visit of six of the Bishops of the Province, and the holding of an Episcopal Synod, which recorded its judgment that the "right and proper title of the Metropolitan of this Province is Archbishop," but the formal adoption and promulgation of the title was postponed until the meeting of the Lambeth Conference in 1897 [64].

The assistance of Bishop Gibson has proved of the greatest service to the diocese as well as to the Archbishop, and within fourteen months of his consecration every parish and Mission in the diocese was visited, and over 3,000 persons were confirmed 65].

Some valuable and practical work affecting the whole Church in South Africa resulted from the meeting of the Provincial Synod at Capetown in 1898. The marriage law of the Church was brought into strict conformity with that of the Mother Church, a Provincial Board of Missions was established, a new canon upon the formation of parishes was adopted, the functions of Archdeacons were canonically defined, and it was determined to make an effort to provide free education for the children of the Clergy. The subjects of Education, Temperance, and Purity were fully discussed, and, lastly, a matter closely concerning the constitutional position of the South African Church was brought to an issue by the decision to accept the Consultative Body agreed to by the Lambeth Conference of 1897 as a Council by whose advice the final ecclesiastical tribunals of the Province should be bound to regulate their judgments in cases of faith and doctrine, until a Central Tribunal of Appeal for the whole Anglican communion shall be constituted [66].

In view of the great needs of the Church in South Africa for temporary relief during the Boer War, the Society in 1900 suspended the reduction of its annual grant to Capetown Diocese and placed

* £500 in 1893.

about £6,000* at the disposal of the Archbishop of Capetown for apportionment to the several dioceses affected—a measure which evoked "intense gratitude" from clergy and laity alike.

The Society also promised that in the distribution of the funds raised during its Bicentenary year the future needs and development of the Church in South Africa should be considered in the most sympathetic spirit.†

In the great field stretching from Capetown right up to the Zambesi, where the planting of the Church has been wholly or mainly the work of the Society, there will be glorious opportunities for the South African Church under the new order of things resulting from the war and the restoration of peace [67].

At the Society's Bicentenary Festival at Capetown in 1900,‡ Sir Alfred Milner, who presided at the great public meeting, described the Society as "a great, world-wide, potent religious agency," which "year after year had carried on its great, ever-widening, unobtrusive, penetrating work," going "steadily on its course, not interfering with others: a generous fellow-labourer, not a niggardly rival." South Africa, "one of the widest and most fruitful fields of its labours," owed it a special debt "for its generous foresight in making provision for the sufferings of the Church during the war."

Speaking (at the same meeting) as permanent head of the Natives Affairs Department, Mr. Stanford dealt with the question as to whether Missions are "worth while," and he answered it by saying, "From my personal experience I have found Christian work amongst the natives to be good," and by bearing testimony to the faithfulness and loyalty and trustworthiness of the Christian natives.§

The result of the meeting was to arouse great public interest in Mission-work generally, and in the Society in particular [68].

Notwithstanding the troubled condition of the country, the number of people confirmed in the diocese was larger than in any previous year except 1895 [69].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 382.)

* £3,000 by a special vote, and the remainder by means of a special fund opened.

† In recognition of the prior claims of the Society's Bicentenary fund, and relying on the Society's promise, the South African Bishops in Synod (August 1900) rejected a proposal for a separate appeal in England specially in aid of the South African dioceses, and in May 1901 the Society voted an additional sum of £36,500 for South Africa. £30,000 of this was taken from the Bicentenary Fund, and is to be distributed according to a scheme to be submitted to the Society by the Archbishop of Capetown [67*a*].

‡ Held on the Feast of St. Peter, the Church's own birthday in South Africa.

§ Though not himself a member of the Church of England. Mr. Stanford has "helped very largely in the establishment of the Church of England Missions" [68*b*].

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CAPE COLONY—THE EASTERN DIVISION (up to the Kei River)—(continued).

FOR an account of this part of the colony previous to the formation of the Diocese of Grahamstown (1853) reference must be had to Chapter XXXVI. [pp. 268–84]; but it may be of assistance to recapitulate here that between December 1819 (when it made its representation to Government [p. 269]) and the year 1846 the Society contributed to the erection of Churches at Grahamstown in 1821, Port Elizabeth in 1824–31, and Fort Beaufort in 1839, and to the support of clergymen at Bathurst (1830–2), Graaff Reinet (1845–53, &c.), Uitenhage (1846–53, &c.) and Fort Beaufort (1846–53, &c.); that on the inclusion of the eastern division of the colony in the Diocese of Capetown in 1847 it contained seven clergymen and six churches; that in 1848 it was first visited by Bishop Gray, who, after organising and extending work among the colonists, interviewed the Kaffir Chiefs and formed plans for the establishment of Missions among their people; that special work among the Kaffirs was begun at Southwell in 1848 by Mr. H. Waters; but that in the main the execution of those plans was delayed by the outbreak of the Kaffir War.

BETWEEN 1847 and 1853 five other stations were occupied by the Society, viz. Grahamstown (Rev. N. J. MERRIMAN, 1848); Colesberg (Rev. Dr. C. E. H. ORPEN, 1848); Somerset (Rev. E. PAIN, 1849); Post Retief (Rev. J. WILLSON, 1849); Cradock (Rev. — NIVEN, 1850, and Rev. S. GRAY, 1851) [1].

In 1854—the year of Bishop Armstrong's arrival [*see* p. 284]—there were sixteen clergymen at work in the diocese, but the number of churches was still only six [2]. In October of that year the Rev. E. Clayton, with Mr. Garde, a catechist, and Mr. Hewitson, an interpreter, were sent to open a Mission among Umhalla's tribe—the Tslambie branch of the Amaxosa Kaffirs. In the recent war Umhalla did not take up arms against the English, and he now willingly granted a site for the Mission about a mile from his village, opposite the abandoned military post of Fort Waterloo,* the materials of which were converted into a "house of the Lord," the foundations of the building being laid on St. Luke's Day, October 18, 1854. In December

* The station was removed in 1857 to "Newlands," on the River Kahoon, about 15 miles from this position.

Mr. Clayton returned to Grahamstown, and in January 1855 Bishop Armstrong visited the station and formally introduced the Rev. — Harding and the Rev. W. Greenstock to Umhalla as the Missionaries promised to him and his people by Bishop Gray in 1850. The old chief replied

"that he received with thankfulness this Mission as the redemption of the promise made to him; he would show his thankfulness by receiving them and protecting them and making his people attend the Mission and send their children to school. He had always come on Sundays to the Station himself since it was begun, and he would continue to do so; and he was very glad that the Mission was so authorized, as he would now know whom to send to, to set to right anything that might go wrong at the Station; and he and his people preferred Missionaries to soldiers, as they believed them to be their friends."

The Te Deum was then sung, and the day closed with the Evening Service, chorally performed, the Kaffirs seeming much impressed [3].

While the foundations of this Mission were being laid, the Governor of the Colony, Sir George Grey, who had done so much by moral and religious means for elevating the condition of the native tribes of New Zealand, determined to follow a similar method for reducing to peaceful and industrious ways the more barbarous and savage races of South Africa; and in December 1854 he called upon the Church to aid him in the enterprise. In his judgment "the threatening aspect of things" on the frontier and the certainty that England would find it difficult, while engaged in an European war, to send a large body of troops to the Cape, rendered it "imperative on him to take immediate measures for warding off fresh rebellions . . . by the only means" which he believed would be "successful"—that is, by aiding the establishment of Missionary educational and industrial institutions among the native races in and beyond the colony [a policy urged on the Government by Bishop Gray four years before in the case of Natal]. The undertaking involved on the part of Government an annual expenditure of £45,000, of which the colony could not supply more than one-fifth. For the remainder Sir George Grey determined to draw upon the Imperial Treasury as might be required.

"He is fully aware" (wrote Bishop Gray, 23 Dec., 1854) "that this is a bold step, and that it will raise a clamour, but the absolute necessity of the case, and the certainty that there will be war without it, lead him to believe that the Government will hesitate before they refuse to pay, for a few years, the cost of a single regiment, in attempts to civilize permanently races which have already cost us so vast an amount of blood and treasure, – whose spirit is far from broken,—and whom it seems almost impossible to subdue by the power of the sword.

"Now Sir G. Grey has asked me to write to the Bishop of Grahamstown and to the Church at home, to inquire what assistance and co-operation he may look for on the part of the Church in carrying out his designs. His words to me were:—'The Church has now an opportunity of retrieving her character, of recovering lost ground. She will greatly embarrass my Government, if she does not rise up to her duty'" [4].

The Clergy of Grahamstown Diocese "felt the crisis to be so momentous to the whole interests of the Church and that the Church of England was altogether so completely put upon her trial before the whole colony" that they unanimously assented to their Bishop pledging

the Church to undertake in 1855 an extension of the station at Umhalla's (St. Luke's) and the establishment of four new Missions among (1, 2) the tribes of the great Chiefs Kreli (across the Kei) and Sandili ("the greatest Chief of the British Kafirs, and the head of the late league" against the English); (3) the Fingoes at Keiskamma Hoek; and (4) the Kaffirs in the native location, close to Grahamstown. But for this undertaking the Government grants would probably have been wholly absorbed by other religious bodies, who had already obtained their proportion, and the Church would have "lost for ever Mission ground," and in such a case would have been unable to "keep her ground many years as a mere Church of the English." As it was it seemed "very remarkable" and "Providential" that after all her delay "the tribes of the greatest" and "most influential chiefs" should still be open to the Church, there being at that time no Mission whatever in their territories. In the words of Bishop Gray: "*Now, then, is our time, or never. S.P.G. ought for the next few years to back up the Bishop of Grahamstown more largely than any other bishop. The work will be done in ten years by us or by others, and Government will pay at least three parts of the expence.*"

In March 1855 Bishop Armstrong visited the chiefs Sandili and Kreli, who received him with "such kind greetings and . . . offers of protection" to the Missionaries as filled him with "hope and joy." Following this "the good news came that the Society itself—showing a generous ardour in the cause," made the necessary grant of £1,500. Next, "Missionaries sprung up, or rather were quickly given . . . and went forth gladly into the wilderness" [5]. Visiting three out of the four* stations early in 1856, the Bishop found good progress being made at St. Luke's (under the Rev. J. Hardie and Rev. W. Greenstock), Sandili's station [St. John's] (under the Rev. J. T. W. Allen), and Keiskamma Hoek [St. Matthew's] (under the Reverend H. B. Smith).

> "We may well go on our way rejoicing" (he wrote) "when we find that, with the exception of the Kafir School here" [Grahamstown] "(which we trust is just about to commence), we have been enabled to fulfil our pledge, and a large body of persons, whether Clergy or Catechists, whom we knew not of when the pledge was made, are now actually dwellers among the Heathen. The Church at home . . . may well rejoice with us over her timely and warm response" [6].

Sir George Grey's plans for dealing with the native tribes were "received by the Colonists with one shout of acclamation" and approved of by the Home Government, and the Society in April 1856 made provision for four additional Missionaries, but the premature death of Bishop Armstrong (on May 16) from "over work and over anxiety" was "a heavy loss" to the cause and indeed "to all South Africa" [7].

The affairs of the diocese were, however, left "in a healthy and satisfactory condition," excepting at Uitenhage, where the Rev. P. W. Copeman, who had been inhibited, was acting in defiance of Episcopal authority, his conduct drawing forth the formal disapproval of all his brother clergy. Though the Missions in the Eastern Province were "quite in their infancy" and the posts "not half occupied,"

* The work at Kreli's station and the other Transkeian Missions is noticed in the next chapter, pp. 305–16.

all promised well, Bishop Gray reported after a visitation in 1856, which to him was "the most satisfactory" he had yet undertaken [8].

According to the Rev. J. Hardie [L., Oct. 30 1856], amidst all the readiness of the Kaffirs "to hear, and even to be instructed in the Articles of the Christian Faith," there were as yet, however, "no signs of a genuine belief."

> "The religious sense is so thoroughly dead in the Kafir" (he said) "that nothing short of God's grace can revive it. We Missionaries of this generation must be grateful if we are permitted to sow the seed of Life broad-cast over the dark field of Heathendom. Our stewardship will probably be closed before the gathering-in of the harvest. . . . Humanly speaking their the [Kafirs'] conquest or their civilization must precede their conversion in any large measure. Their abominable rites, and their nationality, are so thoroughly intermingled that they cannot be separated. To abolish the one we must break up the other by arms or arts."

Already several of the Amaxosa tribes—Kreli's, Sandili's, Umhala's, and Pato's—were becoming broken up and dispersed by the results of their extraordinary infatuation of killing their cattle and throwing away their seed-corn. [*See* pp. 307-8.]

And since the war of 1853 a great development of the country had taken place, and "a new province" was "rapidly rising into life and taking shape under the wise policy of Sir George Grey." English immigrants had been flowing in, and a German element was about to be introduced by the location of 6,000 disbanded Legionaries mostly on the frontier. These with some 67,000 natives constituted "a mixed multitude of all races, colours, and habits," which would "require the tenderest hand and the wisest head to bring and to keep within the true fold," and Archdeacon Hardie pleaded specially for spiritual ministrations for the Germans, lest they should sink to the level of the godless people among whom their lot was cast [9].

Two years later the Rev. E. T. Green reported from the Queenstown district:—

> "We want Missionaries among the whites as much as among the blacks. There is as complete heathenism within the Colony as without it. The conversion too of these heathen of our own blood is as difficult as that of the Kafirs. . . . There is a strong sympathy at present with the dark-coloured heathen. . . . The white heathen . . . is not so much thought of, although to raise and enlighten him is to benefit in the greatest degree the blacks dwelling with and around him. In fact Missionaries among the blacks labour in vain (humanly speaking) when most of the whites with whom their pupils come in contact are less Christian than themselves" [10].

During the next two years the colonial population continued to spread, and the new Bishop, Dr. Cotterill (cons. 1856) represented to the Society in 1860 that in the previous twelve months a surprising change had taken place in this respect; "the country which before was filled with savages" being now (with the exception of the Mission Stations and the Crown Reserves) "subdivided into farms occupied chiefly by English." In all directions farmhouses were to be seen instead of Kaffir kraals, and the country was "again becoming filled with life" [11].

The Society has continued to assist in providing ministrations for the colonists, its grant for this purpose averaging £462 per *annum* during the thirty years 1862-92 (*see* p. 304*a*) [12].

Among the natives its work has been on a more extensive scale, embracing Missions in country and town, combined with educational and industrial institutions, translations, and the training of native teachers.

The murder of the Rev. J. Willson by Kaffirs on Sunday, February 28, 1858, while walking from East London to Fort Pato, was an exception to the treatment which the Missionaries generally received from the natives, and in this instance it was thought that Mr. Willson might not have been recognised as a clergyman. Three Kaffirs were convicted of the crime, but while awaiting execution in King William's Town gaol they were at their own request baptized by the Rev. W. Greenstock (who had ministered to them during their detention at East London previous to the trial). This act brought Mr. Greenstock under the displeasure of the authorities, who considered it to have deprived them of the hope of obtaining a confession from the men, as to whose guilt they were not fully satisfied. The men would now think themselves absolved, and confess to nothing. It was generally supposed that they must have told Mr. Greenstock the truth, and many felt that if they had really been guilty he would not have baptized them. The result was that the sentence of death was commuted into one of imprisonment during the High Commissioner's pleasure [13].

Of the country Missions the most progressive has been that of St. Matthew, Keiskamma Hoek. In 1857 there were no native Christians in the Mission; the Fingoes were unwilling to entrust their little ones to the Missionary, and the school was represented by "a few wild and half-naked children, learning the first elements of instruction." The Rev. W. Greenstock took charge of the Mission in February 1859, and in the next year the Bishop of Grahamstown submitted to H.R.H. Prince Alfred (who was visiting South Africa) "essays on the natural history of this country and on the sea, in prose and verse," written by the boys of the Mission Boarding School. "I can hardly suppose," wrote the Bishop, "that any country within her Majesty's dominions would produce from boys of the same age more remarkable specimens of original and vigorous thought," and then he gives the following "Ode on the Stars," written by one of the boys in Kaffir and translated by Mr. Greenstock:—

"It is high day, evening is drawing on;
The shades of evening will soon be commencing;
The sun is yet in the sky;
His beams in all the sky:
The light of the moon and the stars
Appears not, it is hidden;
But now the sun nears the west,
The shadows of the trees are going to shoot forth;
Now ye are about to govern,
Ye numerous beautiful stars!
Unocela-izapolo (Venus) is about to come forth,
He is like an angel
To walk before the Lord;
When it is dusk,
Shining kazi, kazi, kazi, kazi (sparking brilliantly)
On the side of the west,
Appearing beautiful
At the milking time."

"Considerable progress" had also been made in some industrial pursuits, and in 1862 the Bishop wrote:—

"It would be difficult for me to give within moderate limits a full account of the work on this very interesting Mission, where God has certainly given an abundant increase. My own personal connexion with the Mission may incline me to view all belonging to it in a favourable light; but I certainly cannot remember any of the most flourishing Missions of South India, in which I witnessed such satisfactory proofs of the power of the Gospel and of the grace of God, as St. Matthew's exhibits. . . .

"The number of natives resident on the station-ground here is not large; they consist of a few Christian families, and some widows and others, who have found on the Mission a refuge from the persecution of their heathen friends. By far the greater number of the Christians are scattered over the district, and live in the midst of a large heathen population. The Rev. W. Greenstock is assisted by a catechist, Mr. Taberer, who has the charge of the station-school. A matron, Mrs. Sedgeley, has general charge of the girls and younger boys. There are three out-schools, which are visited occasionally during the week. But the most satisfactory part of the organization of this Mission, is the voluntary and unpaid agency of Native Christians. Five natives—one on the Station itself, the rest at different kraals in the district—are 'fellow-helpers' of the Missionary, under his direction and superintendence. They have prayers during the week, and on Sundays at houses, when there is no Service at St. Matthew's, and they speak to the people: heathens, as well as the Christians who live at those places, attend. Once in the month they all meet the Missionary, to talk over all questions connected with the work. In all cases of discipline, or of special importance, they are consulted. On several occasions during my late visits to St. Matthew's, I met them together; and their seriousness, good sense, and Christian feeling impressed me much. . . .

"I would only remark in conclusion, with regard to this Mission, that in it, more than in any other Mission with which I am acquainted, there are the elements of a self-supporting Church. If the English should abandon the country next year, and heathen chiefs should endeavour to exterminate Christianity from the land, I believe that the Native Church of St. Matthew's would be found, by God's grace, as prepared for the trial as were many Churches, amongst people as rude and illiterate, in the early ages of Christianity" [14].

During the Indian Famine in 1862 the natives at St. Matthew's—heathen and Christian—came forward with an offering of £8 towards the relief of the sufferers [15]. In this year the ministrations of the Church were extended to the British German Legion, who were chiefly settled in that district, and their "chief want"—the administration of the Holy Communion, the lack of which since leaving their fatherland had caused them "great . . . sorrow"—was supplied by Mr. Greenstock in the chapel at St. Matthew's in their own language, with the aid of an interpreter [16].

Under the Rev. C. TABERER, who succeeded to the charge of the Mission in 1870, the work has continued to advance. The congregations having outgrown the capacity of the Mission church, the natives in 1875 raised among themselves £400 towards the erection of a larger building, the foundation stone of which was laid during the Annual Missionary Conference of the Diocese in January 1876 [17].

The possibility of developing intelligence and ability out of the rude, ignorant Kaffirs was now strikingly manifest. The land, placed under irrigation, was yielding bountiful crops. Carpenters' and tinsmiths' shops were in full work. A boarding school for girls had been added—the only Church one in the colony—and with the exception of Mr. Taberer and his wife (the only Europeans engaged) all the various *works were being* carried on by natives [18].

A year later the new church was completed, and of the cost (viz. £1,530) £1,000 was contributed on the spot, principally by the natives, the workmanship also being native. Mr. Taberer could also now rejoice in the fact that the first four native deacons of the diocese had all been (partly) trained at St. Matthew's [19]—the first being Paulus Masiza, ordained in 1870, who was reported by the Bishop to have "passed a very creditable examination in Scripture and theology, quite as good an one as many English candidates for Deacon's Orders have passed" [20].

The Mission district of St. Matthew now embraces an area of 1,000 square miles, with a native population of about 9,000. Of these five-sixths are heathen, and the Christians, numbering about 1,500, are dispersed amongst them throughout the whole of the district. With the aid of twelve native catechists, half of whom are unpaid, services are maintained at fifteen out-stations, and once in every month the various congregations assemble for united service at the home station, to the number of about 700. Mr. Taberer rightly regards "a training to honest industry during the earlier years of life" as being both "an efficient aid to Gospel teaching" and as "laying the foundations of the future social advancement and real prosperity of the native races." The trades now taught to the boys include carpentry, tinsmithing, waggon-making, blacksmithing, gardening, printing. In the girls' department the usual branches of household work are taught, such as washing, ironing, sewing, &c. Each department has now a European trade teacher, and the value of the work accomplished is over £2,000 a year [21].

In estimating the value of St. Matthew's Mission consideration should be given to the fact that from time to time converts have migrated to the Transkeian districts, where they have "greatly aided in the evangelization of their heathen countrymen" [22].

Among the town Missions—of which St. Philip's, Grahamstown, may be taken as an instance—good progress has also been made. Work among the Kaffirs in that city was begun in 1857, but owing to "the failure both of funds and of men" it was soon suspended for about two years, when (in 1860) the Mission was revived under the name of St. Philip's by the Rev. W. H. Turpin. The Kaffir population of the town at that time was "in a state of hopeless heathenism." At first the work was carried on in the open air, but before long a large hut was built, and next a school-chapel in which the work could be carried on without interruption. For nearly two years, however, there was no visible change in the people; they attended the services and the schools, but none came forth to make a public confession of Christianity. In June 1862 eighteen converts were baptized, and from that time the work showed many signs of progress.

The Christians began to hold devotional meetings in their huts, and by their efforts among the heathen the congregations were greatly increased. A daughter of the Chief Sandili was (after training at Capetown) appointed a teacher in the Mission in 1865, and in 1867 "a handsome church worthy of any congregation, and the pride and joy of the Kafirs who attend it," was erected. It is worthy of note, as showing the capacity of the Kaffirs, that in the next year the native choir of the church showed themselves capable of singing choruses from the "Messiah" with great effect [23].

The valuable work done by the Kaffir Training Institution founded in Grahamstown in 1860 is specially noticed on page 785, but it may be said here that the influence of the Institution has extended to all parts of the Colony and beyond [23*a*].

In the Kaffir War of 1878 two of the Society's Mission Stations in the Diocese—St. Peter's, Gwatyu, and St. John's, Cabousie—were destroyed by the rebels. The native clergyman at the latter station had, however, notice from them to withdraw with his family, and no injury was done to life.

In 1880 St. Peter's-on-Indwe had to be abandoned for six weeks; and at Juba, an out-station, all the property belonging to the Christians, together with the chapel, was burnt, the people barely escaping with their lives. Here as elsewhere no native connected with the Mission took any part in the rebellion. Throughout the war in nearly every instance the European Missionaries remained at their posts, and generally the work soon revived [24].

Reviewing the fruits of the Society's work Bishop Merriman, who succeeded Bishop Cotterill in 1871 [25], said in 1881 it seemed to him "impossible to overestimate the value of the Society's aid to . . . South Africa since . . . 1848."

In the Diocese of Grahamstown the six clergy had grown to forty-seven, and he added: "I may truly say that there is not one of them who has not indirectly, and hardly one who has not directly, been aided by the S.P.G."

The £500 annually distributed among the Colonial Clergy would, he trusted, "be gladly surrendered in another generation to aid other poorer and more struggling Churches."

Of "the greatest feature of our work founded and almost entirely maintained by the S.P.G." he wrote:—

> "It is enough to say that whereas twenty-five years ago we had not a single Kafir convert, we are now counting our communicants by thousands, that we have a native ministry growing up; and that the foundation is laid of a native ministry fund supported entirely by themselves; which, but for the troubled state of the country would, ere this, have grown into a respectable amount. For the sums which the Kafirs have of themselves freely contributed towards building churches, churches that would not disgrace any European congregation, especially at Newlands and the Keiskamma Hoek, is a plain indication that the natural carelessness of the heathen and the savage, a trait most perceptible in them, can be made to give way before the teaching of the Gospel. . . . I hope there is no need of deprecating the idea that a statement of our progress is in any way a self-glorification. The uppermost feeling on contemplating this great and rapid growth, must be 'What hath God wrought!' And next, through what instrumentality, under His blessing, have we thus been enabled to lengthen our cords and strengthen our stakes? Partly by beneficent Government aid in the days of our infancy, partly by generous private liberality, but mainly through the continuous stream of bounty derived from the S.P.G" [26].

It is due to Bishop Merriman to say that those Missions in the diocese, in the development of which the Society had so largely assisted, owed in a great measure "their existence to his zeal and genius"; and at his death, which occurred from a carriage accident on August 16, 1882, the Society placed this fact on record [27]. Under his successor, Bishop Webb (translated from Bloemfontein in *1883*), the work has continued to advance [28].

1892–1900.

In 1892 there were 21,000 native Christians in connection with the Church in the diocese. They considered it a duty to support their native Clergy, and did so heartily, and such a veteran Missionary as the Rev. W. H. Turpin could look forward to the whole land becoming Christian [29].

By 1895 the Society had been enabled to leave its diminishing work among the colonists to local resources and to devote its grant entirely to work among the natives, which was being carried on under peculiar and unprecedented difficulties, arising primarily and chiefly from the success which had attended the past work of the Missions, most of the Clergy petitioning for means to enable them to take advantage of new openings in their various districts.

The natives set an example to the colonists in the way in which they offered of their means, but locusts, drought, caterpillar, and blight had carried away nearly all they had depended upon for their support [30].

Following this came the rinderpest in 1897, which carried off nearly all the cattle in some districts—a terrible calamity, but not an unmixed evil, as the possession of great numbers of cattle was as a rule conducive to idleness, and the men had now to go off in all directions to earn money to provide for their families [31].

Already the influence of the labour market, especially in the mining centres of Kimberley and the Transvaal, and the status given to the natives in the Colony by the Glen Grey Land Act, had been much felt, and Kaffir life was being entirely revolutionised. The Glen Grey Land Bill was passed in order to secure the natives, chiefly in the Glen Grey district (over 2,000 square miles in area), in their existing holdings, and as it carried with it a large amount of self-government the heathen saw that they could not do without the Missionaries and Mission stations, and that the time had now come when Kaffirdom was doomed, and they must all become Christians. But they invariably said that they were "waiting for the call from within them to become Christians" [32].

The call came to some in the Bolotwa district during the drought of 1895, when the headman of the people came to the Missionary saying that all the heathen or red* Kaffirs had met together and had come to the conclusion that they had neglected their duty towards God, and they desired the Missionary to appoint a day for them to come to the church to pray for rain. On the following Sunday crowds pressed into and around the church, the hearts of many were changed, and "siyagqoboka—we are becoming converted," was frequently heard at the conclusion of service. Three days later came a glorious rain, and singular to say it did not reach a group of Kaffirs who, not

* So called on account of the red ochre which they use to smear over their bodies.

far away, had been trusting to their witch doctor and heathen dances [33]

The event had a great effect on the surrounding heathen, and numbers were drawn to the Church, but their beloved "Umfundisi," the Rev. M. A. Maggs, was not permitted to see its consummation, being removed by death — the result of a carriage accident — on January 9, 1896. When he went to Bolotwa in 1889 the Mission was practically dead; he left it in a state of efficiency, and natives and Europeans testified to the loss to the Church in the district in which he laboured so well.

The death of another Missionary deserves special notice, that of the Rev. J. W. Gawler, a grandson of the notorious Kaffir prophet, Makana. His own Kaffir name was Galada, but he took the surname of his godfather, Colonel Gawler, of the 73rd Regiment. Mr. Gawler, who was ordained deacon in 1885 and priest in 1898, and had attained the position of an honorary Missionary of the Society, died at Cradock of pneumonia on September 8, 1899 [34].

The Native Clergy, though as yet few, are "men of sterling character," while the English Missionaries are remarkable for the simplicity of their lives and their whole-hearted devotion to their work. The diocese (some 75,000 square miles in area) is larger than England and Wales. The work among the natives may be classed under three heads:—

(*A*) *Mission Stations in native districts under English Clergy supported entirely by the Society:—*

(1) St. Matthew's, Keiskama Hoek.—This is one of the oldest and most vigorous Missions in the diocese. The centre of a large district with many outstations, it has a firm hold upon the native population, and work of an aggressive character is being done among the heathen around [35].

The famous industrial institution has made itself so highly valued that in 1895 a firm of merchants made it practically a gift of £700. Owing to a change of policy on the part of the Government the industrial work had to be reduced in 1896, but the progress in spiritual things in that year was unprecedented, there being more converts from heathenism, more candidates for confirmation, larger congregations, and more openings for new work among the heathen than during any previous year. Bad times and bad seasons did not stop the work of converting the heathen, and the congregation increased so rapidly that in 1898 the shepherding of believers alone would have more than absorbed the energies of the Missionaries, apart from the actual preaching and work among the heathen red Kaffirs.

It is an inspiring sight to see the crowds that attend the central church. On the Day of Humiliation and Prayer appointed by the Government in 1896 (October 15) more than 2,000 people (Christian and heathen) were present, and the service was held under the trees of the adjoining avenue. In receiving the offerings of the people at the outstations, it is the custom for the missionary to sit at a table and for each man to bring up his offering ("if portable"), and if he

likes (which he generally does) to make a speech thereupon. As a rule the women send up their contributions by a man, though occasionally one of them will even make a short oration, but this is not often done, as "Kaffirs will allow no superiority to the women in anything whatever" [36]. One step towards placing women on an equality with men has been the establishment (in 1896–7) of a Normal School at St. Matthew's for training native female teachers.* Such an institution the Government had called upon the Church to provide, and under the scheme adopted the teachers will all be baptized and receive Church teaching and be sent forth to every part of the country; the Church native Mission schools being thus provided with qualified teachers receiving Government aid. The influence of such an institution upon Mission work in the diocese is incalculable. Up to this time the Church had been unable to train the teachers which were required, and the proportion under Church influence and training in comparison with those under Nonconformists was small [37].

(2) St. Luke's, Newlands.—This Mission is suffering somewhat from the fact that the native population is being drawn from the country districts into East London.

(3) Missions in the Glen Grey District, viz. St. John the Baptist's, Bolotwa [p. 304*a*], St. Peter's on Indwe, and St. Andrew's, Lady Frere.—In this district, where the Government is trying to solve the problem of how best to make provision for the native races and keep them on the soil [see p. 304*a*], vigorous work is being done from the three Mission stations. In 1897–9 the Society made provision for the erection of churches at Lady Frere (the seat of government), for the English and natives, as well as for native schools in the reserve, and consequently "we have the almost unique instance of a Church which serves equally for the white and coloured population" [38].

(4) St. Michael's, Herschel.—"The little one has become a thousand" is, in brief, the story of the Herschel Mission. At its beginning, in 1878, the Church had no work in the district, the first Christmas services were held under the trees, and there was not one communicant other than the Mission staff. In 1896 there were hundreds, some walking from five to fifteen miles to Holy Communion, and during this period there had been over a thousand baptisms. In no other Mission in the diocese was there such a mixture of races —Fingoes, Kaffirs, Basutos, half-castes, and English. Services have to be conducted in four languages, but as the congregations are separate, and for the most part at different stations, there is little or no jealousy between the races. Although rinderpest had robbed the people of their riches and drought of their food, the local offerings in 1898 were greater than in any previous year.

In migrating to the goldfields the people invariably come to the Missionary for letters of commendation to a clergyman, and some of them after their removal have been known to meet on Sundays for service under the guidance of one of the older men.

The Rev. S. W. Cox, who was instrumental in planting the Mission

* To this the Society contributed from the Marriott bequest £2,000 for buildings and £2,000 for endowment. There is also a boys' department [*see* p. 785*a*].

and bringing it to this encouraging condition, was in 1898 transferred to another district, but he has recently returned for a time to relieve the Rev. J. H. Bone, who suffered much from the privations due to his isolation during the Boer occupation [39].

(*B*) *Missions to natives in the large centres of population under English or native Clergy, supported either by the Society or the Diocesan Native Ministry Fund, viz.:*

(1) St. Philip's, Grahamstown; (2) St. Stephen's, Port Elizabeth; (3) St. James', Peddie; (4) St. Peter's, Cradock; (5) St. John's, East London; (6) Holy Trinity, Fort Beaufort; (7) St. Chad, King Williamstown; (8) St. Barnabas, Port Alfred; (9) St. James', Graaff-Reinet. The first four of these are under the superintendence of English and the others under that of native Clergy.

Grahamstown is a strong, vigorous centre. St. Philip's includes Fingoes, Hottentots, and half-castes, and the branch stations extend to great distances. The Missions throughout the diocese are deeply indebted to the unwearied zeal of the Rev. W. H. Turpin, who, in addition to his labours at St. Philip's, undertakes for the Bishop the general supervision of Mission-work.

The Kaffir Institution at Grahamstown, under the superintendence of Canon Mullins, is continuing the good and useful work which for a long period of years it has done for the natives in the diocese. Most, if not all, of the native Clergy received their training there.

That the other Missions in this division are so flourishing is due, in a great measure, to the native Clergy, whose work is described as "very good" or "excellent"; *e.g.* "Port Alfred is quite an ideal Mission station," while of Fort Beaufort Native Mission the English clergyman there in 1896 said, "the religious life of the members appears to me a *distinct reality*, and in some ways even more so than among the white people of this parish." At Port Elizabeth the sympathy of the English population has been enlisted in the Mission, which includes the coloured Dutch-speaking people.

(*C*) *Missions to natives in smaller centres under the charge of the parish priest, assisted by native catechists and readers.*

Active work of this nature is being carried on in more than twenty parishes [40].

During the five years, 1895-1900, the Society has contributed towards the support of a Mission among the railway employés in the diocese, an extensive work ably organised and superintended by the Rev. Douglas Ellison [41].

By two events which took place at Grahamstown in 1893 the Church in South Africa realised long-cherished wishes—the dedication (on All Saints' Day) of the chancel and sanctuary of the Cathedral, then described as "the noblest * ecclesiastical edifice in the Colony,"

* The nave or central portion, opened as a church in 1828, was, in December 1834, converted into a temporary military store and a place of refuge for women and children. The tower and spire, the foundation-stone of which was laid in 1860 by the late Duke of Edinburgh, was designed by the late Sir Gilbert Scott, and the chancel was designed by Mr. J. O. Scott, his son.

and the consecration (on November 5) of Dr. W. Smyth as the first Bishop of Lebombo [42].

The resignation of Bishop Webb in 1898 was a loss to the diocese which it is hard to estimate. He was succeeded by the Rev. Canon Cornish, who was consecrated in Capetown Cathedral on St. James' Day, 1899 [43].

In reviewing his ministrations to the native congregations, Bishop Cornish has been chiefly impressed by their "intense reverence and devotion," and he regards the outlook for the future as very hopeful.

During the troubled years of 1899-1900—a period of drought, pestilence, locusts, war, and famine—the Clergy remained at their posts, ministering to their flocks in spite of the Boer invasion. At one time the whole of the north-eastern corner of the diocese was in the hands of the Boers, including the important Missions at Herschel, Indwe St. Peter's, and Lady Frere, and the Clergy east of the Keiskamma River and Winterberg Mountains were cut off from Grahamstown for all practical purposes, the railway from Rossmead Junction to Sterkstroom being closed. The war and the enormous expense in which the loyalists were involved in supporting the refugees greatly hampered the Church. The Christian Kaffirs, as a body, "proved themselves to be far more loyal than many of Her Majesty's white subjects" [44].

The Society's Bicentenary was observed with much enthusiasm in the diocese, six Bishops taking part in the opening services and meeting in Grahamstown on August 24, 1900 [45].

The occasion of the gathering of the Bishops at Grahamstown was a special (Episcopal) Synod of the Province of South Africa, which had been called to consider the question of admitting the Ethiopian body into the Church. The Ethiopian movement is a remarkable one, and has gained a great hold upon the natives in South Africa. The members believe that they are descendants of the Ethiopians, and that they have gradually worked their way through the continent to the south. They hold that many unfulfilled prophecies* in the Old Testament refer to them and their final reception as a people into the Church of Christ. The leader of the movement is James Mata Dwane, the son of a sub-chief of the Amatinde tribe of Kaffirs, which is settled near King Williamstown. He was born about 1850, and, after training at the Wesleyan College at Heald Town, became a Wesleyan minister in Cape Colony. About 1896 he left the Wesleyans, and with a number of followers, drawn mainly from Wesleyan and Presbyterian native congregations, set up an organisation with the title of the "Ethiopian Church." The movement was regarded as representing the principle of revolt against the tendency to denationalise native converts, and as an attempt by natives to manage and educate the natives themselves.

Desirous of securing for themselves a Scriptural ministry, with valid orders, Dwane went to America to obtain affiliation with the Methodist Episcopal Church there, and was appointed a presiding

* *e.g.* Ps. lxviii. 31: "The Morian's Land (*i.e.* Ethiopia) shall soon stretch out her hands unto God." (*See also* Ps. lxxxvii. 4; Isaiah xlv. 14; Acts viii. 27.)

Elder to rule the Ethiopian body in South Africa, and ordained by the negro "Bishop" Turner as a "Vicar Bishop," and on his return to Africa he himself ordained ministers.

About 1899 Dwane became uneasy about his ecclesiastical position, and, as he was living in Queenstown, he put himself into communication with the Rev. Julius Gordon of that place. He realised now that he was not a Bishop at all, but only a layman, and out of communion with the Church. He sought instruction, and asked that the Church of the Province of South Africa should receive him and his followers, and should give them some kind of corporate entity within its fold. They desired to have their own synods and legislative powers under the Church's protection and regulations. Conferences and interviews followed, and finally, on August 25, 1900, the Episcopal* Synod adopted a scheme for forming the Ethiopians into an order—to be called "the Order of Ethiopia"—within the Church, which shall in each diocese be under the direct control of the Bishop of the diocese.

An agreement to that effect was signed by both parties, and on Sunday, August 26, a service was held in Grahamstown Cathedral, at which Mr. Dwane, after making the baptismal vows and a vow of renunciation of past errors, was formally admitted by the Archbishop of Capetown, in the presence of the Bishops and of his followers and of a large congregation, into the fellowship of the Church. He was then confirmed by the Archbishop on the presentation of the Bishop of Grahamstown, in whose diocese he was living, and, after making a promise of canonical obedience and of conformity to the constitution and regulations of the Province and the several dioceses in which he should work, was admitted Provincial of the new Order of Ethiopia. The service ended with the *Te Deum*. The "Ethiopians" all left quite happy and satisfied with their ecclesiastical position.

On the following morning Mr. Dwane received his first communion (in Bishopsbourne Chapel, at the hands of the Archbishop), and later on was licensed as reader by the Bishop of Grahamstown, by whom he was ordained deacon on December 23, 1900.

It remains now for each Bishop in whose diocese the "Ethiopians" are to deal separately with them—instructing and preparing for confirmation† first the elders and office bearers, and then the adult members, and after that preparing the elders and deacons for ordination. The scheme—some of the provisions of which will need the confirmation of the Provincial Synod—provides for no reception of the members of the Ethiopian community in the mass, but only of the individuals as they shall give proof of real conviction and apprehension of truth.

It is a remarkable fact that this large body of natives with their leaders should have borne patiently and hopefully twelve months' waiting, and that Dwane and his elders should have been content, after a ministry of many years, to be put back into the position of laymen.

* The Bishops of St. John's, Zululand, and St. Helena were unable to attend, but the first-named had been impressed by personal interviews with Mr. Dwane.

† Baptism appears to have been rightly administered.

Before the Boer war in 1899 Dwane claimed to have 10,000 adherents. They were living principally in the Diocese of Grahamstown, some being also in the Dioceses of Capetown and St. John's, and in the Transvaal [46]. In October 1900 the Bishop of Grahamstown, in whose diocese the "Ethiopians" have seventy-four centres, secured the help of the Rev. A. Kettle, of St. John's Diocese, in instructing, selecting and preparing candidates for confirmation and for the diaconate, but Mr. Kettle, while thus engaged, contracted dysentery and died on November 27, 1900 [47].

The Society has expressed its sympathy with the movement, and is being looked to for the necessary help in dealing with it* [48].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 882.)

* £1,500 was voted by the Society for this purpose in May 1901. [*See also* footnote on p. 296*c*.]

CHAPTER XXXIX.

CAPE COLONY—KAFFRARIA.

KAFFRARIA, as now generally understood, comprises the North-Eastern portion of the Cape Colony (with Pondoland), extending northwards from the River Kei to Natal, and eastwards from Basutoland to the Indian Ocean. The country was formerly known as "Independent Kaffraria"; but the whole of it is now subject to Colonial rule. The annexed territories are thus grouped: (1) GRIQUALAND EAST; (2) TEMBULAND, comprising Tembuland proper, Bomvanaland, Emigrant Tembuland, and East and West Pondoland; (3) TRANSKEI, comprising Fingoland, the Idutywa Reserve, and Gcalekaland; (4) ST. JOHN'S TERRITORY.

Griqualand East was with other unoccupied parts of "Nomansland" ceded to England by Faku, Chief of the Amapondo tribe, in 1862, but it was not actually incorporated with the Cape Colony until 1880. The Griquas are a mixed race—the descendants of Boers and their Hottentot slaves. Early in the nineteenth century they migrated from the Cape and settled along the right bank of the Orange and Vaal rivers. After the cession of 1862 Griqualand East was allotted to one branch of the family under Adam Kok and to some Basutos.

The annexation of Fingoland and the Idutywa Reserve and Nomansland to the Cape Colony was authorised in 1876 and completed in 1879. The Tembus of Tembuland proper gave themselves over to the British Government in 1875–6, as also did the Bomvanas in 1878. In the meantime (1877) the hostility of the Chief Kreli had lost him his country, viz. Gcalekaland, which, with Tembuland, Emigrant Tembuland, and Bomvanaland, were formally proclaimed British territory in 1881 and annexed to the Cape Colony in 1885 when Kreli was at his own request located in Bomvanaland. The Amatshezi, who had been

living in practical independence in Lower Tembuland under their Chief Pali, submitted to Colonial rule in 1886. In the same year the Xesibe country ("Mount Ayliff")—which had long been administered as a dependency of Griqualand East—and in 1887 the Bode Valley (Pondoland) were annexed to the colony. A breach of treaty arrangements by Umqikela, formerly the paramount Chief of the Pondos, led in 1878 to a restriction of his rule to East Pondoland, the placing of West Pondoland under another Chief, and the British acquisition of the port and estuary of St. John's River, which district was formally annexed to the colony in 1884, and in 1894 the whole of Pondoland was annexed.

Taken altogether, Kaffraria is a huge native reserve, 36,000 square miles in area, and containing a population of from six to seven hundred thousand, the majority being of Bantu race, which term includes Kaffirs, Fingoes, Zulus, and Basutos. The Kaffir tribes proper embrace Gaikas, Gealekas, Tembus, Pondos (the Pondos number 120,000), Pondomisi, Bacas, Xesibes, and others, all speaking, in one form or another, Xosa Kaffir, which may be taken to be the (native) language of the country except in some parts in the north, where Zulu and Sesuto are used—the latter by the Basutos. The Kaffirs are a fine race, averaging from 5 ft. 9 in. to 6 ft. in height. Differing widely from the Negro races as well as from the Hottentots, by some they are thought to be descended from the ancient Ishmaelites. Many of their customs, such as circumcision and purification, resemble those of which we read in the Old Testament; and their reverence for the Chiefs, their vast possessions of cattle, and their pastoral life, all recall the ancient story of the patriarchs. Eloquent in speech,* logical in reasoning, patient in argument, they are much given to metaphysical speculations, and are capable of long, silent, self-communing reflections on Nature and the powers above Nature, their own being and the Source of all beings. They believe in spirits, good and evil, and regard the former, "the Amadhlozi," as ministers of Providence, whose favour they seek to obtain by the sacrifice of animals. But after all they are but as "children crying for the light," "feeling after God, if haply they may find Him." Like other heathen, the Kaffirs are enslaved by cruel superstitions. Their principal religious rites—if so they may be called—are connected with a system of diabolical witchcraft, which ministers to the cupidity and cruelty of unprincipled Chiefs and others. Their priests, or witch doctors—who are set apart after a regular initiation and trial—are supposed to possess a peculiar power of detecting or "smelling out" witchcraft. In cases of sickness, or of persons prompted by jealousy, dislike, or covetousness, a bribe to the doctor would secure the conviction of some innocent person, who after formal condemnation would be put to death with the most horrible tortures. One of the most beneficent results of British domination has been the stopping of this practice. In domestic life the Kaffirs are affectionate to their children and generous to their neighbours; but polygamy destroys the sanctity of home life and degrades woman, imposing upon her the severest labour of agriculture, and destroying her self-respect. Since the Kaffirs have come under English rule the feeling "that a man gained to Christianity is lost to the tribe" (the "tribal feeling") has been waning, and polygamy now remains the chief hindrance to their evangelisation.

THE pioneer of the Church of England in Kaffraria was Bishop Gray of Capetown. In 1848 he interviewed the great Chief Kreli [*see* p. 276], and in the next year, through the efforts of the Government Resident in "Fakeer" [? Faku's] "Territory," several tribes "pledged themselves to contribute for the establishment of Missions in their countries." The Bishop, who was invited to take advantage of these openings [1], passed through Kaffraria in July 1850 on returning from Natal during his great visitation tour of that year. [*See* p. 281.] Several of the Wesleyan stations were visited by him, and at two of them—Palmerston and Butterworth—by request of the Missionaries he addressed the congregations.† The services there "consisted of a portion of the Liturgy translated into Kaffir, and used in all the Wesleyan Missions, singing, and a sermon." At Butterworth, where his hearers numbered 500 (about 100 Christians), the Bishop wrote:—

"This is the second time during this journey that I have undertaken to preach

* *See* specimens furnished by Bishop Gray in *Missions to the Heathen*, No. 32, pp. 28–33, and described by him as "very striking and almost classical," reminding one of the "harangues of Grecian heroes of old."

† The Bishop also held a service for the few English living in the neighbourhood of Butterworth, and had a congregation of "about twenty."

to the heathen. I was thankful for the opportunity of doing so, however imperfectly; but I was so circumstanced each time that I could not well have avoided it. The people soon understood that a 'Great Teacher' had come amongst them, and they would not have been easy or satisfied had I not addressed them. The Sunday School consisted of about 100 children. The basis of instruction is the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and Commandments; but a Catechism is also used, translated by the Missionaries. The sight to-day has been a most interesting one. The whole people of this land are ready, at least, to hear the Gospel; they are willing to attend Christian assemblies, and schools; to read our books, to be taught by us. The field is white already unto the harvest but the labourers are few; so far as the Church is concerned, alas! they are none. It is most distressing to think how unfaithful we have been, and are, to our trust, 'Thy kingdom come.'"

Both the Wesleyan Missionaries (Messrs. Jenkins and Gladwin) expressed a great desire to see a Church Mission founded in the country, the latter saying "it was a disgrace and reproach to the Church of England that it had so long delayed to enter upon the work, and that 100 more Missionaries, at the least, were required in this land." The Bishop replied that he "felt the reproach keenly" and that he "purposed going to England to raise the necessary means, and select the men for the work" [2].

The necessary funds having been provided (by the Government and the Society) [*see* p. 299], the Rev. H. T. WATERS, "one of the most zealous and devoted clergymen in South Africa," cheerfully gave up his country parish*(Southwell) in 1855 in order to undertake the planting of a Mission in what was then "the most important . . . the most remote and by far the most populous" district of Kaffraria. This was the territory of Kreli, "the Chief of all the Kaffirs," who had under him 90,000 people scattered over a country about the size of Yorkshire, in which there was then "no Mission whatever."

Notwithstanding all the arrangements that had been made by the Bishop of Grahamstown with Kreli for the reception of the Mission [*see* p. 299], a great native council was held on Mr. Waters' arrival, when he was asked "why he had come; what he meant to teach; what made Christians come out there; why they could not leave them alone, and many other such questions—a noble opportunity for preaching the Gospel." The result of the meeting was that he was allowed to remain.

Aided by a catechist (Mr. R. J. Mullins), a schoolmistress (Miss Gray), and an agriculturist, Mr. Waters formed a central station (St. Mark's) on Kreli's side of the White Kei River, from which an extension was made to the Tambookies on the Colonial side, who were placed under Mr. Mullins, and schools were being opened "in all directions" and services well attended when in 1856–7 a wave of fanaticism swept over the land, leaving in its train death and desolation [3].

This originated from a man named Umhlakaza relating the dreams of a girl (called Nonganli) who professed "to hear the voices of dead chiefs commanding the Kaffirs to kill all their cattle, destroy their stores of corn, and not cultivate their gardens," and promising that when all this was accomplished their forefathers would come to life and all that they had parted with in faith would be restored to them tenfold by a kind of resurrection,† while the English would be ingulfed

* In Cape Colony [*see* p. 297].

† The Chief Sandili said he did not like this doctrine, because if his elder brother came to life he himself would "be nobody," and his favourite wife, who had been a widow, might be claimed.

in the sea. In spite of all that Mr. Waters could do, the command was literally obeyed. Such action was probably "without any precedent in the history of a nation," and it was of course followed by a dreadful famine.

"The country is now nearly empty, literally" (wrote Mr. Waters in 1858). "All things are changed, everything dead; dogs crawling about mere skeletons, others being picked by vultures. . . . The people, giving heed to seducing spirits, killed all their cattle, and destroyed all their corn, and they themselves had become servants to the Europeans in the adjoining colony. The chief himself (Kreli) is wandering in desert places, picking up a precarious living. . . . How changed the kraal! The dancings and shoutings, the cattle and crowds of people, all gone! My noble school of captains and counsellors, the work over which I have toiled in sickness and in health, but always in hope! May my prayer return into mine own bosom!"

During the progress of the delusion European traders left the country, but Mr. Waters—who, in the words of Bishop Gray, occupied at this time "undoubtedly the most difficult and trying post of any servant of Christ in South Africa"—having removed his sick wife and his children, remained at his station, believing that his person would be respected, but expecting his property to be destroyed. By so doing he was enabled with private aid and Government bounty "to relieve 6,000 souls, who else had starved with thousands more in these lonely mountains" [4].

The labours of Mr. Waters, who had obtained an "extraordinary" "moral influence" over the Kaffirs, were rewarded by an early revival of the Mission, which as Sir G. Grey observed in 1858 was "by far the most decided movement in the direction of Christianity" that had "yet taken place in Kaffraria," the Bishop of Grahamstown adding "we might have laboured for many years (instead of two or three) without such results" [5].

In August 1860 H.R.H. Prince Alfred (with Sir G. Grey) witnessed the progress that had been made, and received from the Amaxosa an address expressing their appreciation of what was being done for them. There were now 800 natives on the station, of whom 320 Kaffirs and 40 Hottentots had been baptized. Seventeen more of the latter race were admitted to baptism by the Bishop of Grahamstown in September 1860, when also 88 Kaffirs were confirmed. The people regularly attended services daily, and the system of supplementing religious instruction by industrial training was bearing good fruit [6].

Before another two years had passed there were 1,300 natives living on the station, "all of whom had in some degree renounced their former evil life," and had consented to live according to the Christian rules laid down for their government by Mr. Waters, who could now report: "For the past four years, not a trace of stolen colonial property has been found on this Station, although this part of the country, five years ago, was a refuge for thieves and vagabonds from every tribe in Kafirland." Drunkenness was "not known on the station," and the attendance at daily prayers had become so crowded that it was necessary to divide the congregation and hold two services. The number of inquirers had also so increased that (said Mr. Waters) "I might do little else than sit in my verandah all day, talking of the things which pertain to the kingdom of God, as *there are always* people looking out for a conversation with me" [7].

The Kaffirs had a great idea that the Missionary was an "especial guardian to women." At a visit to the Chief Fubu's kraal in 1860 (made with a view to establishing a Mission there) Mr. Waters heard several conversations on the subject, one man saying, "Now the Missionary is coming, we must not beat our wives with sticks!" "Well, well," said another, "what shall we do now, if our wives will not bring wood? Truly our wives will have all their own way if we may scold only, for they will not hear." The news of the new marriage law, by which a man might be imprisoned six months for beating his wife, was "received with roars of unbelieving laughter." Not long after this a native female doctor who had been accused of poisoning a patient fled to Mr. Waters for protection. Her accusers intended to murder her in Kaffir fashion, viz. "by burning her with heated stones, or by pegging her down upon an ant hill . . . and leaving her there to be stung to death." The poor woman prayed the Missionary that if he could not save her altogether he would give orders that she should be put to death by Hottentots, who she believed would do so in a more merciful manner than the Kaffirs. In this and in many other instances St. Mark's proved itself a true city of refuge [8]. By 1865 the station had become a kind of English village in the centre of a large native population, to large numbers of whom English capital was affording employment. The Christians generally were "consistent" in their lives, and good work was being done among their sisters by four native deaconesses, whose duties were to look after and report the sick and needy, pray and exhort, and promote the sending of children to school [9].

By adopting Christianity "numbers of girls" suffered "great persecution." "Many are threatened with death," and "most unmerciful scourgings . . . are very common," Mr. Waters reported in 1869. Since the beginning of the Mission over 800 natives had been baptized by him, and though they had become scattered for the most part over Kaffirland, and to the superficial observer lost in the surrounding mass of heathenism, in reality they with hundreds from other Mission Stations were helping to leaven the whole lump. "The difference in manners, costume, and conversation of the natives who have lived on Mission Stations, compared with those who have not, is" (said Mr. Waters) "forced upon the observation of all who come in contact with both" [10].

Soon after its establishment St. Mark's began to throw out branches on both sides of the River Kei, but the first most important extension in Kaffraria took place in 1859, when Mr. J. Gordon was detached to form the new centre of All Saints, on the Inyanga or Moon River (a tributary of the Bashee) in Fubu's country [11].

Within two years he had gathered a congregation of about 200 [12], and in 1868 he reported that his daily services at sunrise and sunset were attended by ninety persons, and the Sunday totals averaged 900. Schools for children and adults had been organised, and services were being carried on at nine out-stations, by the aid of two paid and eight unpaid catechists. The cultivation of wheat and the planting of fruit trees had been introduced, and the natives had contributed handsomely to the erection of their places of worship [13]. An instance of this which occurred in 1865 admirably illustrates the

wisdom of the Society's policy in requiring the native converts to build and repair their own churches. The Mission Chapel at All Saints' being "nearly in ruins," Mr. Gordon, finding he could obtain no help from outside, laid the matter before his flock, with the result that every one—men and women—set to work willingly; and on November 20 a new building was opened, the Chief Dalisli and his counsellors being present. The materials and labour thus voluntarily given were worth £80. Only five years before, many of the contributors "were living in darkness and heathenism" [14].

In 1861 the Society decided to establish another new Mission in Kaffraria, but suitable agents were not forthcoming until 1864, when Mr. B. Key and Mr. D. Dodd, of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, left England, and after ordination at Grahamstown and preparation at All Saints', opened work in 1865 among the Pondomisi under Umditshwa, who had been driven by the Tambookies into a corner of his land on the banks of the Tsitsa [15].

The Missionaries brought with them from Canterbury two African students of the College, and the new station, situated near the junction of the rivers Inxu and Tsitsa, was appropriately named St. Augustine's [16].

At this time the Pondomisi "were in as wild a state as any tribe in the interior of the continent," and until the taking over of the country by the Government the progress of the Mission was "merely nominal . . . little more than gaining the confidence and in some cases the affection of the people." On one occasion, while Mr. Key was absent, his wife's courage was sorely tested in protecting a refugee who was pursued by his tribe headed by their Chief, who "demanded him to be given up that they might put him to death on a charge of bewitching them."

"'The chief had fallen from his horse some time back;' then 'their men could not fight,' they said, 'because he had collected dust from different tribes and mixed it with some kind of grass and herbs, and strewed it about, so that when the warriors came they were unable to use their weapons,'—and a great deal more of such silly stuff. However, the gallant little woman kept her suppliant in safety, and told him she would even hide him under the boards of her house, if they used violence. They did not, however, go away till her husband returned. All honour to her for her womanly and Christian courage! Even now" (added Archdeacon Merriman while visiting the station in 1871) "another refugee has fled here from a similar kind of persecution. He is accused of bewitching some great man, who, I suppose, covets his cattle, and they threaten to kill him. But happily in this case his own chief, Umditchwa, a heathen man, has recommended him to fly to the Mission Station (which is in Umditchwa's own territory), as he fears, though chief of the tribe, he will not be otherwise able to protect him. The poor fellow has a most anxious and careworn countenance—I suppose owing to past fright, for he knows, at all events, that here he will be safe. A great token this of the beneficent influence of Christianity even towards the heathen around."

More than three years passed before one adult was baptized, and by 1872 not more than 20 could be reckoned. During these three years war and famine so impoverished the people that many migrated, and had not Mr. Key remained the tribe would have been quite broken up, and numbers of sick and wounded left uncared for instead of coming under the influence of the Mission. About this time an out-station—St. Paul's—was opened 12 miles on the road to Umtata, and services were begun for the English settlers in the Umtata district. The

passing of the country under British protection in 1873 attracted Fingoes, mostly Christians, from St. Mark's district, and led to the formation of out-stations at Mbokotwana and Umjika; but though the new comers were, on the whole, orderly and peace-loving, the next seven years were full of squabbles between them and the Pondomisi [17]. Unfortunately the Pondomisi rebellion broke out at a time (1880) when Mr. Key, "the one man . . . who might have stopped it," was in England. The chief events in it were the murder of Mr. Hope, the British magistrate, by Umhlonhlo (the paramount Chief of the Eastern Pondomisi), the rescue of the Rev. R. Stewart and some thirty other whites—after being in refuge a week in Tsolo Gaol—by the Pondos headed by a Wesleyan Missionary, the loyalty of the native Christians and the massacre (on All Saints' Day, 1880) of five* of their number at Mbokotwana, the destruction of the Mission buildings—the church alone escaping at St. Augustine's—the ravaging of the country, the scattering of the people, the surrender and imprisonment of Umditshwa, and the flight of Umhlonhlo, who became an outlaw. As a result of the war the face of the country became "entirely changed"; the Pondomisi lost much of their land, which was allotted to Fingoes and Tembus; St. Paul's ceased to exist as a Mission Station, St. Augustine's became an out-station, and the headquarters of the Mission were removed to the Ncolosi stream, and became known as St. Cuthbert's, after the new church opened on September 7, 1884. Under Archdeacon Gibson, the Mission has obtained considerable influence. On Umditshwa's release, being no longer recognised as Chief, he brought five of his boys to the Missionary, and said: "They are not my sons any longer; they are your sons now. Take them and do whatever you like with them. Teach them all you know yourself. If they are troublesome beat them. They are your sons now." These "red Kaffir lads, all aged about fourteen, all quite wild, uncivilized, and heathen," the Missionary has done his best to educate and Christianise. In 1886 Umditshwa died, and Mtshazi, his son and heir, fearing witchcraft, left school and fled to Gcalekaland, Archdeacon Gibson being in England at the time; but he came back on the Archdeacon's return in 1887, and, with the sanction of the Pondomisi chiefs, was in 1890 placed at a school in England [18].

After sharing Mr. Key's labours four years the Rev. D. Dodd left St. Augustine's in 1868 to open the new station of St. Alban among the Tambookies on the Egosa. Living himself in "a miserable Kafir hut," he not only provided the funds, but chiefly with his own hands erected, what was described in 1869 as "the neatest chapel out of Grahamstown" [19]. His devoted labours were shared by his wife until her continued ill health forced both to remove in 1874 [20].

While the Missions were being extended in Southern Kaffraria, an offshoot of the Springvale Mission in Natal was in 1871 planted at Clydesdale in the Northern District—that is, Griqualand East. At that time Clydesdale was under the government of Captain Kok, who had migrated from across the Drakensburg with his Griquas from Phillipolis. The country was wild and sparsely populated, there being besides Kok's Griquas a few white men and Kaffirs. The

* Three of these were Mission agents (Fingoes), viz:—Klas Lutseka, Joshua Magengwane, and Daniel Sokombela [18a].

Griquas are half-castes, and are semi-civilised and semi-Christianised. Their religion is of the congregational form. Like the Dutch, they had their Volkraad for regulating the affairs of the State, and their Kirkraad for regulating Church matters. For some years after reaching their new country they had no pastor of their own. But they held services in their families, and they welcomed occasional visits from the Missionaries of other bodies, one of whom was Dr. Callaway, who also acted as their doctor. There being no Mission station in the country, Dr. Callaway, through the generosity of English friends, purchased the farm called Clydesdale, consisting of 4,500 acres, with buildings. The work of opening a Mission there was entrusted in 1871 to the Rev. G. PARKINSON and (on his health failing after about six months) in May 1872 to the Rev. T. BUTTON [21].

Mr. Button may be regarded "almost as the founder of Church work in East Griqualand." "A steady and marked growth and improvement in everything" was soon observed, and the influence of the Mission has extended far and wide in every direction. Captain Kok, at first cold and it may be antagonistic to the Church, became an earnest and hearty supporter of it. The whites, the Griquas, and the natives were ministered to in their own language (the Griquas speak Dutch), and schools were established combined with an industrial institution. Numerous out-stations were gradually formed, some of which—such as Ensikeni, Kokstad (the chief town) and Matatiela—have themselves become important centres. In 1878 Dr. Callaway (then Bishop of St. John's) reported:—

"Clydesdale, although not more than six years old, has attained a position which Springvale did not reach during the eighteen years I was working there . . . it now stands second only to St. Mark's in the diocese."

In 1879 Kokstad was formed into an archdeaconry under Mr. Button, whose zealous labours were continued until 1886, when he was killed by a fall from his horse [22].

Up to 1873 the episcopal supervision of the Church Missions in Kaffraria was performed by the Bishops of Grahamstown, though, strictly speaking, the district was not in their diocese. Shortly before his consecration in 1871 Archdeacon MERRIMAN undertook a ride through Kaffirland to Natal and back, in order to satisfy himself as to the advisableness and practicableness of planting a Bishopric there. His tour convinced him that there was "an urgent call and a hopeful opening" for such a measure. Encouragement in undertaking the journey was contained in the farewell charge of Bishop Cotterill, who expressed a hope that Missions to the heathen would form a link between his old diocese of Grahamstown and Edinburgh, and added: "I should be thankful if that Church in which I shall be a Bishop should be able to plant and maintain a Mission of its own among the Kaffir tribes" [23].

The Scottish Episcopal Church, having been invited by the South African Bishops (December 1871) to co-operate with the Society in the matter, submitted in February 1872 a formal proposal to establish a Board of Missions in Scotland and to send a Bishop and Missionaries to Kaffraria. The Society welcomed the proposal, and consented to place its Missionaries under such a Bishop, provided always he be a member

of the College of Bishops of South Africa. At that time the Society was receiving from Scotland about £500 annually, and an agreement was now (1872) made with the Scottish Church whereby the Society undertook to retain £250 per annum of such contributions for its general purposes and to hold anything in excess at the disposal of the Scottish Board. It was further arranged that the official correspondence of the Bishop and Missionary Conference in Kaffraria should be usually transmitted to the Scottish Board of Missions and then to the Society † [24].

The person selected for the new Bishopric was Dr. Callaway, the Society's veteran Missionary at Springvale in Natal [*see* p. 332], and on All Saints' Day 1873 he was consecrated in *St. Paul's Church*, Edinburgh, as Missionary Bishop for "Independent Kaffraria" [25].

At the first Synod of the diocese (held at Clydesdale in November 1874) the name of the Bishopric was changed to "St. John's," and the Rev. H. T. Waters was made Archdeacon [26]. For carrying on the work at the five main centres with their numerous out-stations there were at this time (in addition to many lay teachers) 5 white clergymen and 4 native deacons. Three‡ of the latter were ordained on Trinity Sunday 1873 at St. Mark's, then a prosperous Mission village with trades of many kinds flourishing around it—"the centre of Christianity and civilization" for some 500 Europeans and 95,000 natives [27].

During the years 1874 and 1877, 600 persons were confirmed, new work was undertaken at Clydesdale, also at Ensikeni (among the Bakcas, Griquas, and Sutos), Emngamo (among the Sutos), Kokstad (Griquas), Weldevrede (Griquas), Kcapani (Bakcas), St. Andrew's on the St. John's River, (Pondos), and Umtata, to which place the headquarters of the Mission were removed from the St. John's River, Pondoland, in 1877. At that time the only building at Umtata was a small cottage, but the town, which owes its creation to Bishop Callaway, is now the most important place in Kaffraria [28]. During the Gcaleka War (in 1877–8) and the Pondomisi Rebellion (in 1880) the Europeans in the neighbourhood and numbers of the Christian natives sought and found protection at Umtata. On the former occasion (in 1877) the Pro-Cathedral —an iron building—was strongly fortified, and although "a few professing Christians" joined the rebel party, "a hundred to one" were "loyal" and not a few "died fighting for the Queen." Such was the testimony of Archdeacon Waters, whose own centre (St. Mark's) was fortified by the Government in the Pondomisi War, when "many Mission stations were destroyed, and numerous native Christians murdered" [29].

The cause of the "native uprising against the white man" was dealt with by Bishop Callaway in his charge to the Diocesan Synod in 1879 in so able a manner as to cause Sir Bartle Frere (the Colonial Governor) to commend the document to the "special attention" of the Home Government, to whom Bishop Callaway was described as "an educated English clergyman who has been labouring exclusively in the possessions of independent or semi-independent native chiefs for so many years that he has become as well if not better acquainted

† This arrangement, from which the Society suffered financially, was formally terminated in February 1900, when the Central Foreign Mission Board of the Scottish Episcopal Church removed the restrictions on the Society in Scotland and left the Society as free as any other English Society to raise funds there—it being understood that all former agreements or obligations were at an end [24*a*]

‡ Stephen Adonis, Jonas Ntsiko, and Peter Maniza.

with the Kafir language and habits of thought than probably any Englishman of similar education and habit." In the charge (which was printed by Government) the Bishop said that the white man, "considering the provocation" to which he was "continually subjected from the ignorance, idleness, unthriftiness, dishonesty, and unreliability of the coloured people," had been "singularly patient and forbearing" with them. "But the civilised man and the savage" had "come into contact on *equal ground*," and the natives had discovered that "the superior man" was "gradually dispossessing them." Old things were passing away and a new order of things arising, and though the change was infinitely for the good of the savage, he did not recognise it, but, on the contrary, hated and resisted it. Therein lay "the secret of the . . . wide-spread disaffection, more or less consciously felt and acted upon by the native races." The "meaning of this fact" was that during the whole time the English had lived in the presence of the natives of South Africa they had failed to impress them with "a love of our social habits, of our mode of government, or of our religion." And this was largely attributable not only to "the incongruity between the old notions and the new ideas," but also

"to the dress in which the new ideas have been clothed; to the mode in which they have been presented; to the surroundings with which they have been accompanied, in the general bearing and character, and in some instances in the positive immorality of the white man. . . . Think you not" (continued the speaker) "that if the white men, all of whom of all kinds are regarded as one by the natives, remembered their own high calling as Christian men, and tried to live the lives of Christian men in the presence of the natives, an immeasurable amount of good would result? And, if the white man is to be exonerated from the charge of maltreating the coloured man, can we also clear him from the charge of indifference? Can we also free him altogether from the charge of morally corrupting the natives, or of affording them the means of gratifying their natural depravity? If the individual white man would bear in mind that as a Christian he is a priest, and live a priestly life among his coloured brethren, there is nothing to prevent their rapid evangelization. . . . If we look over the past history of mission work in South Africa, must we not confess that we have nothing to boast of in visible results, by which alone men measure, and by which only they can measure success? . . . Do not the results, even to ourselves, appear small compared with the personal exertions which have been made, and the treasure which has been expended? Do we not sometimes feel discouraged, and ask how long? Sometimes feel as though the right hand of the Church had lost its cunning in handling the weapons of the Christian warfare, or fear that Christian truth itself had lost somewhat of the force it possessed in the times of our forefathers? But my conviction is that the success of missions amongst the natives of South Africa has been greater than is supposed, and that it is as great as any reasonable calculation of probabilities would lead us to expect. I have not time now to give the reasons on which this conviction has been founded; but I would address myself to a more practical question, whether we might not work on better and more comprehensive principles than hitherto.

"In the first place I think we have somewhat forgotten a fact of very great import, that whilst we ourselves have inherited the results of centuries of culture and religious influence, these people have inherited the results of centuries of savagedom and superstition. . . . In some instances we may have been discouraged because the simple preaching of the Gospel has not been at once accepted, nor appeared perceptibly to influence the native mind. When in all probability, so far from comprehending the Gospel which we have preached, the ignorant and unprepared native has not even understood the meaning of the terms by which we have expressed what we wish to convey to him.

"The office of a missionary amongst such a people requires an infinite patience, forbearance and tact, which none can possess without special grace sought for and obtained.

"Then, I think, there has arisen from this inability to descend to the state of those we are teaching, with a view of raising them to a higher position, just the opposite defect, though it naturally results from it. We have failed to teach them as they were able to bear it, and have wondered that they remained unaffected; and then lost faith in them altogether, and in their capacity to receive divine truth. . . . We are learning wisdom at last; and it appears to me a cause of great congratulation that the Church has at length awoke to the necessity of raising a native ministry. Our not attending to this at an earlier period exhibits a suspicion of the native capacity and sincerity, and has acted as a prophecy which fulfilled itself; and at the same time has caused the religion we have to teach to appear to the natives an alien system—as *our* religion, not *theirs*. As long as this thought remains justified by our want of faith in the natives, so long as the teachers of Christian truth are white men, so long will Christianity appear to the natives a foreign system,—the religion of a white people, and not the religion of the world. But when they see men of their own colour occupying the prayer-desk and the pulpit, and paying them pastoral visits in their own homes, and speaking to them, in a language thoroughly intelligible to themselves, truths, which require to be understood only that they may be known to be suited for the spirit's needs of all men everywhere, of every colour and clime, then, and not till then, can we reasonably expect a rapid conversion of the native races to Christianity. There has been much real but imperceptible work going on, which has been as a leaven gradually influencing the minds of the people; there may yet be many years of the same kind of imperceptible work for us to carry on, but the day is coming, let us not doubt, when the song of jubilee which the Church is singing for the large influx of redeemed souls in India into the Church of Christ, shall be sung in this Morians' Land, which shall soon stretch out her hands unto our God and their God, unto our Saviour and theirs. Let us not doubt for a moment either that He does give them grace to become Christians, or that He will give them grace to become able ministers of His Gospel amongst their brethren.

"And in this faith I wish to dedicate to God all my remaining power, and bind it to the purpose of raising a native ministry; and for this purpose to establish such an institution at this place as shall ensure for the whole of Kaffraria a more educated class of society, and an efficient Christian ministry. . . .

"I would remind you that the Church has not a mission to the coloured man only: to her belongs the duty of attending to the spiritual and intellectual education of the total population of the country in which she raises the Divine Tabernacle" [30].

Already several Kaffirs had been admitted to the diaconate [*see* pp. 893-6], and on St. John Baptist's Day 1877 Peter Masiza was raised to the priesthood—this being the first instance of a S. African receiving Priest's Orders (in the Anglican Church) [31]. Mr. Masiza, by birth an Umboe or Fingoe, is held in honour by colonists and natives, and to both his ministrations have proved acceptable. By means of the Theological College of St. John [p. 786*a*], the foundation stone of which was laid at Umtata during the Synod meeting in 1879, a hopeful advance has been made in the raising of a native ministry. At the ceremony of laying the stone, whilst Europeans were making their offerings, Gangalizwe, the Tembu Chief, rode up with a regiment of his cavalry and presented £10. Chief after Chief followed his example, and many natives gave cattle and sheep [32].

In response to an unanimous call from the Diocesan Synod the Rev. B. L. Key left his Mission at St. Augustine's in 1883 in order to become Coadjutor-Bishop,* to which office he was consecrated on

* The following testimony of a native clergyman in 1887 will show how well Bishop Key fulfils Archdeacon Merriman's ideal of a Missionary to the Kaffirs [*see* p. 28
"Service being over we left for Kuze and slept here on common mats on the hard and had to use our overcoats as blankets; for our own supper we had to eat the mealies. I was so glad to see the Bishop made himself comfortable. He is qui even with the Native common food, therefore he is the right man in the rig the Native Diocese." [Report of Rev. Peter Masiza [33*a*].]

August 12 by the Bishop of Capetown, assisted by the Bishops of Maritzburg, St. John's, and Zululand. The consecration, which took place in St. James' Church, Umtata (and the evening service) were attended by the Wesleyan Minister and his people, their place of worship being closed for the day. In reporting this to the Society the Metropolitan added:—

"My visit to the diocese has left the happiest impressions on my mind, and I have been rejoiced to see the unity of our people in the diocese, and the wonderful blessing with which God has rewarded the work of our Church under Bishop Callaway's guidance, in spite of the hindrances and losses which the recent wars have inflicted upon it" [33].

The testimony of Bishop Callaway in 1881 showed "that whatever Church work has been established in Kaffraria is the fruit of the assistance given by the Society at the beginning of the several Missions there." And he did not "believe it would have been possible either to begin or carry on Church work in the Diocese without such assistance" [34].

On November 19, 1883, the founder of the Church in Kaffraria, viz. Archdeacon Waters, passed to his rest. For 28 years he never quitted his post, save only for such journeys up and down his district and to the Synods and other meetings in the Province as duty required; and at his death, instead of the solitary Missionary of 1855 with his wife and family living in a wooden hut, there was an organised body of 20 clergymen (his son being among the number), with a Bishop at their head, and schools and churches studded the land "from the Kei eastwards to the very borders of Natal," there being no fewer than 48 out-stations in connection with St. Mark's alone [35].

Failing health having obliged Bishop Callaway to resign the Bishopric in 1886, he then returned to England, where, though struck down by paralysis and blindness, he retained his interest in South Africa to the last, passing peacefully away at Ottery St. Mary on March 29, 1890 [36].

On his resignation his place was taken by his coadjutor, Bishop Key [37], under whose administration the work of the Church is being extended, both among the immigrant natives and Europeans and the heathen tribes already settled in the diocese—particularly in Pondoland [38].

1892–1900.

The expansion of the Church's work during this period has been remarkable. However insufficient the staff has been, circumstances have proved too strong for a policy of concentration only, wise in theory though such a policy may be [39].

In 1897 Bishop Key wrote:—

"The work opens out so rapidly and is demanding on all hands Christian teachers, that we shall not be able to keep pace with what is being required of us; and that among tribes which hitherto have been sunk in barbarism and know nothing of Christian teaching. . . . We have five native priests, and nine deacons, and a large number of catechists and preachers; but we want twice as many for the work we have cut out for us, even in our own diocese; and when we look beyond at the wider fields now opening up, which might fairly say to us, the older dioceses, 'Come over and help us, send us some of your native preachers and priests,' we can but think, and wish, and wonder" [40].

A year later the work was still rapidly increasing, demands were constantly being made for more workers in heathen districts, and in the native Church this increase was all the more apparent from the difficulty of giving the Sacraments to the people. It would be difficult to find a more hard-working band of men than the native priests, still many persons fell sick and died before notice could be given to the clergy and the Sacraments be brought, so wide were the districts of the parochial clergy, and so great was the difficulty of locomotion.* The cry was more and more for native clergy, especially priests, but the greatest care was necessary in advancing natives to the priesthood, lest "there should be false teachers who would bring in destructive heresies"—a danger which ever seems to loom in South Africa, and one from which other Christian bodies were suffering,† though the Anglican Church had hitherto been exempt.

"As I think of the flock (Bishop Key wrote), which I (seem to) know so well, scattered as it is over the thousand hills and valleys of this the land of our inheritance, it seems full of all sorts of potentialities, possibilities of saints, possibilities of grievous wolves, aye, of devilish energies if civilisation spreads—and it is bound to spread—unhallowed by the presence of Christ. So we are very careful; and are trying to develop a well-trained ministry, strong in faith in God, and in love for His Church. And to this end no subject is more before our mind than the College for the training of young men for the ministry" [41].

An account of the College is given on page 786*a*, but it should be recorded here that the native clergy in Kaffraria have proved a body of faithful, efficient, and excellent men. The prominent feature of the great work in the diocese, the Bishop reported in 1894, "is the reliance we are able to place upon our native ministry" [42].

Regarding the work of the Church amongst the native tribes of South Africa, the Bishop, in 1897, recorded many important facts, which are specially applicable to his own diocese. After stating that the work of evangelisation was forty years old among the Xosa, commonly called Kaffir and Zulu, and thirty years among the other great divisions, the Basuto and Bechuana, he wrote :—

"*Obstacles.*—The difficulties which stood in the way of the spread of our teaching were:—

"1. The power of the chiefs, who felt by a sort of instinct, and doubtless a right one, that every convert was a soldier lost to them, a real loss in the old days of incessant intertribal warfare.

"2. The disturbed state of the country caused the early missionaries to begin the system of 'Mission stations' [*see* p. 816*b*].

"3. Polygamy. The hostility of a system so at variance with Christianity is obvious; to it is probably to be attributed the large excess in the number of women who have embraced Christianity.

"*Effect of annexation by British.*—During the last twenty-five years, one by one, all the native districts have passed under British rule. This, while an advantage in some cases, means a distinct loss in others. Much of their old environment, which gave a vigour to their character as a nation, has passed away.

"*Loss.*—(1) The 'pax Britannica' has robbed them of the self-reliance of the men who had to defend their families and cattle with their strong right hand. (2) The freer

* Throughout the diocese there are no railways, and the roads in bad weather almost exclude the use of wheeled carriages.

† Two bodies have come into existence which have broken away from the European Nonconformist Churches. One, the "Tilé" following, will probably be absorbed by the "Ethiopian Church."—*Report of Bishop Key*, 1898. Since then the Ethiopian body has been admitted into the South African Church [*see* p. 804*e*].

food-supply, the result of peace and European implements of agriculture, does away with self-denial and self-restraint in the matter of food. The young children were always taken care of when food was scarce. Now it seldom is scarce. (3) The substitution of our laws and methods of procedure for theirs has taken away from them the interest which was so keen in their lawsuits, which were pleaded in the crude courts of their chiefs. Now the litigants are commonly represented by law agents, who do not spare them in the matter of fees. They learn to lie in giving evidence. They did not dare before, for they would be inevitably entrapped in the keen cross-questioning. And bribery is becoming common, which was impossible when cattle were the only wealth.

"*Gains.*—They are freed from the deadly blighting influence of the 'witch-doctor,' under whom no one dared to differ from his neighbour; any prominence, a better house, or too many cattle, would bring down the accusation of witchcraft.

"Education is encouraged by Government; conditions of life are easier; public works give good wages; there is protection to life and property; intertribal intercourse is made possible.

"The power of the chiefs has been broken down, and so obstacles have been removed to the conversion of individuals; a man can follow his natural bent.

"*Methods.—Mission Stations.*—The plan on which the earlier missionary went was to ask for a grant of land from the chief, on which he built his house and church and school; and such natives as desired to be instructed would gather round him, and live under such regulations as might be put in force. Heathen practices were forbidden; everyone must go to church; the children must go to school. This plan filled the schools and the church; but the type of Christianity was wanting in stability very often, though *some* excellent Christians were made in this way. The great disadvantage seems to be that the influence of the Mission was confined to the boundaries of the Mission land; it did not spread.

"This was the way in which Missions were begun in Grahamstown, St. John's, Natal, and Zululand dioceses. Among the Basutos and Bechuana a more healthy method held from the beginning. No doubt the intense conservatism of the Kaffirs and Zulus made the Mission station system almost a necessity. It seemed once almost an impossibility for a man to lead a Christian life outside a Mission station. He would have had no friends, he would have been a pariah, a fair mark for the accusation of being a sorcerer and worker in the black art. At the same time, I believe it would have been wiser to have worked on in faith until the tide turned, and have been content with infinitely small results. The Mission station formed a sanctuary for the unfortunate people who were 'smelt out'; their lives were saved, but they were not often desirable sort of people to have on the station. Often the residents on the station were all ranked under the name of 'sorcerer' from this fact. The chiefs always respected the sanctuary of the Mission."

The "system of scattered Christians" produced "a sturdier sort of Christianity":—

"They felt the responsibility of their position; they had to keep up the standard of life amongst themselves. Leaders were appointed, men of character, influence, and piety, who held service on Sunday, and reported all matters to the European priest on his monthly round.

"Out of this state of things, these scattered Christian communities, arose the need of a native ministry; and from these men, who were found thus to fill the gap, as lay workers, has been found chiefly the material to supply that need."

* * * * *

"*Quality of our Native Christians.*—And what of the quality of our native Church? What results have accrued? How are they influencing the destinies of the race? It is difficult to estimate the internal results; but one thing we can speak of, that a Christian conscience has grown up. We who have been brought into close spiritual touch with our people know that this is so; that the difference is enormous between the raw heathen idea of sin and that displayed during a quiet talk with one of our Christians. In the one case the faculty is asleep, but we know well the signs of true sorrow for sin in the latter; their spiritual sense is very really alive. As heathen they have but little or no idea of reverence; but many have borne witness to the reverence of a Christian congregation.

"*Purity.*—Has their Christianity an influence on conduct? Certainly it has. Lax as is often their morality, in the restricted sense of the word, they have the Christian standard before them, and we know the strivings of many to keep up to it. The heathen have no standard and no strivings.

"*Theft.*—The old national proclivity to steal the farmer's stock, a survival, it is to be remembered, among the heathen, of the old war feeling, is with Christians almost unknown. A well-known resident magistrate told me that among the 5,000 native Christians of the district he had never had one convicted of theft, and Christian natives

have been used, in a well-known instance, to put down stock stealing, by being placed in a belt of country between European farmers and a heathen tribe; the experiment has been a success. Further witness has been borne by many to their loyalty; notably a man in high position asserted in my hearing, in the most emphatic manner, that the Christian Fingoes saved Fingoland from rebellion in 1880. He was chief magistrate of the district.

"*Humility*—that delicate flower of the Christian character—we shall be told, has not yet blossomed on this soil. . . . Certainly our best men and women, those most deeply influenced, shine distinctly with this grace.

"*Temporal progress.*—The Christians are the people of progress; they are the most advanced in agriculture, and trade flourishes where they are; for their wants are many and varied compared with those of the heathen.

"*Prospects.*—The outlook is sufficiently encouraging in the older territories and in the new. Our want in the future will be well-trained native clergy and lay workers, to carry the gifts to the heathen now coming under British influence.

"They are crystallising under new forms, and we must take advantage of the crisis. The iron, God's rough material, is glowing for the forging; the blast, the fury of the nations, has been raising it to a white heat; even *now* it will be on the anvil. Are the hammermen ready?" [43].

That the value of Mission work was beginning to be appreciated as a power for good by people in South Africa was evident from a visit in 1897 by a M. Vigouroux, who had been sent out to study social questions, and especially the labour question, by the "Musée Sociale" of Paris. Passing through Umtata on his way to Australia, he told Bishop Key that he had found that the labour question was synonymous with the native question. He had been warned that his journey would not be productive of much result, as no two persons agreed about the natives, their progress, intelligence, or capabilities. But when he came amongst people who knew the natives intimately, such as *magistrates and missionaries*, he found a remarkable *consensus of opinions* on these points. M. Vigouroux was viewing the whole question from a scientific standpoint; he did not touch upon religion, and his views on that subject were unknown [44].

In support of his statement may be cited the opinion of Bishop Gibson (1898), who had spent many years in Kaffraria, and whose withdrawal in 1894 to become coadjutor to the Bishop of Capetown was a great loss to his old diocese.

After quoting a remark of a newly-arrived clergyman in South Africa, that it was only necessary to mark the difference in the very look of the Christian and the heathen native to be convinced of the reality of baptismal grace, Bishop Gibson said :—

"If anyone should say that clerical testimony is necessarily prejudiced, let him inquire of the magistrates who live among the Kaffirs; he will find that, whatever their particular religious tenets may be, they invariably (I believe) support Missions, and declare emphatically that it is ordinarily among the heathen, and not among the Christians, that criminals are found. Travel through the country, and wherever you see the square house substituted for the round hut, where you find gardens fenced in and water-furrows let out to irrigate them, you will find that it is the Christians who live there. It may be the case, for sound reasons, that the majority of those who go out to work for the white man are heathen; but that the Christians are in themselves the more industrious there can be no question. One year, when there was great scarcity of food, for a period of some two months hardly a day passed without some of the heathen coming to beg of me. During the same period not a single request for aid came to me from the Christians. They had suffered equally, but, having cultivated much more land, they had a reserve on which to fall back.

"The later Kaffir wars have shown the staunch loyalty of Christian Kaffirs to the Government" [45].

The proceedings of the Native Church Conferences in the diocese

furnish an uncommon picture, worthy of an early century, of the Christian natives legislating for their own race, and laying the foundations of a Kaffir Church, under the wise guidance of their Bishop. Since 1885 these Conferences have been a rule of the diocese, and recognised by the Synod. They are representative, and very interesting, useful, and instructive. At the meeting in 1898 there were present ten native and ten European clergy, and nearly forty laymen, chosen from "all sorts and conditions of men," all being communicants. Circumcision and polygamy were among the subjects discussed. As to the former, the view taken by the native clergy was carried, viz., that

"We should use persuasion, that Missions should be held among the various congregations of native Christians, setting forth the folly and uselessness of the rite, as well as its sinful and degrading tendency, but they deprecated any coercive measures, such as cutting off from communion."

With regard to the question, May polygamist men be admitted to the catechumenate? it had long been decided that they could not be baptized, though the wives are constantly being admitted after each case has been duly reported to the Bishop, and after he has approved.

The native clergy were against the reception of such men as catechumens, and the conclusion arrived at was identical with that of some of the Bishops of the province, viz., that such men who have not yet had their way made clear to put away their wives in order to marry as a Christian with one, may be admitted into the order of hearers, and have a definite place assigned to them in the Church, and a special dismissal during the Eucharistic service [46].

A remarkable symptom of the desire among the natives for a secure foundation for church orders and sacraments was the application in 1899 of Mr. Dwane and the leading members of the Ethiopian Community to be incorporated into the Church [47] [*see* p. 304*e*].

In Bishop Key's opinion, expressed just after the Boer war had broken out, the real cause of the situation, the one great difference which separates us from our Dutch fellow-countrymen, was the *Native question*:—

"It is our proclaimed method, our policy towards the natives, from the time of the freeing of the slaves to their admission to the franchise, and the recent advance among them of education, which has prevented us, Boer and British, from becoming one nation. If this is to be a war of races through the colony, it is not merely a question of franchise to the Uitlanders. It will be, I cannot but feel, a holy war. Many as our sins and shortcomings may be, it is a war resting on the broad question, 'Are these natives of South Africa to be looked upon as beasts of burden or human beings?'" [47*a*.]

At the Diocesan Synod held a few months previously the Bishop had shown how the Church in Kaffraria was trying to do her duty to the natives—

"to give them the best we can, to train them in habits most conducive to right living, on the highest grounds possible; to train their youth, such as appear fit, for the work of the Church and the Holy Ministry, that we may use them for carrying on the light which they gain here to the darkest corners of South Africa"—

and the Bishop's charge contained a stirring appeal to Churchmen

to take up their share of

"'the white man's burden'; doing what we can to spell out this mystery which is being unfolded to us, as great as was the mystery seen by St. Paul—the place of the native of Africa in the Christian Church of the world. God has set our task, we must bear it."

This proved to be the Bishop's last charge. In the following year (1900), in addition to his ordinary duties he assisted in the revision of the Kaffir Prayer Book, and took a prominent part in a conference at King Williamstown with Mr. Dwane, the leader of the Ethiopian movement. In July, while on visitation, the Bishop met with an accident, from the effects of which he died in England on January 12, 1901.* By his death the Church in South Africa lost one of its greatest missionaries. Apostle of the Kaffirs for nearly forty years,† he had become also the most trusted and experienced Missionary Bishop in the country, and, to quote from the testimony of one of his native clergy, he had "won the respect, reverence, love, and admiration of all who had any dealings with him." Possessing a rare grasp of the subtleties of the native character, and a complete and thorough knowledge of their language,‡ he showed considerable insight and statesmanship in dealing with native affairs, and aided by a band of devoted fellow-workers, who were content to work for little if only they might work with him, he built up in Kaffraria a church which at his death contained a body of native clergy almost equal in number to the entire native ministry in all the other dioceses of the province of South Africa [48].

The principal Missions will now be noticed.

Tembuland and Fingoland.§

All Saints' and St. Alban's, Tembuland.—The work at All Saints', under Canon Waters, a son of the veteran Archdeacon

* On July 19, while on his way to visit Kokstad, the Bishop's travelling cart was upset at Enkodusweni, and as he fell on a bank a sharp piece of wood pierced his face under the eyeball. Later in the year he came to England and undertook deputation work for the Society. While thus occupied he had a seizure at the house of the Bishop of Wakefield on December 15. From this he recovered sufficiently to move to London, where on January 12, 1901, he died, and four days later was buried in Kensal Green Cemetery.

† Eighteen as missionary to the Pondomisi and seventeen as bishop.

‡ He published a devotional book and charges in Xosa, and wrote some fine hymns for the Xosa hymn book. To his great delight natives hearing him in the dark would take him for a Kaffir. In the days when Umditshwa and Umhlonhlo [p. 311] were struggling for the supremacy, Mr. Key's garden was the one neutral spot in Pondomisiland, and Mr. Key the one man who could bring about an interview between the hostile chiefs; and when, later on, Umditshwa fell foul of the British Government it was Mr. Key who volunteered to go and bring him a prisoner peacefully. During the war a renegade Christian burnt Mr. Key's house down and destroyed all his precious possessions. Years after, the natives told how that this very man was suffocated and burnt to cinders by the accidental firing of a hut in which he was sleeping. As Bishop also, Dr. Key's journeys were apostolic. He swam swollen rivers to keep his engagements, and his intense simplicity made him a welcome guest at the humblest trader's abode. Counter or bed was all the same to him. In December 1889 the Bishop lost both his wife and second son. Mrs. Key was a daughter of the late Archdeacon Waters [48*a*].

§ These two divisions are thus grouped because there is some overlapping of Mission stations in them.

Waters, was described by Archdeacon Coakes, in 1894, as being the most interesting of all the parishes he had visited and the most promising.

The old St. Alban's* parish had just been united with it, and such progress had been made that the Mission funds were being spent on purely heathen work, the Christians at the twenty out-stations almost entirely paying their own preachers engaged among the heathen. Some of the preachers—men and women—were prepared by the Rev. John Xaba to assist in evangelising their heathen brethren. The women preached to their own sex only, for no woman dare approach a heathen man for instructing him; she would be told: "Keep your place, shut your mouth; you are nothing but a woman."

In the schools at All Saints' both boys and girls receive industrial training, as well as general and religious instruction, and there is now a school for girls similar to that established at Umtata for boys [*see* p. 316*h*].

The work of the Mission has been helped on in every possible way by Mr. Warner, the resident magistrate, and it continues to grow and spread [49].

The opening of a Government leper asylum at Mjanyana (or Emjanyana), about 1894, added to the work and expenses of the missionaries, especially as the liberal provision made for the wants of the lepers did not extend to their spiritual needs, which, therefore, have been supplied by the missionaries, at first from All Saints', and more recently from St. Alban's station. The lepers in 1898 numbered 300, the majority being heathen. They are strictly secluded, and families are broken up, husbands, children, and parents are separated, with the hope of stamping out the scourge. The Bishop of St. John's, who visited the place in September 1898, said it is "about as depressing as can be imagined." The Bishop confirmed thirty lepers, mostly Kaffirs. For lack of a proper place of worship the service was held in the hospital ward. The poor lepers were most keen in their appreciation of the Bishop's visit, and thankful for the opportunity of being confirmed. On almost every occasion of the missionary's visit there is at least one and sometimes several applications for admission as catechumens [50].

In connection with All Saints' a new Mission was opened among the Quati tribe, in 1892, and within a few months many out-stations were established, and the progress of the work has been most cheering and hopeful [51].

The death in 1897 of Thomas Poswayo, chief of the tribe, was a great blow to the whole of Tembuland. All the magistrates and the other European residents in the district regarded him as "the best native they ever knew." Twenty-five years previously he was a "Red Kaffir polygamist." A few years after his conversion he became a regular preacher to his own people. His influence over them was great, and through him many headmen asked for instruction. On his farm (where he erected Mission and school buildings, and maintained thirty boarders, who were taught carpentering and sewing) were to be found a Christian congregation with a preacher and teacher [52].

* St. Alban's has since become a separate Mission again.

THE "CATHEDRAL" PARISH, TEMBULAND.—This parish in 1894 included a wide area of native territory (3,000 square miles) and 90,000 people, of whom only about 1,100 were Europeans. The few Church Missions were then of rather a struggling nature, as the Tembus proper are not easily influenced, being tenacious of their old customs and superstitions. The one flourishing centre was at Esikobeni, among a colony of Fingoes who migrated from St. Mark's parish many years before. With a view of getting a better hold of the numerous clans, some of whom were in the same state as regards Christianity as they were thirty years before, the Bishop in 1895 associated the Rev. J. Xaba (a native clergyman) with himself to work the district [53].

Mr. Xaba felt that it is just as hard to preach the Gospel to the natives of Africa who have no gods as it is to those natives who had images or gods, the chief strength of heathenism lying in superstition and polygamy [54], but in the face of many adverse circumstances he soon obtained a firm hold on the people.

The Christians at Esikobeni began to evangelise the heathen around them, and wherever they went two or three Red Kaffirs came forward and expressed their desire to become Christians. At another place most of the converts consisted of men, an unusual as well as helpful incident. In 1896 there were more converts than in any previous year, and the demand for teachers and preachers was more than could be responded to. Since then many hopeful openings have been taken up, and the Tembus are being roused out of heathen apathy. Mr. Xaba's ministrations were appreciated by the English also, for whom in 1895 he commenced a monthly service at the magistracy at Mganduli. In this district also the magistrate has promoted the Mission.

As a result of Missions to natives, Mr. Xaba mentioned in 1898 that a poor native Christian made a sacred offering of over £9, out of thankfulness to God for having answered his prayer to spare his cattle during the rinderpest [55].

Umtata, the centre of the "Cathedral parish," is also the headquarters of the diocese and the military and civil centre of the whole of the Transkei. Towards the erection of a new "Pro-Cathedral," which will be "practically the parish church of the town," and in which "all races will meet there by right," the Society gave £1,000 from the Marriott bequest in 1897.*

In the same year the Society gave £1,500 towards the extension of the buildings of St. John's Theological College and Training Institution at Umtata. The education department of the Colony was forcing the Institution into the position of a Training College with practising schools, but as it was denominational they would give no help for the necessary buildings. Not only was enlargement demanded by the Government, but it was really called for by the Church and by the natives themselves. On all sides there was a demand for qualified

* From the same source it aided in the erection of a church to serve as a pro-cathedral. This building, which took the place of the iron church brought from England by Bishop Callaway in 1874, was originated by Dean Sutton, and was consecrated on September 18, 1900.

teachers, as the natives will have education. They were ready to pay for it, but wanted the best article at a low cost, and hitherto the Church had been unable to compete with other denominations in this respect. Education, now the order of the day, is found to be the handmaid of Christianity, where religious teaching and religious discipline go together with secular learning, as the Mission is careful that they should [56].

The College (begun in 1877) is becoming more and more a power in the diocese and its value cannot be overestimated.

The Boarding School,* an important part of the College, aims principally at producing schoolmasters with Government certificates, who, in many cases, take evangelistic work as well as teaching, and return to the College in some cases to study theology with a view to a catechist's licence, and perhaps Holy Orders. The school draws scholars from all parts of the diocese, and many tribes—Fingoes, Basutos, Zulus, Pondos, Pondomise, Gcalekas, Gaikas, Tembus—besides half-castes (Griquas, Cape-Malay, Eurafrican). The instruction includes industrial training, and the students work regularly in the parish and out-stations.

The course for ordination is in most cases a real piece of self-denial, as it involves separation from their families and a loss, whole or in part, of income [57].

The natives are discouraged from pushing themselves up into the higher offices of catechist or deacon, and are bidden to await a call from their parish priests. This probably accounts for their excellence when called [58].

In recent years the College has been asked to supply workers for the growing needs not only of Kaffraria but of Mashonaland, the Transvaal, and Kimberley, and the call has been regarded as an "honourable distinction."

Since June 1899 the actual training of candidates for the ministry, and also for the order of catechists, has been relegated to St. Bede's College, also at Umtata; but St. John's College, although it now professes to give a secular education only, and to be a training college for native teachers, is in several ways the nursery on which the work of the Church has to depend very largely for qualified catechists and preachers [59].

The work carried on in Tembuland in connection with St. Mark's Mission has also received the warm support of the magistrates, but the progress of this branch has been slow and somewhat discouraging [59*a*].

Cala.

Cala is situated in the middle of a large native district of Tembu Kaffirs. In the town or village there are many English residents, including a magistrate, and a Diocesan Girls' High School which is doing excellent work. The English in Cala and Elliott (eighteen miles distant) and on the farms scattered about at great intervals are ministered to by an English clergyman (Rev. L. W. Hallward), and

* There is a similar school for girls at All Saints' Mission [p 316*f*].

Emnxi, five miles from Cala, is the centre of an extensive native Mission under a native clergyman, the Rev. J. Manelle [60].

Fingoland.

The Fingoes are a link between the Zulu and the Kaffir. Zulu by origin, they came south, driven by the great conqueror Chaka in the beginning of the nineteenth century They took refuge among the various tribes through whom they passed—Pondos, Tembus, and Xosas—who treated them, some harshly, some kindly, and they have learned the Kaffir dialect and customs.

In 1830-35 the great mass of the Fingoes, as they were called (a name equivalent, apparently, to "refugee") passed westwards, across the Kei, into the colony, where most of them took service amongst the farmers. When the Kaffir war broke out they did good service against the Kaffirs, whom they had always looked upon as their enemies, and were rewarded by being given tracts of country. Notably, in 1865, a very large number were placed across the Kei, eastward, in the land forfeited by the Galekas, a country now called Fingoland, some fifty miles by thirty. But, as these territories have been gradually annexed, the Fingoes have passed on northward, wherever they could find land to settle in amongst the tribes, for they will never pass beyond British protection. It was amongst these people that the healthier type of Mission work, among the Kaffir-speaking tribes, began. There was none of that intense tribal feeling. The English had saved them, and made them rich, and they would take, as far as could be, our ways, our thoughts. They willingly sent their children to school, they came to church, converts were made, and wherever they went, as they spread over the valleys and hills of the country which was allotted to them, they took their Christianity with them.

It is worthy of note that in the dioceses of Grahamstown and St. John's the native ministry, up to 1900, had principally been supplied by the Fingo race, and "it would seem," says Bishop Key, "that this race has been placed amongst us, under God's providence, for this very work, to be the missionary race of Africa. They are a high-class people, being Zulu race by origin; they are freed from the bonds of tribal influence; they are great colonisers, restless and pushing—their enemies call them grasping; and lastly, it must be noted, they are the result of English influence. They were made what they are by contact with us, and are therefore tougher and hardier for the contact; more seasoned, if I may say so, than the raw tribes who have not yet been exposed to the deadly influence of our civilisation."

St. Mark's, Fingoland.—In the case of Kaffraria the "healthier system of scattered Christians" began in the district of St. Mark, outside of the bounds of the large Mission lands given by Kreli [61]. St. Mark's, which is the mother parish of the whole diocese, includes a part of Tembuland, as well as a part of Fingoland. The year 1892 brought a great spiritual harvest in the parish, mostly in Fingoland, men and women, lads and girls forsaking heathenism and embracing Christianity in numbers, and this through the instrumentality of native lay agents, most of them unpaid men. Such was the report of the Rev. Peter K. Masiza [62], who for a long period has worked most faithfully, zealously, and successfully as assistant priest in St. Mark's parish. A few extracts from his reports will best illustrate the character and extent of his work:—

"From the beginning of the year, most of the days of the year, in undisturbed and boisterous weather, in cold and heat, I spend on my horseback from one station to another. Well or unwell, through hunger and thirst, I try to feed the flock of Christ which is entrusted to my charge, sleeping in comfortable and uncomfortable places, travelling in plains and rough countries, meeting with good Christian people and wild heathen people. In the latter class of people we had again a year of success through my visiting them, and through the untiring efforts of our lay workers, with their reviving services amongst them; a good many of them have turned from heathenism to the brilliant light of the Gospel.

It is evident that a great work lies before the Church in Fingoland [68, 69].

EASTERN PONDOLAND.

It has been a source of wonder to many how this country, surrounded as it was by British territory and benignant rule, could have remained so long the home of every class and colour of criminal—the very nursery of feticism and devilry, and of the mysterious, the weird, and the woeful. Up to 1894 it was independent, under its native king or chief, who had supreme power over life and death. The only white men in the country were a few scattered traders (generally married to native women) and two Wesleyan missionaries. Witchcraft at its worst abounded, murders and cruelties of the most evil form being common, and for half of the year the men did little but drink Kaffir beer. In 1894, when the country was being devastated by war between the Chief Umhlangazo and Sigcau, the paramount chief, the British Government intervened and annexed it on the petition of Umhlangazo, who took this step with the consent of the petty chiefs and the commonalty in order to avoid surrendering to Sigcau. Many of the Pondos resented annexation, but, though peace and order were not at once established, the days of the war cry and of scare were past, and good government and the welfare of the Pondos were assured.

ST. ANDREW'S.—The old Church station of St. Andrew, in the south side of the country, begun by Bishop Callaway in 1875, had, after his removal of his headquarters to Umtata in 1877, been gradually forsaken by the Christian settlers who had accompanied him from Clydesdale, and was left for a long time vacant* or only in charge of a catechist. In 1894, when visited by Mr. E. H. Booker, not one baptized member of the Church was to be found either there or in the country. At the invitation of Bishop Key, Mr. Booker (then only a catechist), with two native preachers, Aaron Ninwa and George Mzizi, had come into Pondoland from Natal, on April 15, 1892, in order to begin work in the Emzizi district, in the north side of the country, under the Chief Pategile. On Advent Sunday the little Church of the Advent was opened. During the civil war (1893–4) the station was destroyed, but Ninwa, who had formerly acted as a kind of chaplain to Umhlangazo, remained with his tribe, and Mr. Booker travelled over the country and became acquainted with most of the petty chiefs. Sigcau, hearing of the new Umfundisi, requested a visit. Taking a staff and a native boy with two blankets, Mr. Booker, with not a penny in his pocket, started for the sixty miles' walk to the great place. Arriving there he found he was at once the guest and the prisoner of the chief. The coarsest food was offered him at first, and it was long before he was granted an interview. Meanwhile he made friends with the petty chiefs, and after six weeks' captivity he parted on friendly terms with Sigcau, whose reason for the detention was because of Mr. Booker's intimacy with Umhlangazo's people.†

* The Rev. C. N. Tonkin was in charge 1884–8, and Rev. G. Mansbridge 1891–2.

† According to Bishop Key the "home truths" which Mr. Booker had prepared for the chief at the interview "did not suffer in point or force for having been bottled up so long." He talked for two hours, setting before the chief (not from a religious but a political point of view) the dangers of certain practices, especially of the continual state of war and threatenings of war which kept the country in a ferment. The chief thanked him most warmly. He said he "felt he was a true friend, who did not fear to speak out; that no one else spoke thus." He gave him leave to go where he liked and build where he liked, and finally made him a present of a horse. He was proceeding to give him an order on one of the traders for a saddle and bridle, but was stopped by Mr. Booker, who said he did not wish to accept a present bought on credit. The chief's debts had been one of the subjects of Mr. Booker's lecture.

When the country had settled down a little the Mission of the Advent was re-opened on a more suitable site, and Mr. A. E. Sissing joined the staff and went to revive the old Mission at St. Andrew's. For some time the actual Mission workers were the only communicants. The witch doctors were the ruling power of the nation; murder and horrible atrocities were of "almost daily occurrence"—*e.g.* a lad, "smelt out and assisted in strangling his own mother," and a chief (Mayolo) smelt out and put to death twenty-five of his subjects, including his own mother. This chief is now one of the most loyal of British subjects, and a Mission (St. Peter's) was started at his location in 1899.

Under the new order of things Mission work in East Pondoland progressed by "leaps and bounds," and a resident priest again became necessary, both for overlooking the native Mission and for ministering to the Cape Mounted Rifles stationed in the country. Both sides of the work were, the Bishop said, almost unique, the one the best product of our civilisation, the young men of our upper and middle classes in England cast upon the world to *rough it*, body, soul, and spirit; the other, the savage, who, three years ago, never stirred except armed, now with his foot on the lowest rung of the ladder, with no one to warn him of the dangers of the ascent: these in tens of thousands.

As yet the Pondos are almost wholly heathen, but not antagonistically so. Often the church is filled with a congregation of raw Pondos, so quiet and so apparently attentive, and yet so steeped in heathenism as to be ready to do almost anything vile directly they get outside. They are eager, as a rule, to have their own preacher and their own school in their location, they respect the preacher and send their children to the school, but their own common excuse for themselves is, "We are too old to give up the traditions of our fathers." Here and there a soul is quickened, the tremendous act of renunciation is made; but the majority remain where they are, content to live much the same sort of life as the dogs with which each kraal abounds.

Such was the report in 1899 of the Rev. P. D. Hornby, who in 1897 undertook the oversight of "the parish of St. Andrew," the name retained for the whole Mission, which (some 60 miles square) comprises the greater part of Pondoland East. Under his superintendence the work has greatly extended. For the white population, apart from the traders, services are held at the three magistracies of Flagstaff, Lusikisiki, and Bizana.

The small school church dedicated at Lusikisiki in July 1899 was "the first white man's church in Eastern Pondoland." A second, "St. George's," Flagstaff, was dedicated on November 4, 1899.

The scattered white traders are also visited. Many of them are "notorious evil-livers," but, though often "hopelessly indifferent," they do not appear to be hostile to Mission work, and they are kind and hospitable to the clergy.

Of the natives, who number about 100,000, only some 5,000 are yet even nominally Christian, and of these comparatively few are Pondos. The Pondo nation is at present "heathen to the core," and St. Andrew's is the most heathen parish in Kaffraria. Still, a distinct

change of attitude on the part of the people and their chiefs is apparent; there has been a great advance since annexation, and stations have been established at nearly twenty centres. Mr. Booker was ordained in 1900, and Mr. Hornby has also the assistance of a native deacon, the Rev. E. Mayekiso [70].

Western Pondoland.

Though surrounded by others who had long before opened their doors to Christianity, the Pondos of Western Pondoland still, in 1892, remained in heathen darkness, practising revolting and barbarous cruelties in obedience to their system of witchcraft and superstition. For many years it had been Bishop Key's desire to begin work among the tribe, and the way was opened in 1892, when the chief, to show his gratitude for benefits received by himself and his son in the Umtata Hospital, gave a suitable site for a Mission at the Ntlaza river. Here in 1893 the Rev. F. W. Sutton, M.R.C.S. (formerly medical missionary in Burma), established himself, the station being named "St. Barnabas." Soon after his arrival the petty chief of the district told his people that it was a good thing that a missionary was settling among them, for they would be able to get medicine for their sick, and could also send their children to school. They replied that he could show the way by sending his children, and that they would then send theirs. Accordingly he sent one of his boys as a day scholar, who for a time attended regularly, and then suddenly discontinued coming because, as he afterwards said, "the departed spirit of his grandmother visited him at night, and warned him that he was not to attend the white man's school, under a penalty of being killed." The chief, according to native custom, sacrificed a beast, but failed to propitiate the spirit, and the boy finally left the school. Soon after he ran away from home, and gave himself up to a sinful life, and the father began to think this might be the result of his having sent his son to the school. This is a sample of the strange objections and difficulties that occur to the native mind in sending their children to school. Even in the medical work constant hindrances occurred, and much useful work was either stopped entirely or greatly hindered by superstitions and the people's thorough belief in witchcraft. Constantly Dr. Sutton was called to attend in some case where disease had become hopelessly chronic, or where life was fast ebbing away; and, in answer to inquiries why they did not send earlier, the reason given was that they began by sacrificing an animal, and, finding this fruitless, had called in a "witch doctor," and then, finding the disease still unchecked, had either brought the patient to the Mission or sent there for help.

The medical work was, however, from the first very useful in making friends with the people, and in opening the way for more distinctly spiritual and evangelistic work, and within three years Dr. Sutton had become a power and a necessity in the country. The chief looked to him for medical advice, and the school was doing most excellent work in its influence over the men and boys living there under the missionaries' care. Bokleni, the son and heir of the paramount chief,

by his encouragement of witchcraft and his drinking habits had long been a source of trouble and unrest to his country; but during an illness caused by excessive drinking he applied for medical assistance to Dr. Sutton, who insisted on his coming to the Mission house, so as to be under control. His cure occupied a month, and during that time he was so ill as to have been regarded as certainly dying. On his recovery he became a total abstainer, and a reformed character in many ways, his rule being as beneficial as it had been iniquitous. Regarding his recovery as "a call from God to a new life," he prevented the illegal sale of brandy, put down witchcraft, and gave up entirely to the Mission two of his children. His father, Ngwiliso, also sent two of his sons to the school, saying, "Up to the present they have been my children, now they are yours and mine."

Owing to the misrule and cruel despotism of Bokleni, who was allowed too free a hand by his aged father, Western Pondoland passed from a protectorate to a British possession in 1894. The transfer, which was in accordance with a wish of the people, brought more security of life and property than had ever been known in Pondoland, but more than doubled the work of the missionaries, who had now to minister to the Cape Mounted Rifles at three magistracies—Port St. John, Coldstream, and Libodi camps, and to other Europeans (traders), some of whom were in danger of degenerating. The strain proved too great for Dr. Sutton, who was obliged to resign in 1896 [71].

Under his successor the work has continued to prosper, strong out-stations being established with resident catechists and school teachers in different parts of the country. Bokleni, for some years past a changed man, is now (1900) paramount chief [72].

Griqualand East.

Clydesdale.

The work at Clydesdale has been very difficult of late years, owing to the disturbed state of the Griqua population and a visitation of locusts and the rinderpest.

The leader of the Griqua rebels was a man named Lefleur, and in 1897 news came to Kokstad that Archdeacon Chamberlain was down on his list "as one of the first to be murdered." Happily Lefleur's plans were frustrated. Valuable service was rendered by the Archdeacon during the cattle plague. When the disease began to spread he set to work to study the process of bile-taking and inoculation under the district surgeon; and, having obtained certificates, he went out wherever his services were required, and with syringe, needle, and lymph operated on hundreds of head of cattle, a very trying and unpleasant work. While helping the natives in this way the Archdeacon did not allow his clerical work to suffer, and he says that his native congregations would put their European brethren in England and elsewhere to shame in the matter of attendance at the services of the Church [73].

KOKSTAD.

Kokstad will always be specially associated with Bishop Key, as the accident which led to his death occurred while he was on his way to visit the Mission. The work here, both among the natives and the Europeans, is advancing. A new station was opened in 1900 at Ndarala's by a voluntary native worker, and already there is the prospect of a large ingathering of souls, including the headman, a fine old man. For the Europeans services are held at various centres, and some have been attended by the Dutch. Since 1898 the Rev. F. J. Adkin has had the assistance of the Rev. E. Lancaster [74].

ST. CUTHBERT'S, TSOLO.

In 1892 Mtshazi, the son of the Chief Umditshwa [p. 311], returned from England, and was formally placed back in the hands of his tribe (Pondomisi), to whom it was announced that he had resolved to be baptized. This was on October 25, and on the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul (1893) he was baptized by the name of Edwardes Mditshwa, after the headmaster of Denstone, where he was educated in England. His own surroundings were absolutely heathen, and the retention of Christianity and self-respect was a matter of extreme difficulty. In the same year two ladies joined the staff, and two native catechists were ordained, but Canon Gibson was transferred to Umtata. During his nine years at St. Cuthbert's the Christians had increased fivefold, and the growth of the Mission generally had been striking. The Rev. G. Callaway now took charge [75].

The Pondomisi, like all other tribes in Kaffraria, have practically no religion, no idea of a living and personal God.*

Though the heathen generally listen attentively to the missionaries, and are always ready to agree, the Rev. G. Callaway had not (in 1894) heard of one single direct conversion from heathenism of a grown-up Pondomisi resulting from the kraal-to-kraal preaching which had gone on for many years. It has an influence in bringing the people into some sort of touch with missionary effort, and there it seems to end.

The school work is more hopeful, though some difficulty is experienced in securing an attendance and in introducing the very thinnest end of the wedge in the matter of school fees paid in the form of a sack of grain annually [77].

* In times of sickness they sometimes sacrifice an ox, with a certain amount of ritual observance, to appease the spirit of some departed ancestor, and this practice professes, of course, a belief in the existence of the departed; or, at other times of sickness, they consult the "witch doctor," who professes to receive messages from the dead, and generally suggests that the sickness is caused by some enemy (generally a rich one), who must be driven out in order to insure the recovery of the sick person. In times of drought they take presents of cattle and go to a little old man, who is one of the few survivors of the race of "Bushmen," and who has now a great reputation for his supposed power of withholding or bestowing rain [76].

Until the visitation of the cattle plague in 1897 the missionary did not know how poor the people in the Mission were. Probably 90 per cent. of the children born in that "rinderpest year" will have names which suggest the calamity, such as two baptized by him received: "The Lamentations of Jeremiah" and "The Sound of Thunder" [78].

The native preachers of the Mission have all given up Kaffir beer, and it is sometimes difficult for them to get necessary food when living amongst the heathen. Connected with St. Cuthbert's is a Mission at Gqaqala, which, begun in 1882 at the request of the Chief Nombewu, then a Wesleyan, has, though often neglected, grown beyond all expectations. In 1897 there was a flourishing school, and large numbers of adults were being instructed for baptism and confirmation. Considering the ignorance, depravity, and grossness which enchain these people in heathenism, the purity of their Christianity is surprising. In illustration of this Mr. Callaway describes the debasing system of "smelling-out" by a witch doctor, and says:—

"Now come straight from this hideous scene to our little Mission Church on the hill above the Gqaqala stream; don't be too critical about outward appearance, but watch these SAME people—watch them at a reverent celebration of the Holy Communion—watch them as they kneel and sing, 'Lord, have mercy upon us, and write all these Thy laws in our hearts, we beseech Thee.'

"I am absolutely convinced that, in the majority of our people, their religion is genuine, and they are really trying, at the same time that they are praying, to 'write' the laws of God 'upon their hearts' and lives" [79].

Another promising offshoot of St. Cuthbert's is that among a set of the Fingo tribe which settled in Pondoland years ago. Being kindly treated by the Pondos, they became incorporated with them under the name of "Ama-Pondo Fingoes," and were located in a belt of country adjoining Pondomisiland.

For some years their Chief, Bikwe, promised to allow the missionary at St. Cuthbert's to open work among his people, but he put it off again and again when it came to the point, though refusing others. "Gibson is my *Umfundisi*" (missionary), he would reply. However, about 1896 he agreed to "Gibson" (for the S.P.G. missionaries were all "Gibsons" at first) making a start, and with his people contributed liberally to the erection of buildings.

A remarkable instance of fidelity on the part of some Basuto people of Sofonia Moshesh, son of the old chief of that name, living at Nqayi, was reported in 1896. They had been under instruction, having been won to the Church from heathenism by a lay agent. The Free Church of Scotland missionary complained that the Anglican Mission was encroaching. There were one or two Church people living in the valley, but he objected to the Church extending its ministrations among the heathen, and claimed the valley as [illegible]rve." The Bishop did not like to even appear to [illegible] shade the agent to hold service there. But the [illegible] their names would not be denied; the [illegible] Qanqu

(twelve miles distant), for instruction, saying they were not slaves, and would go where they thought right. The Bishop therefore baptized them.

The formation of the Mission staff into a brotherhood ("St. Cuthbert's") in 1900 resulted in increased working power and an extension of the area of the Mission, including the Qumbu district, and "a great spiritual work" is being carried on [80].

Mount Frere.

Under the Rev. H. A. Tudor, the work in this district has developed in a remarkable way since 1895. The Mission then comprised an area of 2,000 square miles, with three European villages and many native stations, Mount Frere being in the centre of the district. According to an arrangement which prevails in the diocese, Mr. Tudor devoted his Sundays to services for the white people and the week-days to native work. At each native station the daily offices are said by the native staff, and once in two months Mr. Tudor visited the stations.

Speaking of the "general business" which awaited him on these occasions he said:—

> "What with superstition and witchcraft, perplexing polygamy enigmas, desks, books and slates for schools, building of churches, patching and thatching, settling disputes, instructing, rebuking, exhorting, you never know what is going to turn up, and much less when it is going to be brought to a close" [81].

In 1896 work was begun on the River Moenyane, among the Bacas, a powerful and loyal tribe, at the invitation of their chief, and among the Eastern Pondos in one of the valleys of Ntabankulu [82].

Previously (about 1894) a new centre had been established at Emvuzi, where a few Christian Fingoes had settled among the heathen Baca, and had been wont to go to Mount Frere for Church ministrations. After a time one of the communicants was allowed to preach at Emvuzi, the Baca began to seek baptism, and a church was opened in 1894 [83].

The Rev. L. O. Warner, who had charge of Mount Frere from 1898 to 1900, when he was invalided to England, has expressed the highest admiration for the native clergy, to whom a great deal of the responsibility of management is left [84].

Mount Ayliff.

Among those confirmed in 1896 were the resident magistrate (Mr. Garner) and his wife, who had long been connected with the Church (though brought up in the Wesleyan body), and most helpful in the native work [85].

MATATIELE.

Though in failing health, the Rev. T. W. Green has carried on the work of this Mission with a good courage under trying circumstances, his labours extending to Mangobo (Basutos), twenty miles away, and to Mandileni, where a number of native Christians (Wesleyans) with their preacher joined the Church. In 1896 Mandileni was attached to the Mount Frere Mission, and in 1899 Mr. Green was further relieved by the appointment of the Rev. S. N. Bishop and Mr. Yates (since ordained) to revive the old St. Paul's Mission near Matatiele, and to visit a number of the European farmers under the Drakensberg up to the Natal border [86].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 383.)

CHAPTER XL.

CAPE COLONY—GRIQUALAND WEST.

GRIQUALAND WEST, lying to the west of the Orange Free State, was ceded to Great Britain by the Griquas in 1871, following on the discoveries which have made the district the great diamond fields of South Africa. It remained a separate colony until October 1880, when it was annexed to the Cape.

THE Diamond Fields began to attract diggers towards the end of 1869, and by the following June there were about 10,000 there. During this period they were occasionally visited by three clergymen from the Orange Free State—the Revs. D. G. CROGHAN (monthly), C. CLULEE, and F. W. DOXAT. From November 1870 Archdeacon KITTON of King William's Town spent six months at the Fields, making Klip Drift his head quarters, and while he was there a church was commenced. On his departure the Rev. H. SADLER took up the work, and in the same year (1871) the Bishop of Bloemfontein (a month after reaching the Orange Free State from England) set out on a visit to this portion of his diocese [1].

Bishop Webb, who was accompanied by Mr. CROGHAN, described the Diamond Fields as then "unquestionably the most important field of labour in South Africa." At each of the two largest camps or diggings—Du Toit's Pan and De Beers—there were "at least 15,000

souls, including women, children, and coloured people of various races, and from all parts northward and southward of the Vaal River." For these diggings, with Klip Drift and Hebron, some thirty miles distant, there was only one clergyman (supported from diocesan funds), and the demand for Church ministrations was so urgent that after the endeavours of the Bishop and Mr. Croghan to supply them for some weeks the Revs. F. W. DOXAT and J. W. RICKARDS were appointed to the charge of Du Toit's Pan and De Beers, &c. [2].

In the next year the Bishop made a long sojourn in the Fields, and at their formal request 700 coloured labourers were taken under the care of the Church at Du Toit's Pan [3]. In 1873 two deacons were ordained "in the large brick church of St. Cyprian" which had been erected at Kimberley, or the "New Rush." The Mission work among the diggers, who had contributed well to the erection of churches and hospitals, was "most hopeful"; but the Bishop of Grahamstown, who preached the ordination sermon, was struck by the fact that there was no clergyman ministering specially to the thousands of natives—heathen and other—in the district [4]. Within another year "constant week-day and Sunday services in Dutch, Kaffir, Zulu, and Sechuana" were being held, and though few who had not already had some intercourse with Christianity attended, yet these influenced others, "and" (added Mr. Doxat in 1874) "I feel sure that few natives will leave the Fields without learning a respect, however vague, for the white man and his religion." In less than three years three churches and four native chapels had been built, and these, with hospitals and prisons, were being served by four* clergymen and four native agents. The funds for the maintenance of all this work were derived "almost entirely from the weekly offertories," with occasional subscriptions for special objects, and the Society's grant—then £150 per annum. Such local support was all the more creditable seeing that people were continually coming and going, and that not one amongst the congregations could properly be called a *resident* on the Fields. In such circumstances Mission work is peculiarly trying as well as specially useful, and the Missionaries have been content to sow, trusting that as they have people gathered from "nearly every part of the world," fruit may result unknown to them [5]. Especially is this the case in regard to the natives.

Bishop KNIGHT-BRUCE (in 1887) said "it would be hard to estimate the importance of Kimberley as a field for Mission work among the ever-changing population of about 10,000, who come from nearly every country within reach of it to work in the mines—Basuto, Bechuana, Mapondo, Amaxosa, Machaka, Matlhobi (Fingo), Zulu, Matabele." Not long before, Khama, the Christian Chief of Shoshong, in Bechuanaland, forbade his people going to the Diamond Fields, fearing they would become demoralised; but in 1887 an association was formed in Kimberley with the object of co-operating with the managers of the mines in order to prevent all deterioration of the natives either by drink, temptation to sell stolen diamonds, or other causes; and the introduction of the "compound system," by which the natives are kept during their term of service in large enclosures, has done much to counteract the chief evils.

* Messrs. Doxat, J. W. Rickards, E. W. Stenson, and R. G. Wright.

The work of the Society in Griqualand West is now mainly among the natives and half-castes, the compounds being principally under the superintendence of the Rev. G. MITCHELL [6].

1892–1900.

The appointment of the Ven. W. T. Gaul to the Bishopric of Mashonaland (in 1895) recalls the remarkable extension of work which took place in Griqualand West during his ministry there. From 1880–84 he was stationed at Du Toits Pan,* afterwards called Beaconsfield, and from 1884–95 at Kimberley, where he identified himself with every institution for the well-being of the people, and his name became a household word, cherished by all alike. About 1882, hearing that there were Church-folk and other English-speaking Christians scattered about Griqualand West, he organised an itinerant Mission. At Douglas, Griquatown, Papkuil, and Boetsap, and at numerous isolated farms and small centres during the next twelve years, the Sacraments were administered, the Gospel was preached, the children were taught and prepared for confirmation, and, in short, the Church became "established" in a country as large as Wales. All this was accomplished practically at no expense to the diocese (Bloemfontein) or the Society, as Archdeacon Gaul's people at Kimberley gladly co-operated in his desire to visit their distant brethren. Provision for the continuance and extension of this work was made by the Society, and among the other places served by the Missionaries were Windsorton, Klipdam, the Diggings on the Vaal River, and Upington, an "almost inaccessible place on the Orange River, four days from anywhere." The itinerating work in these districts has been carried on by Archdeacon Holbech, a worthy successor of Archdeacon Gaul [7].

Kimberley is the centre of a great work among natives and half-castes as well as white people. The right of the English-speaking coloured people to have a place in St. Cyprian's Church had been strongly upheld by Archdeacon Gaul. For the benefit of those not compelled to live in compounds there now exists St. Matthew's Mission, with Holy Cross (an offshoot in the south part of the town), and St. Wilfrid's. St. Matthew's possesses one of the best churches in the diocese, and provides ministrations in four languages—Dutch, Sechuana, "Sexosa" (or "Xosa"), and English.

In connection with St. Matthew's Mission, natives at Modder River, which is about twenty-five miles from Kimberley, have been ministered to. A small church, which had been built for them under the care of the Rev. G. M. Lawson, was entirely destroyed during the battle of Modder River (1900), being in a position exposed to artillery fire [8].

But the most important offshoot of St. Matthew's is the Mission in the Kimberley compounds. Here the Rev. G. Mitchell has for many years pursued with untiring devotion and cheerfulness the laborious and trying work of teaching and converting the natives of many races and languages, drawn from all parts of Southern Africa. Owing to

* The original settlement at the Diamond Fields was known as Du Toits Pan. When the rough camp settled down the newer part called itself Kimberley. They are now different places two miles apart.

the peculiar and constantly changing population the fruit of his labour must remain in great part unknown, but part of it is seen in the number of men, earnest and devout, presented for confirmation on almost every visit of the Bishop of Bloemfontein to Kimberley. Another proof is seen in the trouble the converts put themselves to, the pains they take to learn,* and the alms they give.

Of some converts Mr. Mitchell reported in 1895 that all would sooner or later find their way back to their own respective countries. But in several of those countries there were as yet no Clergy of the Church. Hence the people themselves were "coming and asking us to follow them and go over and help them." To prove their earnestness and sincerity they had worked hard to qualify themselves for the Kingdom of God, and spared no trouble to satisfy the requirements for membership [9].

Bishop Smyth, of Lebombo, who is desirous of seeing a similar system of Mission work established for the East Coast labourers at Johannesburg, stated in 1898 that he had never seen Mr. Mitchell, but he had "heard, in distant parts, words spoken by natives which, if he could hear, would make him praise God for giving him the opportunity of doing such good work for the glory of his Master" [10].

Among the converts in 1894 were a Nyamban and some Xosas, whose language Mr. Mitchell at once began to learn.

The Nyamban was probably the first Christian of his tribe, but where they come from could not be ascertained, possibly somewhere from the north of Swaziland. "Who can tell," said Mr. Mitchell, "how far the Gospel may reach when once accepted by their people, who, after they have made some money in the Diamond Fields, return to their own countries, carrying with them, if it may be so, the pearl of great price—the knowledge of the Gospel?" [11].

Mr. Mitchell's ministrations in the Kimberley gaol in 1899 to some heathen natives who were condemned to death for murder in connection with the rebellion at Phokoane resulted in the conversion of one of the two who were executed; he was baptized, and died in the Christian faith and hope [11*a*].

At Beaconsfield evangelising and educational work has been started and developed by the Society's aid, without which "nothing could have been done." There is a church for natives at Green Point, and in a location the other side of the town work is done amongst the Bechuana, some of whom were scattered from Canon Bevan's Mission at Phokoane during the rebellion of 1897 [12].

In the siege of Kimberley, which lasted from October 14, 1899, to February 15, 1900, the Society's four Missionaries † remained at their posts with the other clergy of the town, sharing the perils and priva-

* One hot morning a big Matabele, about twenty-seven years of age, the perspiration running off his face, after trying first one way and then another with his arms, cried out to a friend that it was easier to drill holes in the mine than to learn to write.

† Archdeacon Holbech, Rev. G. Mitchell, Rev. Canon T. Woodman, Rev. G. M. Lawson. After the relief of Kimberley Canon Woodman was obliged by the state of his health to resign the Rectory of Beaconsfield, and to seek rest in England. At the Diamond Fields he won all hearts by his devotion, and his ambulance and other work will long be remembered. The Rev. W. H. Weekes, of Mafeking fame, has been appointed his successor [13*a*].

tions of their flocks and ministering to their wants. In St. Cyprian's Church daily services were maintained until the last four days of the siege, when it became too dangerous to assemble even a small congregation. (The building had been previously struck by a shell which burst in it.) The Clergy were diligent in visiting and comforting those people —some 3,000 in number—who were, at this stage, lowered into the mines, and those who had sought safety in bomb-proof shelters or remained in their own houses.

On February 18, 1900, the Sunday after the relief of the city, thanksgiving was made in all the churches [13].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 382.)

CHAPTER XLI.

ST. HELENA.

ST HELENA (area 47 square miles), situated in the South Atlantic Ocean, 1,200 miles from the coast of South Africa and 800 from the island of Ascension, was discovered by Juan de Nova Castella, a Portuguese navigator, on St. Helena's Day, May 21, 1502. The Portuguese built a church, but made no permanent settlement, and they kept the situation of the island a secret from other European nations until 1588, when Captain Cavendish visited it. The Dutch held the island from 1645 to 1650 and then abandoned it. The East India Company then took possession of it and were confirmed in their holding by Charters granted in 1661 and 1673, the Dutch meanwhile having twice seized the island and been expelled (1665 and 1673). Excepting for the period of Napoleon's imprisonment there, it remained under the East India Company up to April 1834, when it came under the direct government of the Crown. The "natives" of St. Helena, with the exception of a few English families, have sprung from the intermixture of East Indians, Chinese, Malays, and Africans, in the days of slavery, with English settlers, soldiers, sailors, and other Europeans.

IN November 1704 the Society, "upon a motion from the Treasurer," allowed £5 worth of "small tracts" to the Rev. CHARLES MASHAM, "a Minister sent to . . . St. Helena by the East India Company." A year later Mr. Masham reported his arrival in the island, also that the books "were very acceptable to the inhabitants," and that he catechised in the church "one half of the year"; and the Society sent him in 1706 a supply of Bibles, Prayer Books, and other tracts [1]. Further assistance in this quarter does not appear to have been rendered by the Society until 1847, when it undertook the partial support of the Rev. W. BOUSFIELD, whom Bishop GRAY of Capetown was sending from England to this part of his newly-formed diocese. Previously to Mr. Bousfield's arrival there was only one clergyman (the Rev. R. KEMPTHORNE, Colonial Chaplain) to minister to the 5,000 inhabitants of St. Helena [2]. Visiting the island in March and April 1849 Bishop Gray reported that Messrs. Kempthorne and Bousfield were both "excellent and devoted men, and labouring assiduously in their sacred calling." A military chaplain (Mr. HELPS) had been appointed, and the Bishop ordained a fourth clergyman (Mr. FREY, formerly a German Missionary in India). During his stay the Bishop also confirmed about

a tenth of the whole population of the island, consecrated the church at Jamestown, together with the five burial-grounds on the island, and arranged for the transfer of the Church property from the Government to the See; "held a visitation, with a special view to the reformation of some points in which the Church was defective, and the restoration of Church discipline," and reorganised the local Church and Benevolent Societies. These institutions, with the Government, contributed liberally to the eight island schools, but the state of education was not satisfactory owing to the incompetency of the teachers. For "the first time during a period of 150 years" division had been introduced into the community by the recent arrival of an "advocate of the Anabaptist heresy," but much good had already been brought out of this evil. At Longwood, the billiard-room in the new house built for Napoleon was now being used as a chapel, and "an excellent congregation" attended. Besides the consecrated church there was "an inferior building" in Jamestown called "the Country Church," which the inhabitants were about to replace by a new structure on "one of the most lovely sites" the Bishop had seen [and on which the Cathedral now stands] [3].

At the time of Bishop Gray's visit St. Helena was a great depôt for Africans captured from slavers, about 3,000 being landed every year. In referring to "their village or establishment in Rupert's Valley," he said:—

> "If anything were needed to fill the soul with burning indignation against that master-work of Satan, the Slave-trade, it would be a visit to this institution. There were not less than 600 poor souls in it . . . of these more than 300 were in hospital; some afflicted with dreadful ophthalmia; others with severe rheumatism, others with dysentery; the number of deaths in the week being twenty-one. . . . I was pained to find that no effort is made to instruct these poor things during the time that they are on the island."

A few days after the visit to Rupert's Valley a captured slave ship arrived. "I never beheld a more piteous sight" (wrote the Bishop)—"never looked upon a more affecting scene—never before felt so powerful a call to be .. Missionary. I did not quit that ship without having resolved more firmly than ever, that I would, with the grace and help of God, commence as speedily as possible direct Mission work in Southern Africa" [4].

Mr. Bousfield remained on the Society's list until 1851. The next S.P.G. Missionaries were the Rev. M. H. ESTCOURT (1852–4) and the Revs. E. and G. BENNETT, who were appointed in 1858 to the charge of Jamestown and Rupert's Valley. The remoteness of the island from Capetown called for a resident Bishop, and in 1859 Bishop Gray was enabled to secure its erection into a separate diocese including the islands of Ascension and Tristan d'Acunha. The first Bishop, Dr. PIERS C. CLAUGHTON (cons. in Westminster Abbey on Whitsunday, 1859), landed in St. Helena on October 30, 1859, and was at once assisted by the Society in providing "for the pastoral care and instruction of the coloured portion of the population" [5].

Already the brothers Bennett had "done much to build up souls," and on January 28, 1860, 230 of the liberated slaves, who had been instructed by the Bishop and the Rev. E. Bennett, were baptized at Rupert's Valley. By June several hundreds of the Africans had been

sent to new homes in the West Indies, "either entirely converted and made Christians, or at least brought some steps on the way" [6].

The labours of the Bishop and Missionaries among these Africans were continued with zeal and success. In 1861, 516 adults were baptized by the Rev. E. Bennett; and Prince Alfred, who visited the island in that year, had an opportunity of witnessing the good effected on receiving an address from the rescued slaves.

In this year also the island was divided into parishes, and the Rev. H. J. BODILY was appointed to Longwood [7]. In the next Bishop Claughton was transferred to Colombo and was succeeded by the Ven. T. E. WELBY, who as Archdeacon of George had already rendered good service in the Diocese of Capetown [8].

In 1865 St. Helena contained a population of about 7,000, of whom some 6,400 were members of the Church of England; during the next eight years these numbers had been reduced by emigration, the result of poverty, to 4,500 and 3,500 respectively [9].

Since the diversion of the maritime route to the East by the opening of the Suez Canal the record of St. Helena in temporal matters has been one of continuous poverty; and the difficulty of ministering to the people in spiritual things has been intensified by the withdrawal (in 1871 and 1873) of Government support of the Church. In 1881 the Bishop wrote: "We owe it, under God, to the Society that we are still able, though imperfectly, to meet the spiritual wants of our people" [10].

In its exceptional and growing depression, the Society is thankful to be able to keep alive the ministrations of the Church in this old and remote colony [11]. "So far from having fallen back in spiritual things," the people "are in religious and moral condition very far better than they were in more prosperous times" [12].

The introduction of synodical action in 1886 has tended to make the laity "feel the responsibility of their true position as members of the Church," to call forth "more zeal and earnestness on their part," and to draw "more closely together in mutual goodwill Clergy and laity" [13].

Considering the poverty of the people, their annual contributions to the Society are far greater in proportion than those of many prosperous dioceses [14].

The transportation of Dinizulu and other Zulus to St. Helena by the Natal Government in the interests of peace, brought them in 1890 within reach of the message of the Gospel, and was "wonderfully overruled for their good."

1892-1900.

Dinizulu not only became desirous of baptism himself—which was delayed by the difficulty of polygamy — but also anxious for the conversion of all his people, and in 1894 he wrote to his mother and to his old followers in Zululand, desiring them to place themselves under the instruction of the teachers sent by the Bishop of Zululand, and to render them every

assistance in establishing a missionary station in their district. One of his attendants was confirmed in St. Helena in 1893, and in 1896 they were all cheered and comforted by a visit from the Bishop of Zululand. The exiles, who were well-conducted, and gave not the slightest trouble to the people of the island, were allowed to return to their country in December 1897 [15].

In other respects the record of the diocese during recent years does not, to quote Bishop Welby's words, furnish "any important details of work. . . . With us it is the day of small things, but they will not be disregarded by our Lord, nor fail to be graciously recognised by Him among the works of the Society for His glory and the advancement of His kingdom" [16].

In 1897 the Bishop tendered his resignation to the Metropolitan of the Province of South Africa, but circumstances arose which made it advisable that it should not at once be accepted.

The assessed income of the See was only £150, and in 1898 a meeting was held in St. Helena to consider the question of the future. The parishes in this poor island agreed to be responsible for the raising of £500 towards the endowment of the Bishopric. The feeling was general and enthusiastic, even the poor labouring people came forward with their promises of weekly pennies. Much of this zeal was prompted by affection for the aged Bishop, but there was also the feeling that the See must not be allowed to be removed from the map of Christendom. The need of effort became the greater because, on the Feast of the Epiphany, 1899, Bishop Welby was killed by being thrown out of his carriage.

Bishop Welby had formerly been a missionary of the Society, first in Canada, and afterwards at the Cape. His diocese, which includes Ascension Island, 500 miles to the north, and Tristan d'Acunha, 1,200 miles to the south, was not burdensome as most others are, but it had difficulties of its own, and his work and high character were justly honoured.

Archdeacon Fogg, of George, in the Diocese of Capetown, had been with the Bishop for some time, rendering him much assistance in the conduct of some difficult matters that troubled the last months of his Episcopate, and he remained as Vicar-General for some time afterwards [17].

The present Bishop Dr. Holmes (formerly Dean of Grahamstown), who was consecrated in Capetown Cathedral on St. James' Day, 1899, has done much towards restoring peace and order, which had been sadly upset by an unworthy clergyman, and in organising and extending work. The state of morality amongst the coloured people is very low [18].

The islanders suffered greatly from an epidemic of influenza in 1900 [19].

The advent of the Boer prisoners has caused a certain amount of prosperity to the island, but it has greatly enhanced the cost of living, so that, with certain exceptions, this prosperity has been more nominal than real. The Boers are ministered to by their own minister, while those of them who belong to the English Church have the services of the military chaplain [20].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 882.)

CHAPTER XLII.

TRISTAN D'ACUNHA.

TRISTAN D'ACUNHA is the principal of a group of small islands situated in the centre of the South Atlantic Ocean (lat. 37° 6′ S. and long. 12° 2′ W.), 1,200 miles south of St. Helena and 1,500 west of the Cape of Good Hope. In shape it is nearly a square, each side about five miles in length, the whole forming a vast rock rising almost perpendicularly 3,000 feet out of the sea, and then gradually ascending another 5,000 feet. The only habitable spots are one or two narrow strips of land. The chief of these, lying at the north-west corner, is about five miles in length, and nowhere more than one in breadth. The first man to attempt settlement on Tristan was Jonathan Lambert, an American, who, with two companions, arriving in February 1811 claimed the island as his own, and invited "ships of all nations to trade with him." In connection with the confinement of Napoleon at St. Helena, British troops were sent to occupy Tristan in 1816. On landing (November 28) they found only one of Lambert's party: the others are supposed to have met with foul play. The survivor, Thomas Corrie (an Italian) had been joined by a Spanish boy who had deserted from a passing ship. These two were soon removed, the former by death. In 1817, while arrangements were being made for the abandonment of the military settlement, H.M.S. *Julia* was driven ashore, and sixty souls perished. On the withdrawal of the garrison (November 1817), a corporal of Artillery, William Glass (a Scotchman, and married), with John Nankivel and Samuel Burnell (natives of Plymouth), obtained permission to remain behind. Glass continued in charge of the settlement until his death in 1853. Though born among Presbyterians, he had become attached to the English Church. Under his administration daily prayer became the rule, and for over 30 years he celebrated public worship every Sunday. Up to 1827 Glass was the only one of the permanent settlers who had a wife. In that year the others—then five in number—contracted with a sea captain to bring them help-meets from St. Helena. By 1848 the number of families had increased to nine, and of children to 80. Since the formation of the settlement three ships* had been wrecked in the neighbourhood, and the inhabitants had been instrumental in saving or prolonging the lives of over 60 persons. But contact with American whaleships, calling at Tristan for potatoes and other provisions, had tended to demoralise the islanders.

THE first visit of a clergyman to Tristan d'Acunha was in October 1835, when the Rev. T. H. APPLEGATE, a Missionary going out to India, baptized all the children (29) then on the island. In October 1848 the Rev. JOHN WISE, an S.P.G. Missionary on his way to Ceylon, went on shore several times, preached to the people, and baptized 41 children. Through his representations the S.P.C.K. supplied school-books, and the S.P.G., with the aid of an anonymous benefactor, undertook to provide a clergyman for the community. Mr. W. F. TAYLOR, moved by Mr. Wise's account, offered himself for the post, and having been ordained by the Bishop of London, sailed from England on November 23, 1850. Landing on February 9, 1851, he was heartily welcomed, and on the following Sunday, in the principal

* The *Blenden Hall* (in 1821), *Nassau* (in 1825), and *Emily* (in 1885).

room (16 feet by 12 feet) of Governor Glass' house, "the whole of the 80 souls upon the island met to unite for the first time with an ordained Minister of Christ, in celebrating the Holy Services of the Church." At the first administration of the Holy Communion on Easter Day there were eight communicants. In 1852 a dwelling-house was adapted as a permanent church [1]. Visiting the settlement in 1856 the Bishop of Capetown was "much pleased" with the people.

"The men" (he said) "are English, American, Dutch, Danes. Their wives have come for the most part from St. Helena. The children are fine, healthy, active modest, young men and women. These have been nearly all, more or less, under Mr. Taylor's instruction, and upon them his hopes of a really Christian population have of course mainly rested. The houses are about equal to an English labourer's cottage; the furniture . . . more scanty. At evening prayer we had about 50 present I have never seen a congregation that might not learn a lesson from these poor islanders. Their reverence and devotion impressed us all. . . . Mr. Taylor has prayer in his chapel, morning and evening, throughout the year. Most of the young people, and several of the elder are regular attendants. . . . So far as my short visit enabled me to form an opinion this devoted, self-denying Missionary, who has given up so much to serve the Lord . . . has been very largely blessed in drawing souls to the worship of their God, and the knowledge of their Lord and Saviour. . . . On Good Friday . . . I confirmed 32 . . . there are now only two persons in the island above the age of fifteen . . . unconfirmed. . . . Mr. Taylor keeps a school a portion of each day. . . . His chief society and refreshment consist in the instruction of his children. . . . Except during one anxious year he has suffered very little from depression of spirits . . . God has . . . comforted and upheld his servant amidst circumstances trying to flesh and blood and in a post where unless sustained by a double measure of the Grace of God, the Minister of Christ would be specially liable to grow weary in His Master's work and flag in zeal, and stumble and fall."

Later in 1856 Mr. Taylor and the greater portion of his flock removed to the Cape [2].

The number of inhabitants having increased again, the Mission was revived under the Rev. E. H. Dodgson in 1881. Until Mr. Dodgson volunteered, no one could be found willing to undertake the post which the Bishop of St. Helena had been seeking to fill since 1866 [3]. In order that he might reach the island the Society was obliged to charter a schooner from St. Helena; the Missionary was landed in safety in February 1881, but a gale suddenly springing up the vessel was wrecked, and he had to begin work with the loss of almost the whole of his possessions. In his first report Mr. Dodgson said:—

"There are now 107 persons on the island, in sixteen families. A few are white, but most of them are a sort of mulatto, with clear brown skins, and beautiful eyes and teeth, and woolly hair. They all speak English, slightly Yankeefied—as they do a good deal of trade with the Yankee whalers. I like them very much. It is quite delightful to see such a friendly cordial feeling existing among the whole population. They live just like one large family, though . . . not . . . in common . . . every one works and trades for himself, and . . . some are better off than others, but there seem never to be any disputes. Drunkenness has a hold on a few of the men when they get the chance, but immorality appears to be unknown, and they are decidedly a *religious* people in their simple way, and I have not the least difficulty in getting them to church either on Sunday or week-day. They said that my coming was the best thing that ever happened to the island, and I already feel as much at home as if I had been here twenty years. They are all Church of England people except two Roman Catholics and one Wesleyan, but all come regularly to church. . . . The people make first-rate bread and butter,

and there are quantities of bullocks, sheep, pigs, geese, fowls, potatoes, cabbages, and apples, to say nothing of the dogs, donkeys, wild cats, and sea-birds. . . . The island is much more beautiful than I had any idea of . . . there is always abundance of beautiful water and the climate is most healthy. . . . I feel sure that if the advantages and pleasantness of the island had been better known many Clergymen would have been glad to have come out here" [4].

After "four years' isolation and incessant work and responsibility," which sorely tried his health, Mr. Dodgson came to England in February 1885 to arrange with the Government for the removal of the Tristanites before they were "actually starved out by the rats, which are over-running all the island and eating all the produce." Government sent out £100 worth of provisions to the islanders in 1886, but as there was no prospect of securing their removal and fresh bereavement and distress had come upon them, Mr. Dodgson felt it his duty to throw in his lot with them and minister to their souls. Leaving England in June 1886 he remained with his flock—for a time without stipend—until December 1889, when he was "invalided home," and on medical grounds has been precluded from returning [5].

(1892–1900.) Since Mr. Dodgson's departure the islanders have been without the ministrations of a clergyman except for a visit from the chaplain of a passing ship and from the late Bishop Welby, of St. Helena [6], no suitable candidate having offered for the post [7]. In 1898 Mr. Peter Green himself appealed to the Society for a clergyman, who could also act as doctor and schoolmaster. The inhabitants (seventy-two in number) are, he said, "very poor and plain people, but we are thirsting for the Lord, and our children need education. We would do anything to make life as comfortable as possible for any clergy who felt inclined to come amongst us." In the meantime they feel "more pressed in religion than any other people in the world" [8].

CHAPTER XLIII.

BASUTOLAND.

BASUTOLAND, the Switzerland of South Africa, lies on the eastern side of South Africa between the Orange River Colony (on the west) and the Drakensberg Mountains (on the east). The Basutos form a branch of the Bantu race, composed of the remnants of several tribes shattered by the Matabele early in the present century, and united about 1818 by Moshesh. This chief was in many respects the greatest native ruler that South Africa has produced; and having welded the scattered tribes, suppressed cannibalism, and made his subjects prosperous and contented, he was called "The Chief of the Mountain," his stronghold being on the top of Thaba Bosigo—the "Mountain of Night." After being defeated in a war with the British in 1852, losing a portion of his territory to the Orange Free State in 1866, and thrice appealing for British protection, Moshesh and his people were saved from being "swallowed up" by the Boers by formal recognition as British subjects in 1868. Union with the Cape Colony, effected three years later, did not prove satisfactory to either the Basutos or the Colonial Government. The former rebelled in 1879–80, and the latter were inclined to entirely abandon the country, when the Imperial Government intervened and undertook in 1883–4 its administration, provisionally. The territory is divided into seven districts:—Maseru, Leribe, Cornet Spruit, Berea, Mafeteng, Quithing, and Quacha's Nek.

"WITHOUT doubt there is a vast opening for good in Basuto Land and it is a fair and beautiful country." Thus wrote the Bishop of

the ORANGE FREE STATE after his first visit to this part of his diocese in September 1863. The Rev. A. FIELD, another Missionary of the Society, accompanied the Bishop, and at "Thaba Bosion" [Thaba Bosigo] a long interview was held with Moshesh, who wished to know whether the visit was in consequence of his representations to the Bishop of Capetown and the Queen. "I have had relations with the British Government for thirty years," said he, "but have never seen an English clergyman before. . . . . Go through my country, and fix upon a spot for a station. I will agree to anything you like." The next day, Sunday, the old Chief "came down from his mountain" and the Bishop preached to him in the presence of several hundreds of Basutos, "the French Missionary kindly interpreting sentence by sentence." One of the Chief's sons George had been educated at Capetown; another (Jeremiah), who was then at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, died shortly after. The French Missionaries, who had been sent by the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, appeared to be "men of simple and devoted lives," yet though some had been working in Basutoland thirty years, and all were thoroughly acquainted with the language (Sesuto), they had, they said, "only been able to *touch* the work," and "all expressed a pleasure that the English Church intended to enter upon the work" [1].

When at last in 1875, after repeated calls from Moshesh, the Anglican Church was enabled to occupy Basutoland, the French Missionaries "assumed a hostile attitude," regarding it as an unwarrantable "intrusion" into "their own sphere." But in addition to the fact that the mass of the Basutos were still unconverted there were now Church people unprovided for, both white colonists and Basutos, who had been Christianised in the Cape Colony—at Grahamstown, Reinet, and Zonnebloem, &c. For want of the Church indeed "many of them . . . had lapsed." There were also "whole tribes" of Fingoes as well as Basutos who wished for the English Church and not the French. In fact, as pointed out by Archdeacon Croghan many years later, the principle contended for by the French Mission would "exclude the Church practically from all Mission work" in South Africa. The English Missionaries were therefore directed by Bishop Webb "(i.) to minister to our own Church members and strengthen them; (ii.) to evangelize the heathen; (iii.) not to proselytize the French converts, or receive them when it is only a case of animosity and pique, or vexation at exercise of discipline; but yet not to refuse them admission if conviction and earnest feeling lead them to the Church." A beginning was made at Masero in 1875 among the Europeans by the Rev. E. W. CRESSY, who after ministering over a district of more than 100 square miles for eighteen months established a native Mission at Motale River, in North Basutoland, in 1876. At the place on his first arrival in 1875 a party of immigrants (native Christians who had been "reared and instructed by agents of the Wesleyan Society") (of whom the local magistrate, Mr. Austen, had seen the value of a body and "claimed the shelter of the Church . . . having been for five years," they said, "like sheep without a shepherd") [illegible] was at first held in a stable kept by Mr. Austen, in which the Missionary resided.

By 1877 more suitable premises were erected and services had been opened at Hamanenane's and Makuleng's villages—the latter

among the Fingoes, in their own language (Zulu). Previously to this no Mission work whatever had been done for the Fingoes in Basutoland. Leribe, the northern and most heathen district of the country (containing about 20,000 Basutos and 11,000 Zulus, and only 400 Christians), was occupied in 1876. The local Chief, Moloppo, had in his youth been baptized by the French Protestant Missionaries, but he had now nearly 60 wives. Nevertheless at his first interview with the founders of the new mission he said:—

"Your words are good: and I am glad to welcome the Church into my country. I have often heard of the Church of the Queen, and now I am rejoiced to find the Baruti [teachers] belonging to it have come here. Hitherto I have only seen two kinds of Christians in the country, the Ma-franse [French Protestants] and the Ma-roma [the Romanists]. I have also heard of the Ma-Wesley [the Wesleyans] who have stations on the borders of my country. But I am now glad to see the representatives of Ma-churche [the ordinary name amongst the native tribes for the Church] at my house. It is good to have these four kinds of Christians near. It is like a man having four cows; sometimes he can milk them all, and when some fail him he can always reckon on a supply of milk from the others. So Ma-franse, and Ma-Wesley, and Ma-churche, and Ma-roma all supply us in their own way with good things out of the Word of God."

Thlotse Heights was selected as the basis of operations in Leribe, and there, after living for three months in the open veldt, "sleeping between their boxes," with no roof but that of the "starry heavens," the Rev. J. WIDDICOMBE and Mr. W. LACY established themselves "in round huts made of mud, in native fashion," in order that every penny that could be spared might be "devoted to the erection of a chapel and school." For nine years the Missionaries lived in this way [2].

In January 1877 the first Confirmation in Basutoland was held at Thlotse Heights, and in the same year a Sesuto translation of a portion of the Prayer Book* was issued, and the Rev. B. R. T. BALFOUR opened a new station at Sekubu [3]. The progress of the work generally was greatly hindered by the rebellion which broke out two years later. At Thlotse Heights the church and school were "converted into a barrack," and the Christian Basutos who remained loyal lost their all. Mohalis Hoek was temporarily abandoned by Government, the church and parsonage were destroyed by the Basutos, and Mr. Stenson for a time acted as Chaplain to the British troops. For his own and the Mission losses, amounting in all to £1,150, no compensation could be obtained from Government [4].

In 1883 a new church was opened at Mafeteng to replace the one destroyed at Mohalis Hoek. The Clergy, though exposed to danger, were now (1883–4) "bravely holding their posts" and amid many "outside perils" had "much compensating success" [5].

Since the pacification of the country, secured by the intervention of the Imperial Government [*see* p. 324], there has been a great advance in the Church Missions, which all along have been mainly supported by the Society. "A very distinct movement towards Christianity is going on among the natives of Basutoland," wrote the Bishop of Bloemfontein in January 1891. "Two chiefs have ceased to be polygamists and have both been confirmed and the headman of a

* The publication of the greater part of the Prayer Book in Sesuto was undertaken in 1891 with the aid of the S.P.C.K. [3*a*].

village was baptized but a few weeks ago. I find a greater desire for *friendliness—civility* in nearly every case there has always been." Recently six chiefs had met the Bishop and spoken to him privately on a matter in connection with the Church, and some have stayed with him in Bloemfontein. At Sekubu "the heathen barrier is breaking down." Nearly 200 natives will attend the church on ordinary occasions. The special work of this Mission is the training of native youths. Thlotse Heights has "one of the finest churches in South Africa," and in it the grandsons of cannibals unite in singing God's praises.

A new off-shoot is growing at Tsiokane, and, further south, Masupha's is being occupied at the invitation of the Chief, who has promised a good site. In the central district there is a flourishing Mission at Masite (begun by the Rev. T. WOODMAN in 1884) among Barolong immigrants from Thaba 'Nchu [*see* p. 350] as well as the native Basutos. Several confirmations have lately been held there, attended by the Chiefs, who "behaved admirably." Mohalis Hoek is now the centre of native Mission districts, and the small community of Europeans there is also being ministered to. The work of the Clergy in Basutoland is supplemented by a body of some 20 licensed catechists and by a Medical Mission which, established in 1888 and principally maintained by the S.P.C.K., has during the first 18 months of its existence attended to 5,572 cases [6]. The blessing which has attended the planting of these Missions justifies the hope that with sufficient agency the whole of Basutoland would be won for Christ. As it is the majority of the people are "still thoroughly heathen" [7], though "on all sides" they are making "rapid strides . . . towards a more civilised and industrious life" [8]. The opposition on the part of the French Missionaries in Basutoland—both Protestant and Roman Catholic—once manifested towards the presence there of the Anglican Church appears to have been overcome by the conduct of the S.P.G. Missionaries in endeavouring to avoid collision or interference with other men's labours, and, instead of returning railing for railing, showing "courtesy always to those who have differed" from them [9]. (In Canon Widdicombe's "Fourteen Years in Basutoland,"* 1876–90, will be found an admirable account of the country and people [10].)

1892–1900.

In his "Impressions of South Africa," Mr. James Bryce said that nowhere has the Gospel made such progress among the Kaffirs as in Basutoland.

"The Missionaries—French Protestant, Roman Catholic, and English Episcopalian—working not only independently, but on very different lines, have brought nearly 50,000 natives under Christian influences. . . . Education is

* See also "In the Lesuto," by the same author (S.P.C.K.).

spreading.* There are now 150 schools in the country, all but two of which are conducted by the Missionaries. . . . The extinction of heathenism in South Africa may be deemed certain, and certain at no distant date. . . . So much may certainly be said: that the Gospel and the Mission schools are at present the most truly civilising influences which work upon the natives, and that upon these influences, more than on any other agency, does the progress of the coloured race depend."

Sir Godfrey Lagden, the resident Commissioner of Basutoland, also bears witness to the "valuable influences of Christianity" in the country.

A beneficial change, which Sir Marshall Clark attributes largely to the Missionaries, is that, whereas formerly in Basutoland women did the work, men now do it [11].

An interesting feature of the Society's Missions is the anxiety with which the Missionaries are besought by many of the chiefs to send teachers to the people [12].

As the country is strictly kept by the Government for the occupation of its own native inhabitants, settlement by colonists being prohibited, Basutoland offers a Mission field almost unique in South Africa. During the years 1875-98 the Basuto population increased from 127,000 to nearly 300,000 [13].

A visitor in 1896 said that the work of the Church Missionaries was such as to remind one of "St. Columba and the saints of old" [14]. At that time, though the force of heathenism was still great, and there was much to try the faith and patience of Missionaries, distinct progress was being made. From the following notes of the several Missions it will be seen that the progress has continued [15].

Mohalis Hoek (1892–1900).

The present Mohalis Hoek (South Basutoland), a township planted on the ashes of the one destroyed by the native rebels, consists of an irregular cluster of houses in a picturesque corner or "Hoek," overlooked by the Drakenberg, with groups of native huts nestling against the sides of the hills. The new church (St. Stephen's), consecrated in 1896, was built (in place of that destroyed in "the Gun War of 1880") for the use of natives as well as the English. The latter have been helpful and sympathetic in regard to Mission work [16].

Among the outstations are (1) Khalosi—where the Rev. M. A. Reading himself built all the brick seats of a church in 1897. (2) Mosi's village, where the Chief Mosi, who had many villages and hamlets under his care, waited six years (1887-93) for a promised teacher. (3) Motate's, where the old blind chief was confirmed in 1893. (4) Kabe's village, Quthing, near Fort Hartley, where a Mission room was built by a catechist, aided by the people before they became Christians [17]. (5) The village at Quthing, of the Chief Griffiths, second son of the paramount chief of Basutoland. Griffiths, who was named after a former resident Commissioner, Colonel Griffiths, was

[* In 1899 the Government gave the Church Mission a new grant of £250 a year for education, on condition that provision was made for the education of white children at Maseru and Mafeting, and a general superintendent of all the Church schools in the country appointed.]

with his wife and twenty-two other adults publicly admitted to the catechumenate in 1897. If he remains firm, is ultimately baptized, and continues faithful, he will (as was said in 1897) be the only chief in Basutoland that has done so [17*a*].

Mafeting (1892–1900).

At the time of its separation from Mohalis Hoek Mission in 1894 Mafeting was unique in that it was the only town in Basutoland which was "fast becoming Christian." So much was this the case that heathen, chancing to come to reside there, found themselves in such a minority, and with so few kindred spirits to associate with, that they either became Christians or were disposed to leave for villages having greater heathen populations. Christian visitors from other parts invariably remarked that "in Mafeting every day seems like a Sunday, for the congregation is always so large." Taken singly, no congregation in Basutoland was as large, and none more exemplary. This condition was attributed to the labours and influence of a good catechist, the large number of men among the converts—eight of whom formed a "Council of Advice" to the Missionary—the reverence and attention of the congregation, their almsgiving, and their respect for and deference to their clergy, a result of their being better educated and more infused with general Christian civilisation than in any other part of the country. At the induction of the Rev. T. Woodman, in 1894, as director of the Mission (in connection with the charge of Wepener, in the now "Orange River Colony"), the hymns were sung both in English and Basuto simultaneously, the one part of the congregation being scarcely conscious that at the same time others were singing in a different tongue. The English seemed to vie with their Basuto brethren in the pride and pleasure they took in the Church [18].

Masite (1892–1900).

The work at Masite was carried on with great energy by the Rev. S. Weigall. Among those confirmed in 1893 were Stephen Lerothodi (a son of the paramount chief) and Nehemiah Bereng (the son and heir of the local chief), who were then sent to the Kaffir Training Institution at Grahamstown. The old chief, Bereng, was a rampant heathen, and at the time of his death, about 1896, his son had become a lapsed Christian [19]. In 1893 there were about 250,000 heathen in Basutoland, and from 15,000 to 20,000 Christians among them, so that to be a Christian "meant, indeed, taking up the Cross and following Christ." Especially was this the case with the men, and though conversions among them were rare, at least in Masite, they have included a few polygamists. One of these, who died in the Faith in 1893, was buried in his own village, thirty miles from Masite, two hundred heathen men and women being gathered around his grave, while in their midst stood the Missionary and three other Christian men [20].

The most hopeful feature of the work has been a boarding school, established in 1896, intended to supply an able staff of schoolmasters and catechists, which is greatly needed. One of the catechists

employed in 1896 had been Bishop Knight-Bruce's servant in Mashonaland [21].

At this time there was a great revival of old heathen customs in Basutoland—the circumcision school—and all the various forms of witchcraft. Some Christian youths who had been excommunicated for joining in sinful practices were admitted as penitents after making a public confession in church [22].

The confirmation of 140 candidates at Masite by Bishop Hicks, of Bloemfontein, on September 17, 1899, was "the last public act which he performed." A few days afterwards he was laid up with inflammation of the veins of his legs, brought on by his ceaseless travelling all over his diocese, and on the night of October 11, just when the Boers declared war against England, he died suddenly and painlessly at Maseru, where he was buried on the 13th,* only three of his clergy being present, as the "Free State" border was closed [23].

Maseru, which had been joined to the Masite† Mission for some years, received a resident clergyman again in 1899 [24].

Thlotse Heights (1892–1900).

The establishment in 1894 of St. Mary's College for the Training of Natives as catechists and schoolmasters, and ultimately, it is hoped, as clergy, promises to make its influence felt even beyond Basutoland. All over the country the work of the Church had been suffering from the want of properly trained teachers [25]. An industrial department has been added to the college. [*See* p. 786c.]

In 1897 work was begun at Senyukutus, an important heathen centre at the foot of the Malutis, by one of the native converts, Mikaele Ramokemane, "the grand old man of the Mission" [26].

Neither the cattle plague nor the drought in 1896–97 affected the native congregation‡ at the Central Station except to increase the numbers far beyond the accommodation of the church.

The Basutos, for the most part, took their losses patiently, but some in Masupha's district attributed the cattle plague to "white man's witchcraft" [27].

To the same cause was attributed the restoration to reason of a Fingo girl in 1894, whose heathen parents took such terrible measures to prevent her becoming a Christian that she went mad. The recovery during a fit of madness in church by the interposition of the Christian priest reads like a page from primitive Church history.

Many girls and married women have been prevented from becoming Christians by marital or other ties. One-half of the catechumen class in 1896 consisted of such women [28].

In 1892 the Mission under Canon Widdicombe's care was subdivided, Tsikoane and Sekubu being formed into separate Missions.

* Just before his death the Bishop said to Sir Godfrey Lagden, "If I die here I should like to be buried here as the sun rises over those beautiful mountains." The wish was carried out—though not without the risk of an attack from the Boers—and as he was laid to rest, even the native pickets fell in to join in singing in their own language the hymn "Thy will be done."

† Among the outstations of Masite are Matsieng and Thaabe. Constant applications have been made (1897-98) by chiefs and people for teachers and schools [24*a*].

‡ The services for the small European population were also well attended.

At the former place the congregation had in 1896 much decreased in consequence of the opposition of the chief, a lapsed Christian. So greatly was he feared, that many of the heathen said, "Our chief is our god." During the next four years the congregation largely increased [29].

The Sekubu district was, in 1894, the most heathen of the Lesutho. It became an offshoot of Thlotse Heights in 1877 under Canon Balfour, who built a stone church at his own cost, while content to live in a native hut. It had to brave the storms of tribal wars, and twice had to be left to the mercy of the Basutos. After his departure the Mission was carried on by the Rev. T. Woodman, the Rev. W. Ball, and by Mr. and Mrs. Wood, whose labours in the boarding school and the kraals had resulted in the scattering of good seed far and wide, when in 1894 the founder resumed charge. The chief, though then still a heathen, was kindly disposed, and sent one of his sons to the school.* His mother, who with her husband had relapsed into heathenism forty years before, returned to the fold in 1893 [30].

In order to "drive some teaching on the Resurrection" into the heads of his flock, Canon Balfour, on Easter Day 1896, gave them "a sermon in acorns" by leading them to the cemetery after matins, and getting them to sow acorns, telling them that they must look out for a resurrection in the following year. Ill-health, the effects of journeys and privations in Mashonaland, where, as well as in other parts of South Africa, his Apostolic zeal and devotion are well known, led to Canon Balfour's withdrawal from Sekubu in 1899† [31].

In the Boer war of 1899–1900 Basutoland occupied a strange position. The Boer leaders did "their utmost to persuade the Basuto to rise and destroy the English in the country," but as a whole the natives remained loyal to England. With the old rebel section (under Joel Molapo) the Boers succeeded, and the Missionaries at Thlotse Heights were for a time in great danger, an attack being frustrated mainly through the vigilance of the chief, Jonathan. The Missionaries in Basutoland aided the Government in restraining the Basutos from attacking the Boers, which they (to the number of 30,000) were eager to do.

Notwithstanding the unrest and excitement the work of the Mission went on as usual, and during the greater part of the war Basutoland was "almost the only safe territory in South Africa for people of English race." Many Uitlanders from the "Free State" fled to Thlotse Heights for refuge [32].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 382.)

* The Boarding School, in connection with which industrial training was begun in 1893, was closed in 1897.

† After recruiting in England he returned to S. Africa in 1901 as Archdeacon of Bloemfontein.

CHAPTER XLIV.

NATAL.

NATAL (situated on the south-east coast of Africa, about 800 miles from the Cape of Good Hope) was discovered by Vasco de Gama (a Portuguese) on Christmas Day 1497. The Dutch (about 1721) and the English (about 1824–9) made unsuccessful attempts to colonise it. In 1837 a large body of Dutch farmers (Boers) in the Cape Colony, dissatisfied with English government, migrated to Natal. The district was then and had been for some time under the sway of the Zulu King, Dingaan. He treacherously slew many of the emigrants, and a war ensued. After a two years' struggle the Boers obtained the mastery; but in turn submitted to the Cape Government in 1842. The country was formally proclaimed a British colony in 1843, constituted a part of the Cape Colony in 1844, and made a distinct and separate colony in 1856. Zululand was annexed to it in 1897. The combined area is 29,434 square miles (Natal 18,918 sq. m. and Province of Zululand 10,521 sq. m.). More than four-fifths of the inhabitants of Natal are Zulu-Kaffirs—for the most part the descendants of refugees from the cruelties of Panda. [*See* p. 335.]

NATAL was originally included in the Diocese of Capetown, whose first Bishop (Dr. R. GRAY) reported to the Society in June 1849 that he had appointed the Rev. J. GREEN to Pieter Maritzburg (the capital) and the Rev. Mr. LLOYD* to Durban, and Mr. STEABLER—the last with a view to a Mission to the Kaffirs. "Up to the period of my sending Mr. Green there," he added, "there was no clergyman of our Church. He has not been there long and I have not yet heard of Mr. Lloyd's or Mr. Steabler's arrival, but . . . £500 has already been raised for two churches and there are excellent congregations. Mr. Green officiates four times every Sunday, once in Dutch. The Methodists have their Missionaries there and there are several Missionaries from America" [1].

In 1850 Bishop GRAY visited Natal. He reached Maritzburg on May 18, and the next day, Whitsunday, preached morning and evening in the Government schoolroom, the place where the services were held. There was "a large congregation, filling the whole room," and 25 persons communicated.

"When the choir broke forth with the Psalm, 'O come, let us sing unto the Lord,' . . . I was for the moment quite overcome," the Bishop wrote. "The sacredness of the day itself, its peculiar appropriateness for the first service of the first bishop of the Church of God in this land—the devout and reverential manner of the congregation that had been gathered by the zeal and earnestness of my dear friend—gratitude to Almighty God for what He has already wrought for us in this land—and a very fervent desire that God . . . might pour abundantly the gift of His holy Spirit upon our infant Church—all these contributed to make me feel very deeply the services of this day."

On the following Thursday forty-four candidates were confirmed. Several Dutch were present with their minister, who afterwards informed the Bishop that his people "liked the service, but objected to the coloured people, of whom there were several, being confirmed along with the rest." At Durban (in the schoolroom) eleven others were confirmed (on June 8), and both there, at Maritzburg, Verulam, and on "the Cotton Company's lands, lately sold to Mr. Byrne," arrangements were made for the erection of churches. In other instances private individuals offered

* [Rev. W. H. C. Lloyd.]

from 200 to 300 acres of land on condition of clergymen being appointed to minister in their neighbourhood. During the Bishop's stay (May 18–July 2) he consecrated burial-grounds at Maritzburg and Durban, and (at the former place on Trinity Sunday) ordained Mr. W. A. STEABLER. He also devoted much time to maturing a scheme for the establishment of Missionary Institutions for the heathen in Natal, the object being their conversion to the faith of Christ, the education of the young, the formation of industrial habits, and the relief of the sick and afflicted. The Lieut.-Governor highly approved of the scheme, but saw difficulties in the way of its entire adoption. The population of Natal at this time was estimated at 125,000, of whom 115,000 were Zulu refugees. Such was the tyranny of the Zulu King, Panda, that were it not that the bringing of cattle across the frontier was forbidden, "his whole people would leave him, take refuge in the colony [Natal], and place themselves under British protection." The refugees were "most docile and manageable." In scarcely a "single case" had they yet "fallen into habits of intoxication," but the great influx of European population was beginning to affect them. They were learning European "ways, and habits, and manners, and vices." They showed "a great aptitude for labour and willingness to work," and had "the very greatest respect for law and constituted authority." But the great obstacle to their conversion was that "they practise fearful abominations, and love to have it so." The Bishop was present at the reception of ambassadors from Panda, also at a native war dance—a sight "painful and humiliating. The men looked more like demons than human beings."

On leaving Natal the Bishop was accompanied by three Kaffir guides, to whom he imparted some religious instruction. They said that in their ignorant state "they had some sort of idea of a Great Preserver, different from and above their gods, who had been their ancestors." Praying to God, they said, was "like going to their chief and asking him to forgive them any fault," but they "expressed astonishment at being told that God forgave those who were sorry for sin and left off sinning. Very few chiefs ever did this." During Sunday service they doubled themselves up close beside the Christians, and put their carosses over their faces while the Bishop offered the prayers of the Church. "In this land of darkness and the shadow of death cold indeed must he be who prays not fervently and frequently, 'Thy kingdom come'" [2].

In 1853 the Rev. T. G. FEARNE was placed at Richmond—a newly-formed district with a rapidly-increasing population of immigrants from England; and the Rev. H. H. METHUEN, two catechists, and an agriculturist were sent to form a Missionary settlement among the natives according to Bishop Gray's plan [3]. The Society also promoted the formation of Natal into a separate Bishopric, contributing £1,500 to the endowment, which through its representations to the Colonial Bishoprics Council was completed by that body [4]. The first Bishop, Dr. J. W. COLENSO, was consecrated in England on November 30, 1853, and landed at Durban on January 30, 1854. After spending ten weeks in ascertaining the wants of his Diocese, he returned to England to procure additional fellow-labourers and pecuniary means to carry out his plans [5]. In May 1855 he was again in his diocese, and during the next eight years he received and

administered substantial aid from the Society, eleven Missionaries* being aided and the annual expenditure raised to £1,800 [6].

The Rev. H. H. Methuen returned to England in 1854, and the location of the proposed Native Industrial Institution was removed from Umkomas' Drift to Ekukanyeni [="place of light"], within six miles of Maritzburg, where a farm containing 4,000 acres of land was assigned to the Mission contiguous to the Bishop's residence. Preliminary services were held at Ekukanyeni by the Revs. Dr. CALLAWAY and R. ROBERTSON in 1855, and under the superintendence of the Rev. T. G. Fearne (Dec. 1855–Jan. 1856) the Industrial School was opened on January 31, 1856, with 19 children, brought by their heathen parents and friends to the number of 100 [7].

The Bishop (known to the natives as "Sobantu") now became the principal Missionary at this station, and the Institution soon proved "one of the most efficient agencies set on foot in this Diocese, by the Society, for the conversion and civilization of the Native people." Children of several Chiefs were admitted, including Umkungo, son and heir of Panda. The first baptism took place in 1857, and two years later the number of pupils had risen to 51, of whom 9 were girls [8]. Successful beginnings of Missionary work among the natives were also made at Maritzburg in 1854 (by Dr. Callaway), Durban 1855, and Ekufundisweni (or Umlazi) 1856 (by Rev. R. Robertson), Ladysmith 1856 (by Mr. Barker), Springvale (or Umkomanzi) 1858 (by Dr. Callaway), and Richmond about 1858 (by Mr. Taylor) [9].

At the Umlazi in 1856, the Natal Government "according to the custom" which it had "adopted with the Missions of all religious bodies in this Colony," granted a homestead of 500 acres for the support of the Mission, and set apart in connection with it a farm of 5,000 acres, out of which small freeholds were to be granted to such Kaffirs as might be recommended by the Missionaries. The first confirmation of Kaffirs in Natal took place at this station—Ekufundisweni [="place of teaching"]—on June 4, 1856, when three converts and a white man were confirmed in the presence of some 100 heathen [10].

From the Richmond district, which included Byrne and Little Harmony, the Rev. T. G. Fearne reported in 1855 that until the Society provided a clergyman "the whole of the population were as sheep having no shepherd. Sabbaths were to a great extent almost forgotten; . . . and indeed it was to be feared that the rising generation would differ little from the Heathen population around them save in their colour and language" [11]. More than this, the neglect of the settlers tended to demoralise the natives, as was seen by the fact that whereas in 1850 drunkenness was almost unknown among the latter, a few years later it had become one of "their worst vices." Mr. Barker of Ladysmith, whom they regarded "as a sort of chief," made it a rule to fine the men for drunkenness, and the women for fighting—2*s.* 6*d.* in each case—which sums were readily paid by the offenders towards building a schoolroom [11*a*].

While in Maritzburg, Dr. Callaway was attached to St. Andrew's

* Messrs. J. Green, T. G. Fearne (*see* above), and H. Callaway (1854 &c.), R. Robertson (1856 &c.), W. O. Newnham (1857 &c.), C. S. Grubbe (1858 &c.), W. Baugh (1858 &c.), T. Barker (1858 &c.), J. Walton (1858 &c.), A. W. L. Rivett (1859 &c.), A. Tonnesen (1860).

—the first church completed in Natal—and undertook by permission of the Government the education of a youth who, three years before, being then about the age of nine, had been taught to smoke insango, a species of hemp, and, becoming temporarily deranged, had killed his own father and one or two other Kaffirs. But for the interference of the English magistrate, by whom he was sentenced to fourteen years' imprisonment, he would have been killed by his tribe, from whom he was now an outcast; but under Dr. Callaway's influence William Ngcwensa became some years later one of the first two South African natives to receive ordination in the Anglican Church [12].

The Cathedral, Maritzburg (under the Rev. J. GREEN) was opened for service on Lady Day, 1857, and consecrated on the 2nd July, the whole of the nine clergymen of the diocese being present [13].

In 1858 a Conference of Clergy and Laity of the Diocese was convened to consider the question of establishing a Synod. Four clergymen withdrew from the Conference, but a "Church Council" was organised, and held its first meeting in Maritzburg on July 13, 1858 [14].

The progress of the Church in Natal, which had been full of hope and encouragement, was arrested a few years later by divisions, the effects of which are still felt. In 1863 it became necessary for the Society to withhold its confidence from Bishop COLENSO, until he should be "cleared from the charges notoriously incurred by him" by reason of certain publications. Such was the advice of its President, Archbishop Longley, given at its request and after conference "with his episcopal brethren"; and consequently the Society on February 20, 1863, decided to postpone the Bishop of Natal's election as a vice-president, and meanwhile to entrust the administration of its grants to the diocese to a local committee, consisting of the Dean of Maritzburg, the two Archdeacons, and two laymen [15].

Three years having passed without a refutation or withdrawal of the charges, the Society on May 18, 1866, formally agreed that none of its Missionaries should be subject to Bishop Colenso, and that under the existing circumstances they should communicate with the Society through the Natal Committee, and that the Bishop of Capetown should be requested to give such episcopal superintendence and supply for the time such episcopal ministrations as he could afford or obtain from any other of the South African Bishops* [16]. Previously to this decision Bishop Colenso had been excommunicated† by order of the South African Bishops [17]; but the secular courts upheld his position, so that those clergy not submitting to him were ejected from their churches and deprived of all benefit in the Church property held in trust by him [18].

* In January 1880 the Society reaffirmed the resolutions by which it ceased to recognise the episcopal authority of Dr. Colenso, and recorded its determination to "uphold and maintain the sole episcopal authority of Bishop Macrorie within the Colony of Natal, as committed to him by the Church in South Africa." This action was rendered necessary by the fact that a clergyman had gone out from England with the intention of acting ministerially under Dr. Colenso as Bishop within the Colony, and had publicly declared that in so doing he had received the good wishes and encouragement of eminent persons in England [16*a*].

† The sentence of excommunication pronounced by the Bishop of Capetown, December 16, 1865, was published in the Cathedral Church of Maritzburg on Sunday, January 7, 1866 [17*a*].

had been raised towards the endowment of the Clergy. This was exclusive of 8 churches and 8 parsonages still in possession of the Colensoites, but which it was hoped might eventually revert to the Church. "The fruits of the Society's assistance may be thankfully recognised in almost every part of the diocese," he added [32].

Among the East Indian coolies in Natal (of whom there are now [1892] 42,000) Mission work was begun at Isipingo and the Umzinto in 1864–5 [33]; but the claims of the settlers and Kaffirs prevented any continuous and worthy effort until 1884 [34].

Since then special Coolie Missions have been organised, which, with Durban as the centre, are extending throughout the diocese. These Missions are under the general superintendence of the Rev. L. Booth, M.D., who gave up his practice as a physician in order to devote himself to this work. Visiting India in 1890 he enlisted the services of two Tamil Clergymen to minister to the Tamils who form more than one half of the coolies in Natal. The medical department has put the Mission "in touch with all sorts and conditions of Indian people," while the establishment of schools for the children has led to the baptism of parents as well as pupils, and the work, both among the Tamil and the Hindi-speaking people, is full of hope and promise [35]. Though Hindu temples have been erected in Natal, caste has lost its hold on the coolies, and it is encouraging to learn that the converts "abroad in goldfields have influenced others to become Christians" [35*a*].

After Bishop Colenso's death [in 1883] protracted but unsuccessful attempts were made by a small section of the colonists to perpetuate division by the appointment of a successor to him [36]. Several of his Clergy have been reconciled to the Church [37].

1892–1900.

Partly with the hope of reuniting the diocese under one fully recognised Bishop, Dr. Macrorie resigned the See in 1892. The selection of a successor was delegated to the Archbishop of Canterbury by the "Church Council," which promised obedience to the Bishop whom he sent, as well as by the Elective Assembly of the Church of the Province. Dr. A. H. Baynes, on whom the choice fell, was consecrated in Westminster Abbey on Michaelmas Day, 1893, as Bishop for "Natal and Maritzburg," his title being left at first undetermined. By arrangement with the South African Bishops in 1894 the title "Bishop of Natal" was provisionally adopted, a designation which was confirmed by the Provincial Synod of South Africa in 1898 [38, 39].

The cordial welcome given to the Bishop on his arrival in his diocese confirmed the hopes previously cherished that the days of separation and distrust would soon be ended; but, after the warmth

of his first reception, he was met with a demand that he should "guarantee the permanence of the constitution adopted by those outside the Province" of South Africa. As this would have had the effect of guaranteeing disunion, instead of securing reunion, the Bishop refused, whereupon a majority of the "Church Council" deliberately disowned the Bishop for whom they had petitioned. On appeal the Council was disowned by majorities in the congregations which it nominally represented, and therefore the Bishop's dealings with it ceased. The Bishop went to the utmost limit of that conciliation which is distinct from compromise, and was supported by the South African Bishops, who, in 1894, put forth a statement with the hope of assisting in the removal of the hindrances to unity. "The idea that there is any desire or design to separate from the Mother Church" is, the Bishops said, "absolutely without foundation." On the contrary, they "are determined jealously to safeguard the union with the Mother Church and with the whole Anglican Communion," and this is "fully guaranteed" in the provincial constitution and canons. Being "not anxious that final questions of faith and doctrine should rest with the Province in isolation," the Bishops favoured the appointment of a "Central Council of Reference" by the Lambeth Conference, and failing that, as merely a temporary and *ad interim* expedient, "to adopt the plan in practice in the Australian Province," of seeking the advice of a "Council of Reference" in England, consisting of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London, together with "four laymen learned in the law" [40].

A fresh trouble arose in 1895, when the vestry of one of the so-called "Church of England" churches, viz., St. Paul's, Durban, which had previously accepted the episcopal rule of Bishop Baynes, declined to receive the new incumbent appointed by the Bishop, viz., Archdeacon Baines, on the ground that he had signed the canons of the Province of South Africa.

For one Sunday at least the church was closed, but eventually the difficulty was arranged, the Bishop himself for a time taking the incumbency.

An important step as regards the questions at issue in the Church in Natal was taken in 1898. It will be remembered that the Bishops had pledged themselves in 1894 to endeavour to obtain from the Lambeth Conference the creation of a Council of Reference. This effort had been only partially successful. The Lambeth Conference had declined to create a Council of Reference for judicial appeals, but it had gone so far as to request the Archbishop of Canterbury to nominate a Consultative Body to give information and advice to those who might seek it. The difficulty of the so-called "Church of England" in Natal had always been that under the Third Proviso of the Constitution of the Province, which freed the Church from the decisions of tribunals other than her own, or of such Court of Appeal as might thereafter be recognised by the Provincial Synod, there was nothing to prevent a clergyman from being condemned in South Africa for heresy, who would have been acquitted in England, or *vice versâ*. The aim of the Bishop of Natal had therefore been to remove this ground of complaint by the establishment of some sort of Appellate

jurisdiction which would secure uniformity of interpretation of the standards of faith and doctrine, and such an appeal had been foreshadowed in the Third Proviso itself, as already quoted. The Bishop of Natal therefore placed upon the Agenda paper of the Provincial Synod, which met in Capetown in November 1898, after an interval of eight years, a resolution securing that a right of appeal to the Consultative Body created at the instance of the Lambeth Conference should be granted on questions of faith and doctrine, and that the decisions of that body should be binding. The proposal was open to the objection that the Lambeth Conference, having deliberately refused to create a Court of Appeal, it might be said that the Bishop's proposal was practically going behind the Lambeth Conference, and that the members of the Consultative Body might object to that Body's being transformed into a Court of Appeal. To meet this difficulty, the Bishop of Natal paid a flying visit to England, just before the meeting of the Provincial Synod, and obtained the consent of all the English members of the Consultative Body to act in the way proposed by his resolution, and also their expression of approval of the plan. Armed with this support, the Bishop returned for the Provincial Synod, and the important measure creating the Court of Appeal was carried with only three dissentients. The more reasonable among those who had hitherto stood aloof from the Province in Natal felt the gain which had thus been secured. Already in 1897 St. Peter's, Pietermaritzburg, Bishop Colenso's Cathedral, had thrown in its lot with the Province, and now, in consequence of what has been above stated, St. Thomas's, Durban, took a similar course.

There still remained one important congregation which rejected this Eirenicon—St. Paul's, Durban. This was the more disappointing as St. Paul's, along with St. Thomas', had passed a resolution before the Provincial Synod pledging the Vestry to accept the Court of Appeal (if it were created by the Synod) as the basis of reunion. The Archbishop of Canterbury wrote strongly in reply to one member of the opposition, urging him and his followers to adopt this course, in accordance with their previous resolve, and on their still declining to do this the Archbishop wrote the following letter to the Bishop of Natal :—

"LAMBETH PALACE, S.E., May 31, 1899.

"MY DEAR BISHOP OF NATAL,

"I am very sorry that all our efforts to restore peace and unity to the Diocese of Natal should be frustrated in the way that the accounts I received from the people on the spot show has been the case. It is difficult to understand what those who oppose you hope to obtain. The Church at Home can, of course, recognise the Diocese as a part of the Province of South Africa, and in no other capacity. Nothing that has happened takes that Diocese out of that Province. If the residents in the diocese choose to separate themselves and endeavour to constitute a new body outside the Province, the Church at Home could not recognise them in any way, could not consecrate a Bishop for them, could not admit their Clergy to English work in England. They could not bring any disputes before any Ecclesiastical

Courts. They would be, like the Nonconformists, within the cognisance of the Civil Courts of the Colony, and these disputes would be dealt with as breaches of trust, and their appeals to England would be to the Civil Courts alone. This is not, as far as appears, what they desire. But there is nothing else open. I entirely approve of all the steps you have taken. Perhaps untiring patience may succeed where everything else has failed. But I am deeply grieved that this most deplorable schism should still continue to make a scandal before the eyes of the whole Anglican Communion.

Yours faithfully in Christ,
(Signed) F. CANTUAR.

The attitude of St. Paul's would be comparatively unimportant—indeed there are still three parishes in the Cape Diocese which hold aloof from the Synods—were it not that that attitude lends colour to the legal fiction that there is still, in Natal, a "Church of England" as distinct from the "Church of the Province of South Africa," and as such entitled to the use of a considerable body of property which was held in the name of Bishop Colenso "in trust for the Church of England," and which, since his death, has been administered by curators of the Court in the interests of this shadowy body, which, as a matter of fact, is unable to make use of the greater part of the property from having no separate existence, except in Durban.

However, St. Paul's having adopted this line, it becomes now a question of time. There is nothing more to be done until wiser counsels prevail and until the influence of the new and much esteemed Incumbent (the Rev. G. E. Weeks) has secured a majority in the Vestry for union. When once the reunion is completed by the accession of St. Paul's to the Synod legislation to settle the outstanding property question will not be difficult.

But Bishop Baynes did not feel that his presence was necessary to this result. Indeed, considering that some people had been inclined to make the controversy a personal one, he thought that the path of union might even be smoother and shorter for a new Bishop. And, therefore, when the Bishop of Southwell offered him the charge of St. Mary's, Nottingham (and that just at the close of the seven years for which Archbishop Benson had pledged him to Natal,*) he, after much consideration and consultation, decided in 1900 to tender his resignation to the Archbishop and Bishops of the Province. Since his resignation was announced, the Vestry of St. Paul's has passed a resolution affirming its desire for unity with the Church of the Province. This is a step in advance on their previous attitude, but the resolution is coupled with conditions with regard to the property settlement which will probably be found impracticable, and therefore there is still need for patience.

Reviewing the position generally, at the close of 1900 Bishop Baynes regarded the present condition of the Church in Natal as one which need cause no anxiety and as full of promise for the future. There is no longer, as there was seven years ago, a dual Diocesan Organisation. The so-called Church of England party is prepared

* *See* Archbishop Benson's "Life," Vol. II., p. 510.

to accept a Bishop* appointed by the Church of the Province as they have already accepted clergy who have signed the constitution of that Church (even the Incumbent of St. Paul's, Durban, has now signed the Constitution), and the old bitterness is now to a great extent a thing of the past [41].

In addition to these troubles of controversy there was another which weighed on the Bishop, and yet one which showed that spiritual activity was taking the place of barren controversy. "We are in a state bordering on insolvency," he wrote in 1895. "In spite of every effort, we cannot pay our clergy. The work will increase. Each year the Synod is beset with such pressing claims, both for the white people and the heathen." Several of the older parishes in the country, as well as the towns, were already self-supporting [42], and fresh local interest was aroused by a Provincial Missionary Conference held at Maritzburg in October 1895 [43].†

During the Boer invasion in 1899–1900 the Bishop and his clergy devoted much time to ministering to the troops and to the sick and wounded, and conspicuous service was rendered, especially by Archdeacon Barker at Ladysmith [p. 334*g*], Rev. G. C. Bailey at Dundee (p. 334*i*), and Dr. Booth at Colenso [p. 334*c*], and by the Rev. J. W. Leary, a wounded clergyman from Mashonaland [44].

The principal Missions of the Society will now be noticed. It will be seen that the work of the Society is of a threefold character, embracing the colonists, the natives of the country, and the immigrant coolies from India.

Durban (1892–1900).

The last native congregation to bid Bishop Macrorie good-bye on his resignation was that of St. Faith, Durban. Their farewell address to him as "*Our Father in the things of the Lord*" expressed their grief at his departure.

"Our strength finished. We had thought you were going to stay in this country, whereas you are going away. . . . We remember with gratitude that this church was built in your pastorate, and enlarged in your pastorate, and that the most of us were confirmed by you. We shall never forget you, nor the very nice words you addressed to us at all times of your coming to us."

The work of this Mission lies principally among the natives employed by European residents as domestic servants and labourers. They come from all parts of Natal, Zululand, and Tongaland, the length of their stay in Durban varying from a few months to several years. Most of them are heathen when they come, and it is by means of evening schools that they are being drawn into the Church.

One of several who have become teachers to their brethren was

* Archdeacon Baines [see p. 334*a*], who had returned to England, has been elected to the Bishopric.

† At the Conference practical matters which daily confront the South African missionaries were dealt with, such as the Kaffir Prayer-book and Hymnal, Polygamy, Manuals of Prayers, the liquor traffic, the taking part by catechumens in heathen ceremonies, &c. Occasion was taken to hold missionary meetings of an unusual character at Maritzburg and Durban during the Conference, and part of the collection was devoted to the orphanage for *white* children in Maritzburg. The Conference appointed a standing committee, to be known as the "Committee on Legislation and Native Interests," consisting of one representative from each diocese, and having as its object the watching of all legislative, municipal, or other public action affecting the interests of the natives or the missionary work of the Church [43].

first moved by seeing a native walking in the street with a book under his arm. The sight was a new one to him, and struck him. He thought about the native and the book, and then reasoned that, if it were good for one native to carry a book, it was good for another, and he would go to school and learn something more on the subject.

He went to St. Faith's, was taught, baptized, and confirmed, and became a teacher, and eventually preached in the church in which he himself was first instructed.

Native girls do not come into Durban to work to the extent boys and young men do. Their parents like to have them at home. But several girls have been baptized and confirmed at St. Faith's. There are other stations in Natal where similar work has been carried on [45].

The work among the Indian coolies, of which Durban is the centre, continues to extend its influence.

Among those brought to baptism in 1894 were some Telugu people who had first heard the Gospel message some years before in British Guiana, but had lost the wish to be instructed. The Medical Mission, which has grown rapidly, attracting even Zulus from long distances, and winning the support of Mussulmans* as well as Hindus, had, in 1898–99, three qualified medical missionaries (one a lady) at work in Durban, and it had become necessary to enlarge the Mission church, "St. Aidan's," with the Society's assistance. In the schools of the Mission about two thousand children—that is, two-thirds of all the Indian children at school in the colony—are being taught. During his incumbency of St. Paul's, Durban [*see* p. 334*a*], Bishop Baynes did something towards breaking down the prejudice of the colonists against Mission work in general and the Indians in particular, and some of the congregations started work in three directions among the Indians in 1897 [46].

In anticipation of a call for Indian stretcher-bearers during the Boer war of 1899–1900, Dr. Booth held ambulance classes at Durban for the educated Indians of the better class who were anxious to give this proof of their loyalty to the Queen and Empire (knowing they would not be allowed to bear arms) by offering their services without remuneration. The offer made through Canon Booth was gladly accepted by the military authorities, and this little band of trained men, many of them Christians, was able at once to undertake the work of leaders of 200 coolies at the battle of Colenso,† Canon Booth himself sharing their work [47].

In 1900 Dr. Booth was appointed Dean of Umtata, Kaffraria —a serious loss to the great Indian work which is the result of his labours The Rev. S. P. Vedamuthu, one of his Tamil assistants, is in temporary charge of the whole Mission [48].

Maritzburg (1892–1900).

At St. Mark's, Maritzburg, a flourishing Mission is carried on among the natives by the aid of a native clergyman. A new school for native children has been started.

* "The Natal Indian Congress," composed principally of Mussulmans, give £80 a year towards the rent of the Mission buildings.

† The Bishop of Natal and the senior chaplain performed the sad duty of burying the heroic Lieutenant Roberts [47*a*].

There are two Indian schools in Maritzburg under the charge of two voluntary workers from England—Miss Payne Smith and Miss Bryans.

After doing excellent work as "an Industrial School of a very high order," St. Alban's College collapsed in December 1895 because of a change of *régime* in Natal. Having been encouraged by the Governor's Council to spend vast sums in equipping itself to qualify for a good Government grant, it found itself crippled, on the introduction of responsible government, by the withdrawal of every penny of Government aid on the plea that the black artisan would take the bread out of the mouth of the white one.

In 1898 it was reopened as an institution expressly "for the purpose of training of native catechists and clergy," for which object the Society's aid was renewed. For lack of such a College, the Anglican Missions were placed at a great disadvantage as compared with other religious bodies [49*a*].

In 1900 the Society assisted in establishing a new Diocesan College at Balgowan, about forty miles north of Maritzburg, for the education of the white boys of the colony, the institution being the outcome of a school founded on the lines of the English public schools by Canon Todd, who also undertook its development into a Diocesan College [50].

During Bishop Baynes' tenure of office the troops in Natal were committed to his charge by the War Office, and he appointed chaplains and procured the building of the nave of a fine garrison church in Maritzburg, towards which the Society gave £500 from the Marriott bequest. During the most critical part of the Boer war the church was used as a hospital. It is proposed to add a chancel and tower as a memorial of those who fell in the war.

Recently (1900) the Rev. F. Green has been developing work in three new stations near Table Mountain, not far from Maritzburg, and the Rev. W. A. Goodwin, Principal of St. Alban's College, with the aid of funds supplied by St. Peter's, Maritzburg, has undertaken Mission work on a farm called Ashburton, which will give his students opportunities of usefulness during their training [50*b*].

Estcourt (1892–1900).

A school for the Indians was started in 1899. During the interruption caused by the Boer war it was used for the refugees from the Transvaal.

By the poor native community here, consisting of servants, a store was converted into a church in 1895, to which the heathen from the neighbouring kraals are also attracted.

Connected with Estcourt is a station at Weenen, where native Mission work is progressing rapidly, and another at Highlands, the whole being under the superintendence of the missionary at Enhlonhlweni, and a third at Mooi River, which (begun in 1898) is carried on by a voluntary worker, a native farm labourer [51].

Ladysmith (1892–1900).

In addition to the work among the colonists carried on by Archdeacon Barker, there has been a flourishing native Mission at Lady-

smith since 1892, in connection with the Enhlonhlweni Mission. The native congregations have so outgrown church accommodation that at the great festivals they have had to resort to the riverside or a tent for worship, the use of the Town Hall and of the Dutch Reformed Church having been refused them because they are natives [52].

Throughout the siege of Ladysmith, 1899–1900, Archdeacon Barker (for over forty years a missionary of the Society) remained at his post. During the bombardment seventy shells burst in the two acres on which his and his neighbour's houses stood. One 100-lb. shell, which fell in his garden and was on the point of exploding, was picked up by the Archdeacon and dropped into a pail of water. On Sunday, January 7, 1900, the day after the repulse of the great Boer attack, a thanksgiving service to Almighty God for His blessing on our arms was held in the Anglican Church, which was crowded, chiefly by soldiers. Archdeacon Barker, who officiated, devoted his sermon to the battle and victory. At the conclusion, General White and his staff, at the invitation of the Archdeacon, proceeded to the altar rails and there stood whilst the "Te Deum" was sung. Finally the congregation sang "God Save the Queen."

Sir George White has placed on record his "admiration of the conduct and bearing of Archdeacon Barker and his family throughout the siege of Ladysmith. I constantly attended services in his shell-torn little church," Sir George said, "and it was always crowded, especially by our grand Colonial Volunteers, who had no military chaplains told off to them."

In reporting on his first visit to Ladysmith after its relief, the Bishop of Natal said that it was invidious, where there had been so much heroism, so many marvellous escapes, to single out any individuals, but the more he saw and heard, the more he felt how well deserved were Sir George White's words of praise of the brave and high-minded bearing of Archdeacon Barker through that terrible time.

Apart from the mere passive endurance of the continual shell-firing which he and his family chose rather than the safety of the neutral camp, Archdeacon Barker did most faithful and valuable work among both civilians and soldiers; and, while all the other military chaplains took a well-earned holiday after the siege, the Archdeacon preferred to remain at his post, daily visiting the vast hospitals, and daily rendering the last offices to the dying and the dead. In recognition of his long service to the Church in Natal, and of his heroic conduct during the siege of Ladysmith, the Lambeth degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1900. The English church in Ladysmith was damaged to some extent, and the native church was destroyed by a shell from "Long Tom" on the Embulwana, which crashed through the east end and blew the place up [53].*

ENHLONHLWENI (1892–1900).

In 1892 a new Mission to the natives was started in this district, under the Rev. H. T. A. Thompson. A native clergyman was placed in Ladysmith, and Mr. Thompson settled at Enhlonhlweni, "in the

* The Society has contributed to the enlargement of the English Church and rebuilding of the Native Church.

wilderness," ten miles from Ladysmith, from which centre his work was extended over a large area—the out-stations formed including (1) Bester's Farm, (2) a place under Izimbulwane hills, (3) Blue Bank (sixteen miles distant), (4) Colenso, then a "miserable little township" containing five European families and a fair number of natives and coolies. In preaching at the kraals as much use as possible was made of "the scanty native traditions about creation and the origin of man," in order to show that the Christian religion concerned natives as well as white people.

In Mr. Thompson's opinion beer, idleness, and polygamy are the three great obstacles to the spread of Christianity amongst the natives of this land. In 1893 Mr. Thompson undertook the supervision of a Mission which had been started at Umzinzatyane, on the banks of the Buffalo, by the Rev. C. Johnson, of Rorke's Drift, Zululand.* In 1895 Mr. Thompson, who had spent much of his private means on Enhlonhlweni, volunteered for newer and more arduous work, in the Diocese of Lebombo, but he died of fever on May 18, after a journey with Bishop Smyth, and before he could carry out his intentions [54].

The Rev. A. P. Troughton then left a comfortable parsonage and prosperous parish (Estcourt, Natal) to settle in the wilds and work among the natives at Enhlonhlweni, and by him the Mission has been extended over the wide area from Newcastle in the north to Estcourt and Weenen in the south, and has become the most thriving centre of Mission work among the natives in the diocese.

At Enkunzi (near Wessels Nek and Elandslaagte) a number of well-to-do natives have done much for the Mission work—building a nice church, consecrated in 1899—and promising a site for a new centre for the Mission in a more convenient situation than Enhlonhlweni; the existing Mission buildings it is proposed to utilise for a native girls' boarding school started by Miss Cooke [55].

Throughout the Boer invasion of Natal, 1899-1900, the Rev. W. Mzamo, Mr. Troughton's chief assistant, was cut off from his station at Enkunzi, but Mr. Troughton himself remained with his flock at Enhlonhlweni, virtually imprisoned for four whole months, a wearisome and monotonous time of hope long deferred, continuous disappointments, and anxious wonder as to what the British troops could be doing, not a single item of news being trustworthy.†

All this time Mission services were kept up, but only at Enhlonhlweni,

* In return, Mr. Johnson appears to have undertaken the supervision of one of Mr. Thompson's remote stations, viz., Imgende [54a].

† The Boers appeared on All Saints' Day, 1899, shortly after morning service, at which some adults were baptized. Every day the Boers came to the Mission-house on some pretext, and made amazing statements as to the entire destruction of the British army and the success of the President's negotiations with foreign Powers with a view to the ultimate crushing of the whole of our Empire. With the exception of the theft of horses, the Mission property was left untouched, and the family was treated well and civilly all through. Vaal Kranz is only five miles away to the west of Enhlonhlweni, Spion Kop eight miles to the north-west, and Pieter's Hill about the same to the east, Colenso being ten miles to the south, and Ladysmith ten miles to the south-west, so the Mission party were able to feel themselves placed in a sort of "little sanctuary," and most wonderfully were they preserved and helped through such an anxious time. Engagements were taking place all around them. The roar of the cannon and Nordenfeldts was astonishing, but no shells fell within a mile of the Mission-house, and the children soon became accustomed to the noise. On Christmas Eve a son was born to Mr. Troughton, and all went well and happily.

and the day school was held for such children as belonged to the station. Relief came at last (on Ash Wednesday, 1900) and the Mission district was soon opened up again. Mr. Troughton found that a good deal of the furniture of the church at Blue Bank had been removed, partly by the Boers and partly by British soldiers. He hopes soon to gather up the threads of the work at Dundee and at Newcastle and Ingagane, but the desolation and destruction in those upper districts have been so complete and so wanton that some time will elapse before the settlements can assume anything like their former condition [56].

Dundee (1892–1900).

The natives working in the coal mines at Dundee have been ministered to in connection with the Enkunzi Mission, and with the aid of the Rev. G. C. Bailey, the Vicar of Dundee. Provision was made in 1897, with the Society's aid, for the erection of a permanent church for the Europeans. It was in the new building that that sad and lonely service was held by Mr. Bailey on October 24, 1899, when the brave General Symons was laid in his last resting-place. Previously to this (on October 1) the Bishop of Natal had preached at the church parade, with the feeling that he was speaking to some who would soon be facing for themselves the mysteries of death. When the war broke out Mr. Bailey refused to leave his post. His devotion to the sick and wounded, whether British or Boer, that came under his charge is beyond praise, and though for seven months practically a prisoner in his own parish, his was the only house in Dundee not looted by the Boers during their occupation. On November 30, 1900, he fell a victim to enteric fever, and he was buried side by side with General Symons.*

On the completion of the new church at Dundee the material of the old one was removed and re-erected a little distance out of the town, and there a considerable native congregation worship, and a day school is held for Indian children [57].

Newcastle (1892–1900).

For several years work has been carried on here among the natives by an excellent native catechist (Simeon Mabaso). By his efforts in the face of many difficulties, the Mission, which for some time seemed doomed to failure, has been brought to a promising condition, and he is now being prepared for Holy Orders, the Rev. A. K. D. Edwards and the Rev. A. P. Troughton superintending the Mission up till the time of the Boer occupation in 1899, when Mr. Edwards, who was among the last of the refugees to leave, had to wheel his luggage to the station in a wheelbarrow to catch the last train before the Boers entered the town, his native "boys" having run away in a panic [58].

Springvale with Bulwer (Ipolela), &c. (1892–1900).

Springvale.—This extensive Mission has been divided, Springvale proper and Highflats forming one division, and Bulwer (Ipolela) another. In the Bulwer Mission the present missionary, the Rev. B. Markham, has baptized hundreds of Kaffirs and Basutos. The headquarters of the Mission is at Bulwer, and the Basuto branch, at

* Mr. Bailey was not himself supported by the Society, but he superintended its native Mission.

St. Augustine's, Stofolton, was begun some years ago at the invitation of the chief, Stofol. The converts are scattered among the heathen. Starting with one kraal, the leaven is working, transforming heathen kraals into neat, civilised, Christian cottages, and bearing individual testimony to Christ in the midst of heathen kraals. The morality in this condition is far superior to that in "Mission stations." Though the temptations and trials may be greater, they tend to strengthen and confirm them in the Faith.

"But" (adds Mr. Markham) "we can't do as we like in locations as we can in missionary stations! Numbers of the young and women are prevented joining us by their own people, and follow us in secret, pray in secret, or, in the night, when the rest are asleep, steal to our services and classes, until they are watched so vigilantly that they can do so no longer. They are followed, and in some instances persecuted and wounded."

Once, on returning from a service at one of his stations, Mr. Markham was overtaken by two men "in breathless haste" who wanted to know "whether it is wrong to pray out in the open, on the hills, on Sundays and Wednesdays." They appeared well satisfied when told of the necessity of constant prayer and our Lord's example.

The bad example of some professing Christians—Europeans and natives—forms one of the objections of the heathen to accepting Christianity. Polygamy is also a great obstacle.

One of the native workers in the Mission wrote to Mr. Markham during the Boer war:—

"The Boers were the first to come to this country, and they never sent forth a single missionary, but when the English came with the Queen's rule, then the missionaries came, our eyes were opened, and the hope of everlasting life was brought to us" [59].

ST. LUKE'S, ENQABENI (1892–1900).—"There is much to discourage as well as much to encourage us in this work," the Bishop reported in 1898. In recording the falling away of some of the Christians, including more than one teacher, he added:—

"Perhaps we are too ready to be overwhelmed by such blows. We ought to remember that these poor natives inherit a nature which for generations has been cultivated chiefly on its animal side; that the life of their heathen neighbours consists very largely in the gratification of appetite. Their beer drinkings and the orgies that accompany them, the preparations for marriage, the talk about it, and the impure practices connected with the marriage ceremonies—these are the chief events of their lives. It is hardly surprising if the temptations of all this surrounding licence are at times too hard for our converts, or their faith is too weak to preserve them untainted."

Among the faithful was one of the natives who had stood by the English in their first fight in Natal, when, in 1840, they contested the possession of Natal with the Dutch. And now, after an interval of fifty-eight years, he had been baptized under the name of Methuselah. It is not often that these old men are willing to break away from their traditions and take off the "kehla" (head ring), and the fact of his doing so was calculated to influence others of the tribe of which he was a headman. The Rev. P. A. Turpin has crowded congregations, and needs an assistant in order to take advantage of the "immense" openings for work in the Mission [60, 61].

RICHMOND (1892–1900).—The work here has suffered from the removal of communicants to other districts, and from neglect,

especially in the mid-Illovo part of the parish, where, in 1893, there had been no regular services of the Church for three years [62].

HARDING (1892-1900).—Church services, which had been held here in the court-house, having been stopped by the advent of a dissenting magistrate, the Society in 1897 made a grant for the erection of a church [63].

Mission work is carried on in several other places in Natal (with the Society's aid), in some instances for both colonists and natives (as at Verulam, Pinetown, Karkloof), in others for colonists alone (as at Boston, Stanger, Lower Umgeni, Umlatuzana), or for natives alone (as at Malvern) [64].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 382.)

CHAPTER XLV.

ZULULAND.

ZULULAND lies on the East Coast of Africa to the north of Natal, from which it is separated by the River Tugela. In the beginning of the present century it appears to have been peopled by a warlike tribe of Kaffirs from the north, led by "Tyaka" or "Chaka," who had two half-brothers, "Dingane" or "Dingaan" and "Mpanda" or "Panda." Dingaan murdered and succeeded Chaka in 1828; but by the emigrant Dutch of Natal was deposed in 1839 in favour of Panda, at whose death in 1873 Cetywayo succeeded to the throne. Cetywayo hated the Boers, and after the annexation of the Transvaal by the British transferred his enmity to the new Government. Troubles arose which led to the Zulu War of 1879, in which the British, after suffering a reverse at Isandhlwana, shattered the military power of the Zulus. Cetywayo was deposed and the country divided into 13 districts under independent chiefs holding office by the gift of the Queen of England. The arrangement failed; and in 1883 a part of his former kingdom was restored to Cetywayo, a small district was assigned to Usibepu (one of the 13 chiefs), and the remainder was constituted a native reserve under British supervision. Cetywayo was soon overthrown by Usibepu, and taking refuge in the reserve, died there in 1884. Thither in turn Usibepu was driven by the Usutus, aided by Boer adventurers, who were rewarded by a grant of land in which they established "The New Republic" (area, 2,854 square miles). Further civil divisions were prevented by the formal annexation of the remainder of Zululand by Great Britain, with the general assent of the Zulus, in May 1887. In 1890 the districts of Fokoti, Umjindi and Manaba, in 1895 the territories of the Chiefs Umbegiza and Sambana, and in 1897 the British Amatongaland Protectorate, were annexed to Zululand. In 1897 the Province of Zululand (area, 10 521 square miles) was incorporated with Natal. The present seat of the Government is at Eshowe.

In 1837 an attempt was made by the Church Missionary Society to establish a Mission in Zululand. Near the capital, Unkunkinglove, their Missionary, the Rev. F. Owen, his wife, and sister laboured four months amidst scenes of cruelty and death; but withdrew in February 1838, after witnessing the massacre of a party of Dutch Boers by Dingaan.

THE C.M.S. attempt not being renewed it fell to the lot of the S.P.G. to plant the Church in Zululand—a country which for nearly another fifty years continued to be "one of the cruel habitations of the earth." It has been estimated that Chaka, Dingaan, and Panda, caused between them in their wars and private massacres the deaths of a million of human beings [1]. In the words of Panda "the whole race of Senzangakona, ever since we came to light, are *inkunzi egwebayo* [a pushing bull]: we are always killing one another" [2]. In 1857, Umkungo, son and heir of Panda, was placed by the Governor of Natal at the S.P.G. Institution, Ekukanyeni, Natal, for education [3], and response to representations from Bishop COLENSO the Society in 1859 stated that it was prepared to allow a temporary grar a year to a Mission under him to the country of Panda [4] tember 12 in that year the Bishop set out from Natal

Panda, taking with him seven Kaffirs—four of whom were Christians. The following Sunday (September 18) they knelt down in Zululand to lift up their "voices together in prayer and praise. It was the first time that the prayers of the Church of England" had "been used in the native tongue on this side of the Tukela." The Rev. R. ROBERTSON (also from Natal) joined them at the Umlalazi (September 20), and at Emmangweni they had an interview with Cetywayo, "a fine handsome young fellow, of about . . . thirty years of age . . . with a very pleasant smile and good-humoured face, and a strong deep voice." A few days later (September 28) the Bishop thus describes his first reception by Panda at Nodwengu—

"The King has sent for me, saying that 'his council of indunas was dispersed, but that he was very unwell; he would speak with me, however, for a few moments, and take off the edge of his appetite.' I went with William . . . and at length entered a court, in the centre of which was an enormous hut. . . . Under the fence of the little inclosure sat the King, much like in *face* to the picture in Angas's book, but in person not near so stout as he is there represented. . . . He was quite alone, naked, but for the ordinary cincture about the loins . . . and a blue blanket thrown about him. I sat down on the ground beside him and remained silent some minutes, looking at him, and he at me. Then as he seemed waiting for me to begin, I said, 'Good day, Panda.' 'Yes, good day to you.' 'I am grieved to hear that you are sick to-day.' 'Yes, I am very sick. I have been sitting a long time with my indunas, and my body is wearied out.' 'In the first place, Monase salutes you, and Masala (Sikoto's mother), and Sikoto, and Umkungo, they salute you very much.' The old man's face instantly grew sad, and his eyes filled with tears. He could not speak a word for emotion for some time. When he was a little recovered I said, 'And here is a letter which Umkungo has written with his own hand.' . . . He looked at it for a few moments and then said, but with all possible civility, 'Unamanga!'—in plain English, 'You are a liar!'—rather a strong word for a bishop to receive. I assured him that it was Umkungo's own work . . . and the poor father wiped the tears from his eyes, turning the letter over in his hand, and saying, 'And Umkungo has written all this.' I . . . read half a page, when he took it out of my hand to look at it and weep again. He apologised to me for crying and asked about the boy most tenderly."

Throughout this and subsequent interviews there was "a most touching exhibition of the King's tender feelings as husband and father," and a site for a Mission station was readily granted at Kwa Magwaza, "a remarkable and beautiful spot." During the Bishop's stay at Nodwengu services were held and Missionary pictures exhibited, two of the native boys he brought being selected to read the lesson at the opening service, and thus being "the first to publish the Word of Life among the Zulus." The need of a Mission in the district was emphasized by the fact that at this time there was living near the King's kraal a white man who had "adopted Kafir fashions entirely." Panda had given him a wife, and he wore no more clothing than a native. "What an impression of the English" (said the Bishop) "must be conveyed by the numerous characters who are to be found both in the colony and without it, causing their country and their supposed religion to be blasphemed among the heathen!" An exception must be made in the case of two Englishmen from Natal whom the Bishop met at Nodweni, and who with their native servants attended service held in the precincts of the King's kraal. From one of these, Mr. Ogle, a man well known in the early history of Natal, and thoroughly acquainted with the Zulus, the Bishop received a "very different version" of the massacre of the Boers in

1838 "from what is commonly received." According to Mr. Ogle the act was the result of fraud, deceit, and threats on the part of the Boers. Before parting from Panda the Bishop was "reduced to extremity for presents for the people," and having exhausted his "blankets, coloured neckerchiefs, knives, and scissors," he was "obliged to make presents of *matches* and *pills*!" which last were "begged *in case* there should arise at any future time a pain of some kind." Finally the King "asks for three tin pannikins and a frying pan" in place of a gridiron, and, his wishes having been gratified, the Mission party leave Nodwengu on October 4 "with a deep sense of the kindness . . . received . . . and a real esteem and pity for him," from what they had seen of his character [5].

After his return the Bishop proposed resigning the See of Natal and going to Zululand as a "simple Missionary" in episcopal orders. In the event of his doing so the Society undertook to support him with a liberal grant;* but he abandoned his intention, and sent the Rev. R. ROBERTSON [6]. Accompanied by Mrs. Robertson and a few converted Zulus, Mr. Robertson removed from Natal to Kwamagwaza in September 1860 [7]. In reporting their arrival he wrote: "The joyous, rapturous greeting which awaited us here more than repaid all it had cost us leaving the Umlazi. Not only on Sundays, but every day we have endless visits from the numerous people about us." At the first services "they were most attentive and tried to join in the singing and chanting, but they did not scruple . . . to make remarks aloud on all that was new to them." Their "simple, frank, joyous manner" was refreshing to the Missionary. They did not know he had a wife, and the sight of a lady "completed their ecstasy." One said "it seemed as if the sun had come to shine among them; and another man pointing upwards, said he thanked God for bringing us to them, and that they should now rejoice and grow in our presence that others would envy them." "It seems wonderful" (Mr. Robertson added) "such a people should be living under such a murderous system of government—life is so insecure, yet they look so happy and cheerful and so willing to receive teaching—home feelings so strong, and yet one that you may be most familiar with may any night be executed by the King's people, and you see his face no more. The whole country is in a state of excitement, from the King and his sons calling the whole nation to arms—all must go . . . but the old, or young boys and women and children" [8]. Mr. Robertson was cordially received by both Panda and his sons, especially by Cetywayo, who was described as "a fine amiable-looking young man, very noble in his appearance." But the Mission opened at a critical period in Zulu history, at the decline of the life of the old King amid all the miseries of a disputed succession, where generally the strongest wins, and the son who can destroy the most of his family and people gains the respect and homage of his barbarous subjects. Cetywayo had won this position by a succession of wars and murders, and in 1861, hearing that his father was giving the impression that a child of six years old, the son of the favourite queen at the time, should be the next King, he sent an impi which burnt down the royal kraal, assaulted the old

* £500 per annum for the Bishop, £1,000 per annum for other Missi- £1,000 for buildings [9].

destroyed the child and its mother, and desolated the country—the destruction of whole kraals, even to the little children, being a common occurrence. Things came to such a crisis that the Natal Government intervened and arranged with Panda to fix the succession on Cetywayo in the hope of putting an end to the murders. Cetywayo's party demanded that Umkongo should be given up to them, but this the Government refused to do [10].

Through these troubles the Mission passed unmolested, and when in September 1861 all its principal buildings were accidentally burnt down, the Zulus came from all directions bringing material to repair the damage [11].

By the Rev. S. M. SAMUELSON, who joined the staff in 1861, the Mission was made known in 1862 as far as Emapiseni, a distance of 240 miles, where he met with a friendly reception from the Chief of the Amapisa tribe, "whose people showed great joy and surprise at hearing, for the first time, a white man talk their language" [12].

In 1865 Mr. Samuelson opened a new station, called St. Paul's, about 24 miles from Kwamagwaza. The work which had been carried on zealously and effectually was interrupted in 1868 by a persecution instigated by Cetywayo, who, although he readily granted the site for the Mission, withheld permission to the Zulus to become Christians. Among Mr. Samuelson's converts was Umfezi, son of a great man. To his relatives who tried to persuade him to give up his belief he said, "I am fully persuaded that God is . . . nothing can turn me away from that. I care nothing about my cows, my intended bride, and other things. Take them all. Drag me away or kill me on the spot, but I will not give up my belief." His relations were so impressed by his confession that they too admitted the existence of God. Cetywayo and other Chiefs next sent men to kill Umfezi, but being hidden above the calico ceiling in the Mission House he was not found. When the search was over Mr. Samuelson sat down to his harmonium and played and sang the Te Deum and Jubilate in Zulu. "The Chiefs became so transported" (wrote Mr. Samuelson) "that they swore by their King that we Missionaries are the only kings on earth." After the impi had gone Mr. Samuelson took Umfezi by night and giving him the only upper coat he possessed, sent him to Natal for safety. There also he experienced ill-treatment and persecution for Christ's sake; but he continued steadfast and returned to St. Paul's in 1869 [13].

Previously to the attempt on Umfezi all the boys and girls under instruction at St. Paul's were removed and the work was suspended [14]. Persecution in various forms continued for some years, and on one occasion a band of armed men rushed into the Mission House, and forcing away a young girl under Christian training compelled her to marry an old heathen man [15]. On Easter Day 1871 Mr. Samuelson baptized five converts and soon after fought with thirty heathen natives in defence of a witch, who however was taken and killed. During the previous thirty years the belief in witchcraft had greatly increased in Zululand, and the killing of persons as witches was of frequent occurrence [16].

In 1869 Zululand was formally placed under the episcopal supervision of the Bishop of MARITZBURG [*see* p. 332], and in 1870 it

was made a separate and Missionary Bishopric—for which a small endowment was raised, chiefly by the labours of Miss Mackenzie, as a memorial to the late Bishop Mackenzie of Zambezi or Central Africa. The first Bishop of Zululand, Dr. T. E. WILKINSON, consecrated in Westminster Abbey on St. Mark's Day 1870 [17], wrote from Kwamagwaza on January 30, 1871:—

"We have an enormous field before us here, terribly vast when measured against the slender force at hand to till it—a witness to the Church's apathy. However we are progressing I hope . . . our immense distance from Durban, 170 miles away here in the wilderness, separated from every white man's habitation by mountainous country, and dependent upon everything upon a fortnight's wagon journey . . . renders all such work difficult beyond calculation, until brought face to face with it. . . . Prince Cetywayo has just granted a site for a Mission Station . . . to the northwards of Kwamagwaza. . . . There are friendly chiefs in this district . . . who have invited us to build amongst them and an abundant heathen population *untouched* as yet by a Missionary" [18].

In February twenty-two converts were confirmed, all of whom received the Holy Communion on the following Sunday, when two deacons received Priests' Orders. The opening of the new station at Etaleni was entrusted to the Rev. J. JACKSON, who during the next nine years carried on from the Transvaal border a Mission among the natives of Swaziland. [*See* p. 343.] In April 1871 the Bishop visited Cetywayo, who decided to send his only son, with the sons of other great men, to Kwamagwaza for education. The erection of a native college at St. Mary's was begun in this year. In the next (1872) the old King, Panda, died; but Cetywayo had long been the real ruler of Zululand [18*a*]. And in reality his rule was unfavourable for Missionary operations, it being "unlawful for a Zulu to be a Christian." At his installation as King in 1873 he represented to Mr. Shepstone, who attended on behalf of the Natal Government, that he "saw no good in Missionary teaching, although he admitted they were good men; the doctrines they taught might be applicable to white men but . . . a Christian Zulu was a Zulu spoiled; he would be glad if the Missionaries all left the country; indeed he wished them to leave." The result of Mr. Shepstone's conversation with the King was however "an understanding that those [Missionaries] who were already in the country should not be interfered with, and that if any of them committed an offence for which the offender might be considered deserving of expulsion* the case should be submitted to the Government of Natal and its assent received before the sentence should be carried out." Mr. Shepstone "did not consider it wise to attempt to make any arrangements in favour of converts," as he considered the position of the Missionaries and all concerned to be so anomalous that sooner or later a compromise would relieve the difficulty, or Mission operations would have to be given up [19].

The resignation of Bishop WILKINSON in 1875 and the delay in the appointment of a successor (Dr. DOUGLAS MCKENZIE, cons. 1880) deprived the diocese of episcopal guidance and counsel at a time when it was most needed† [20]. Wars and threats of violence

* The Zulus had no idea of inflicting any punishment upon a Missionary except of expulsion.

† The Rev. J. W. Alington was sent out from England as Vicar-General; he died in 1879 [20*a*].

caused several of the Missionaries in 1877 to remove their Zulu converts out of the country. On the stations of the Norwegian Mission some converts were put to death, and for the greater part of the next two years Mission work in Zululand was suspended. All the Missionaries withdrew—Mr. Samuelson being one of the last to quit his post—but the Rev. G. SMITH, one of the Society's Missionaries in Natal, accompanied the British expedition into Zululand, and in the capacity of Chaplain shared the defence of Rorke's Drift in 1879, and subsequently in the search for the colours of H.M. 24th Regiment and for the bodies of Lieutenants Melville and Coghill [21]. His gallantry was rewarded by a military chaplaincy.

At the close of the Zulu War in 1879 most of the Missionaries were able to return, some to their ruined stations, some to begin work afresh in new places. Many of the native Christian refugees also returned, and generally the re-establishment of the Mission station was welcomed as a benefit by the heathen in the neighbourhood. The buildings at St. Paul's and Kwamagwaza had been almost utterly destroyed [22].

Fresh hindrances awaited the Missionaries in Sir Garnet Wolseley's "settlement" of the country [*see* p. 335], by which the lands given to the Church by Cetywayo and his predecessor were confiscated, and the newly-appointed Chiefs were declared to have the right to resume occupation of any land they might assign for Mission sites. Against this arrangement the Society (October 30, 1879) appealed to the Imperial Government, whose subsequent annexation of Zululand has, it is hoped, ended all doubt as to the tenure of Mission property [23].

In December 1879 the Bishop of Maritzburg, accompanied by Archdeacon Usherwood, the Rev. G. SMITH, and Mr. C. JOHNSON, held a funeral service and celebrated the Holy Communion on the battlefield of Isandhlwana, and selected a site for a Memorial Church which should be both a monument to the dead and the centre of a new Mission to the surrounding tribes. As a reward for his loyalty to the British the Basuto Chief Hlubi of Natal was granted this district. He appropriated to his own use the ruins of the Norwegian Mission premises, and determined to admit no Missionaries except those of the English Church. At Hlubi's request Mr. JOHNSON, their teacher, removed with his tribe from Natal to Isandhlwana in 1880. Having assisted in forming the station of St. Vincent, and been ordained, Mr. Johnson removed to a place twelve miles off, where Hlubi himself and many of his people had settled. Here a second station, called St. Augustine's, was opened, the progress of which to the present time has been highly encouraging. When it was first proposed to build a school-church at St. Augustine's, 130 of Hlubi's men "came forward and promised to contribute 30*s.* each." Hlubi, though not yet himself a Christian, does all he can to back up the Missionary. There are now (1892) no less than eighteen out-stations in connection with St. Augustine's, where services are held regularly. St. Vincent was selected as the headquarters of the new Bishop of Zululand,* and the foundation stone of the Memorial Church was laid on October 12, 1882, and the building dedicated on April 28 following [24].

The outbreak of civil war in 1884 led to the temporary abandonment of Kwamagwaza, St. Paul's, and Isandhlwana stations, but in spite

* His successor, Bishop Carter, removed his residence to Eshowe in 1892.

of the state of exile of many of the people, and the general sense of uncertainty and insecurity, the baptisms in that year numbered nearly 200, and 119 persons were confirmed [25]. In 1885 the permanent re-occupation of Kwamagwaza—as to which there had been some difficulty—was secured. A Synod was held at Isandhlwana, and a revised version of a portion of the Zulu Prayer Book was issued [26]. The annexation of Zululand by Great Britain in 1887 brought with it increased responsibilities, followed as it was by an influx of Europeans. On the other hand the change delivered the Missionaries from the mere caprice of a heathen chief, and forbade the marriage of girls against their wills, and the "smelling out, or pretending to smell out for witchcraft,"—all matters which had proved of serious hindrance to the cause [27]. In 1888 Bishop McKENZIE attended the Lambeth Conference, at which among the subjects discussed was that of polygamy, one which perhaps affected his diocese more than any other. The opinion of the Conference was "that persons living in polygamy be not admitted to baptism, but that they be accepted as candidates and kept under Christian instruction until such time as they shall be in a position to accept the law of Christ." On his return, in endeavouring to supply the wants of his diocese his strength failed, and he died at Isandhlwana on January 9, 1890 [28]. His episcopate had been "full of anxiety and care and of not infrequent perils, but amid all he . . . laboured with high courage" [29]. The first impressions of his successor, Bishop Carter (consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral on Michaelmas Day 1891) are "that though what has been done with the small means at the disposal of the Mission is really wonderful, yet that practically the work is only just begun, and that the great mass of the people are untouched." Mr. JOHNSON (a competent judge) is of opinion that the Zulus are deteriorating in character, from there being no longer the strict discipline in which they were originally kept. Native beer drinks are on the increase, owing very much to their having nothing to do. "It is true" (adds Bishop Carter) "that under British rule their lives are safer: but what is the good of this if more is not done to teach them a more excellent way of living?" Efforts are now being directed (with the assistance of Government) to teaching the natives trades by means of industrial institutions [30].

1892–1900.

With the exception of some Scandinavian and German Missions the whole of Zululand was in 1895 "a field freely open to the Church"; but though the existing Missions in the south of the country have been developed and strengthened—in the case of Rorke's Drift to a marvellous extent—means have not yet permitted of much extension in the north.

The character of the work, too, has been changing since 1894 the introduction of a mining population having added to the call the Church and created new difficulties in evangelising the The lack of interest taken by colonists generally in missio one of the most depressing features of Mission work i

and "the one great hindrance which prevents the work being as satisfactory as it might be" [81].

That "really sound colonial opinion is favourable to Missions" is evident, however, from the testimony (among others*) of Sir Marshall Clarke, when administrator in 1895, and of the Civil Commissioner, Mr. Saunders. The latter was born in Natal and knows the natives thoroughly, and is one of the best Zulu linguists in the country. Speaking "with a sense of the responsibility" of his position (at the local Bicentenary Meeting of the Society in 1900), he said that:—

"There could be no doubt about the good that was being done by missionaries amongst the native people in South Africa. Most of what was being done for the elevation of the native people was being done by missionaries, and he could unhesitatingly assert that the influence of missionaries in this country was entirely for good. All civilization and progress amongst the native people was due in a very great measure to Mission work. There was practically no crime amongst Christian natives in the Province of Zululand. Upon this point he could speak with knowledge and authority, as it was a part of his work to examine in detail the records of all criminal cases brought before magistrates in Zululand."

Further proof that Christianity "is as applicable to the Zulus as to us" was seen in the ordination of the first native priest in 1894 [*see* p. 841*c*] [82]. In the same year, and again in 1897 and 1899, funds for the extension of work was supplied by the Society, but during this period the English missionary† staff was greatly weakened by deaths and illness, and the necessary reinforcements were not forthcoming‡ [83].

The annexation of Zululand to Natal in 1897 was not received favourably by the Bishop and the missionaries, the Natal native policy at that time being founded on the principle of "protect the white man." The churches and Mission buildings in Zululand being in the places where natives are numerous, there was a fear lest these districts should be taken up for colonial farms, in which case the natives would be driven to districts less suitable for themselves, and the Missions would be left without either congregations or people among whom to work.

A representation having been made to the Colonial Office by the Society, a reply was received to the effect that this possible danger would "no doubt be duly considered by a joint Imperial and Colonial Commission" [84].

* The resident magistrate said that for an expedition upon which he was just starting he was selecting native Christians to accompany him because they knew more, could do more, and were more dependable. Another Government official declared that, "though he was the son of a colonist, he did not share in the opinions of his fellow-colonists with regard to Missions, for the missionaries had done what they had never attempted—*i.e*, tried to raise the natives; and when he looked at the results they have produced with the small means with which they have had to work he was perfectly astonished at what has been done."

† Bishop Carter attaches great importance to physical training for missionary students, so as to make men strong in body and able to "endure hardness" [83*a*].

‡ Referring to an old custom of the Zulus, when they kill a lion, of covering themselves with its fat to make them brave and strong, Bishop Carter thinks "that we need to rub more of the spirit of sacrifice into our Christianity. Perhaps it would mean giving up a snug vicarage, or being a celibate, or giving up a work in which we are especially interested. It certainly means giving up beautiful churches and beautiful services. 'Can ye drink of the cup that I drink of, and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?' May the answer of the Church be, 'We can, and, please God, we will'" [83*a*].

The Boer war of 1899–1900 in many ways interfered with Church work, but it was wonderful how little interruption* there seems to have been at St. Augustine's, Isandhlwana and Etalaneni, both of which districts were for a time under Boer rule [34*a*].

The principal stations will now be noticed in turn.

St. Augustine's, Rorke's Drift (1880–1900).

The Mission of Rorke's Drift, Zululand, might almost be called the Tinnevelly of South Africa; indeed, thus far its progress has been more rapid than in the case of the older Mission during the first twenty years. When Mr. (now the Ven. C.) Johnson began work in the district in 1880 there was not one native Christian to be found there. In 1899 there were 5,000, the whole district was "studded with out-stations, with their small school churches, and native catechists and teachers," and the Zulus were responding to the teaching even more than the Basutos [35].

Soon after Hlubi's removal to the district in 1880 a large deputation from a body of Wesleyan missionaries waited on him, offering to settle there and to build schools and to teach his people. The Wesleyans were rich, and could send teachers at once, while the Church Mission was at that time poor and feeble. Hlubi sent in haste to consult the English missionary, and the next day a council was held beneath some blue gum trees, the chief and his headmen and council being on one side and the deputation on the other. The chief, who had been hesitating, now boldly asked the question, "Will you work with the Bishop of Zululand?" "No," answered the Wesleyans, "we must work on *our* lines, the Bishop and his people on *theirs*."

"Then," said Hlubi, "thank the president for his offer, and say to him that the land is broad; other chiefs have no missionary, let him go to them. Let him carry them God's Word, and teach the heathen. I and my people have a church and missionary already. Why should two ploughs plough in the same field when there is much waste land with no plough on it? It is not good to have two masters in one house. If you can work with the Bishop, it is well; if not, pass on. God's work is to be done everywhere. I have spoken."

About two years later a great gathering was held under the same trees to witness the baptism of sixteen of the principal members of the tribe, including four of Hlubi's own children. These were the first-fruits of the Mission, and the service was indeed a wonderful one [36].

The next ten years were years "of labour and disappointment, but also of hopes fulfilled and joy over many who have passed from darkness to light," including Hlubi's Christian wife, who went daily to school till she had learnt to read the Bible, and to the best of her power she now watched over the people. The work now began to extend "all along the line in a very wonderful way," notwithstanding persecution in several instances, and in 1894 one of Mr. Johnson's invaluable assistants, the Rev. Titus Mtembu, became the first native priest in Zululand [37].

A striking feature of Mr. Johnson's work is

* See Bishop Carter's experience in

gets people to support* their native teachers, and to help in building schoolrooms.† Even in the great "rinderpest year" (1897) the people managed to contribute nobly out of their poverty [38].

Up to this time the work and services of the Mission had been carried on in Mission rooms and in huts, and in the open air, but always with a great longing that some day there would be at least one real church in the district for worship, and where the people from the many outlying stations could come together at the great festivals. In 1897, moved by an assurance that "every Christian" in the Mission "would give something," the Society made a grant of £1,000 towards building a central church. On the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone—August 24, 1898—there were 2,500 people present—not all Christians, but all either preparing for baptism or hearers, and so actually interested in the day's proceedings. Bishop Carter said that looking down from the altar on the great mass of people before the unbaptized went out after the Nicene Creed was a sight which impressed him more than anything else during the day's proceedings. It was a service and sight which none of those who were present will be ever likely to forget.

The foundation stone was laid by the Hon. J. J. Hulett, Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal and Zululand, who spoke, "boldly bearing witness for Christ," and then Mr. Saunders, the Chief Commissioner for Zululand, addressed the people in Zulu, his closing words being:—

"I know of no other way of raising you—there is no other way that your nation (or people) can be really raised that I know of, than this that your teachers and missionaries are working in."

His speech gave great satisfaction to all, and dispelled an idea which some heathen chiefs had that the Government did not favour Christian teaching. One sad feature in the day's proceedings was the condition of the chief Hlubi, who, though not a Christian, had always been on the side of Christianity, or, at least, had never put any difficulty in the way of, but had rather encouraged his people becoming Christians. He had now become quite childish [39 & 40].

The establishment of a Girls' Training Institution has proved of great service to the Mission, the girls becoming a power for good on returning to their people. "One of the best out-stations in the Mission" in 1899 owed its existence to the influence of one girl, whose lot had been cast among the heathen fifty miles distant. The Home is under the care of Mrs. Johnson, whose assistance in the Mission work generally can never be fully estimated in this world. Especially was this seen during an epidemic of enteric fever and dysentery in 1897, which proved the means of bringing hundreds of natives under missionary influence, as many as 150 in one day visiting the central station for medical treatment [41].

* Generally speaking the natives in Zululand are backward in this respect [38*a*].

† His offertory account for 1894 included the following return:—"Part of collections during the year 1894 at St. Augustine's, Rorke's Drift:—Cash collections, £201. 13*s*. 6½*d*. Offertory in kind:—One horse, seven cows, six sheep, 13 goats, 52 sacks mealies, two and a half sacks amabele (Kaffir corn), 105 fowls, 30 mats (isilebeeli); value £74. 15*s*. 8*d*."

But the truest test of real spiritual growth is seen in the readiness of the native workers in the Mission to volunteer for service in other parts—*e.g.* in Tongaland and the Transvaal. In the latter case Mr. Johnson was enabled in 1897, in the face of some difficulty, to make arrangements for the spiritual welfare of those of his flock who were obliged to seek labour at Johannesburg [42].

He also, while recruiting his health in England in 1899, assisted in organising Mission work among the South African natives engaged at the Exhibition at Earl's Court, London, the services held by him being much appreciated [42*a*].

So excellent was the organisation of the Rorke's Drift Mission, and the management of the Rev. H. Hollingsworth (aided by the Rev. T. Mtembu), that work and everything went on during Mr. Johnson's absence as well as if he had been present, and in the interval of eight months over a thousand catechumens were prepared for baptism.

The Boer war had just begun on his return, but the fact of Mrs. Johnson and his children remaining quietly at Rorke's Drift when all his neighbours had fled had had a quieting influence on the surrounding natives, and the missionaries helped to keep them from attacking the Boers, which they greatly desired to do. When the Queen's message came, saying that this war was a white man's quarrel, and that the native people were to keep quiet, one old Zulu chief answered, "Oh yes, but you know when a cow is in trouble the calf always follows." In March 1900 the Boers attacked and captured the British laager and took the magistrate, and all defenders of the fort, prisoners to Pretoria. The Mission station was visited by a large Boer force, a horse was commandeered, and Mr. (now Archdeacon) Johnson was informed that North Zululand had been annexed to the Transvaal, but that he himself would not be interfered with for the present, only he was not to leave home, and he was to keep clear of all political matters connected with the country.*

Although kindly treated by the Boer force, Archdeacon Johnson and his household were practically prisoners in their own house, no one being allowed to go more than 300 yards from the house without a pass, and latterly the Archdeacon was not allowed to visit his out-stations. The Boer occupation was becoming more and more irritating to the natives, and when at last the Boers were driven back there

* The war brought out the loyalty and confidence of the natives in a remarkable degree. Though the British magistrate had been taken prisoner—the British magistrate, who to them is England's might personified—and the Boers had occupied Northern Natal and Zululand, the confidence of the Zulus was not shaken; they grasped the situation in a wonderfully clear way, and said, "Ah! the 'Nipisi' (Hyena) has driven the Lion's whelp away by suddenly pouncing on it from the back, thinking it was a tiger cat, but what will the 'Nipisi' do when the Mother Lion hears the cry of the child?" On looting a trader's store near the Mission station, the Boers commandeered a number of the local natives to carry the loot up to their camp, and paid them in goods—blankets, &c.—from the looted things. The natives were afraid to say a word, but about thirty of them came the next day and the day after bringing the looted goods which the Boers had given them, and delivered them over to Archdeacon Johnson to be restored to the owner of the store on his return. Some of the distant heathen kept the loot, but all those in St. Augustine's district brought it to the Archdeacon. "While the looted goods given to the young are in our kraals it would seem as though we belonged to the Boers," they said. "We will have nothing to do with what they have looted. not as friends or children of theirs."

was great fear of a Zulu raid into the Transvaal. Happily the danger was averted by the arrival of a relief column.*

When on the withdrawal of the British troops (May 20) some of them fell into an ambush, Archdeacon Johnson, with his handkerchief fastened to his whip as a flag of truce, visited the battlefield in order to read the burial service over the graves where the British soldiers had been laid to rest. He hopes to have their names (thirty in number) recorded in the new church at Rorke's Drift, as the battle was fought close to one of his out-stations [43]. The most distressing effect of the war† on the natives in Zululand was famine, during which, at Rorke's Drift, many women and children were kept from actual starving by the kindness of Archdeacon and Mrs. Johnson [44]. The latest account of St. Augustine's Mission is that, notwithstanding the war, the work "seems to be always growing and increasing" [44*a*].

ISANDHLWANA (1892–1900).—With the aid of the Society (£500 in 1897) a training school for native teachers has been established here under the name of the [Bishop] "McKenzie Memorial Training College." [*See* p. 786*b*.] On it the work of the diocese must largely depend in future, and, in addition to Zulu and Swazi boys, some Mashona youths have been received for training. One of the Zulu boys baptized at Isandhlwana—Gregory Mpiwa Ngcobo—completed his course at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, in 1897, and was the first of his race to pass the Universities Preliminary Examination of Candidates for Holy Orders. At that examination an average of one-third are rejected. Ngcobo not only passed but did well also in Latin, Greek, and Elementary Hebrew, and the Society accepted him for work among his countrymen in Zululand [46].

KWAMAGWAZA (1892–1900).—Mrs. McKenzie's share in the good work of the diocese did not cease with the death of Bishop McKenzie. It would be difficult to think of a more useful work in the Mission-field than her training school for native girls at Kwamagwaza, while the church which she built there in 1895 is the fourth that had been erected, the others having been destroyed at one time or another [47].

The founder of this, the first Mission station of the Society in Zululand, died in 1897.‡

* On his way to Ngudu, General Bethune, who was in command of the relief column, and Captain Lord de la Warr, his aide-de-camp, visited Rorke's Drift, and Archdeacon and Mrs. Johnson accompanied them to Ngudu, taking with them a Union Jack of their own making, which they hoisted on the fort. On the next day an "Indaba" was held, and the native chiefs were praised by the General for their loyalty to the Queen, and informed of the reoccupation of Zululand by Her Majesty's troops.

† "For the natives' sake, if for no other reason," Bishop Carter hoped that "the South African Republic" and Swaziland would come under British rule. According to his own experience it was "practically impossible for a native to get justice in the Transvaal," where the Government was as "bad as it can be"; and he felt that a Boer supremacy would be "intolerable for everybody, white and black" [45].

‡ Mr. Robertson (who since 1877 had ceased to be a missionary of the Society) had, according to Bishop Carter, "had a hard life," and he "endured the hardship for the Zulu people," whose good had always been his aim. His influence among them had been "very great," and they "lived and respected him," his native name, "Unzimela," being a household word among them. Breaking ground was his special vocation, and he did it all his life. About 1891 he migrated to Tahlwati, which he named "Annesdale," in memory of Miss Anne Mackenzie, who had much to do with the establishment of the Zululand Mission. Here, commencing with his waggon for a home, he founded a Mission, erecting waggon sheds and converting them into dwelling-houses, church, and school. A church is being built at Tahlwati as a memorial to Mr. Robertson [48].

ST. PAUL'S (1892–1900).—After working single-handed for thirty-three years, with such help as the natives could give, and twice building up the station, everything having been destroyed in 1879 in the Zulu-English war, Mr. Samuelson retired in 1898. He had led a sort of patriarchal life among his people, daily prayers morning and evening, schools and catechising, farm-work and building, or repairing the existing buildings, being the routine. Mr. Samuelson, who is a Norwegian, laboured in Natal Diocese for three years before his removal to Zululand in 1861. His record of service, therefore, covers forty years. As a pioneer and founder he did good work under trying circumstances, and "from the seed that he has sown a rich harvest may some day be gathered, though he may not live to see it." Since his superannuation he has continued to devote himself to Mission work for a short time in Natal, and since 1899 in Zululand, at Emkindini (near Melmoth), where he has gathered a large congregation. The Rev. W. A. Challis has been appointed to St. Paul's, in which district a new out-station was opened in 1899 at the place of a chief named Mkungu [49].

ESHOWE (1892–1900).—Bishop Carter's removal of his residence in 1894 to Eshowe, which had become the headquarters of the British Government, brought him well in touch with the officials, whom he always found most sympathetic and kind, especially Sir Marshall Clarke, then Resident Commissioner [50]. In 1896 a church (provided by the white people) was opened, but as "black and white will not worship together"—or perhaps it should be said, "white will not worship with black people in this country"—it became necessary to build a native church as well. "Of course the whole thing is utterly and entirely wrong," Bishop Carter added, and the only possible way of removing "the existing wall of prejudice" is "by the teaching of our Lord" [51].

One of the stipulations of the annexation of Zululand to Natal was that Dinizulu (son of Cetywayo) and the other chiefs in exile at St. Helena should return to their country, and on his doing so in 1898 the Government built him a house at Eshowe, and allowed him £500 a year on certain conditions. During his banishment Dinizulu's heart was turned to the Church, and he wrote to his mother and to Bishop Carter (in 1894), asking for a teacher for his people, that all might be taught—

"those who do not wish to learn and those who do, since there are many of the Zulu people who do not desire to learn because of their regard for the amadhlozi (ancestral spirits)—a thing which helps not at all—which is nothing."

A Mission was therefore begun in 1894 at Nongoma, and among the first catechumens admitted were six of Dinizulu's sisters. Dinizulu himself is described as a simple and unaffected person. The loyalty of his people was undoubted, and he has the opportunity of exercising a real influence for good amongst them [52]. Several out-stations have been established in connection with the Eshowe Mission, and work among the Europeans has been extended to the Lower Tugela [52*a*].

NONDWENI (1894–1900).—Work among the diggers at the Nondweni goldfields was begun in 1894 with the holding of monthly services, and in 1896 the Rev. T. Hayes Robinson was stationed there. He found the store-keepers very responsive to friendship, and on the whole responsive to religious effort, but nearly all of them were prejudiced against missionary work among the natives. This prejudice, which he

endeavoured to remove, has not prevented his undertaking such work, and his ministrations to the white population were extended to Qudeni, near the Tugela [53].

In the Boer war a party of Boers looted all the Church furniture, but on Archdeacon Johnson's application to the Commandant the things were returned [53*a*].

ETALANENI (1892-1900).—At this place some of the best work of the Church in Zululand is being done. The natives have been very forward in supporting the work, and two out-stations were opened in 1897 near Ulundi [53*b*].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 384.)

CHAPTER XLVI.

SWAZILAND, OR AMASWAZILAND.

THE country (area, 12,000 square miles) lies on the eastern side of South Africa between the Lebombo Mountains (on the east) and the Transvaal (on the west). The Amaswazi are a warlike and independent tribe of Kaffirs, who were long a terror to all the neighbouring tribes except the Zulus. Though for the most part still heathen, they have no idols, and little to represent their ancient faith beyond ancestral worship. The "South African Republic" established a Protectorate over Swaziland in 1894 which was terminated by the annexation of the Transvaal by Great Britain in 1900. The exact form of government to be instituted under the changed circumstances has not yet been determined.

THE Church of England was the first Christian body to occupy Swaziland. The diocese formed in 1870 under the title of Zululand having been designed to include the country of the tribes towards the River Zambesi, its first Bishop, Dr. T. E. WILKINSON, visited Swaziland in 1871 to seek an opening for a Mission. An "eternal warfare" between the Amaswazi and the Zulus had "swept and reswept the district of Pongolo (the boundary river) so effectually" that in passing from one kingdom to the other for a whole day a desert was traversed in which "no human being" was to be seen, "nought but herds of antelopes, gnus, zebras, ostriches, and hartebheests." Reaching the kraal of the then boy-prince of the Amaswazi after a trying journey of three weeks, the Bishop "found that there was not a single effort being made in all that vast country, nor for the next 1,100 miles" to Zanzibar "for the evangelizing of these fine tribes" which dwelt there. The Amaswazi he described as "a very fine people intellectually and physically . . . less warlike . . . than the Zulus, and more inclined to work; . . . the country. . . a very fine one, high, and therefore healthy." They showed "no little kindness," but

"evidently did not believe that we were Missionaries, and seemed to know very little about them. We had been warned that we should be taken either for Dutch Boers come to wheedle them out of their land, or for Portuguese slave dealers bent on the worst of errands, and so it evidently was; they could not believe that we came amongst them with disinterested motives, and the consequence was that they refused to allow us to see the young prince Uludonga at all and we thought it inexpedient just then to press matters. So with many friendly assurances on both sides, accompanied by exchange of presents, we turned our heads homewards, telling them we should soon be with them again, as it was impossible we could forsake our brothers."

The Chiefs, though willing to have Missionaries near them, feared to allow white men to settle in their country. A basis of operations

was therefore selected just outside the Swazi border, at Derby in the Transvaal, and thither the Rev. JOEL JACKSON of Zululand was sent with a catechist (Mr. HALES) and arrived on Christmas Day 1871. Two years later Bishop Wilkinson baptized there the first Swazi convert —a boy who was named Harvey after the Bishop of Carlisle [1]. Early in 1877 the centre of the Mission was removed to Mahamba (Transvaal), but the Zulu War of 1879 rendering its abandonment advisable, Enhlozana was selected as the new station, and in 1881, at the invitation of the Swazi King, who granted a site on the river Usutu, the headquarters of the Mission were at last established in the centre of Swaziland, fifteen miles from the King's kraal. Enhlozana is in what has been called the "Little Free State" in Swaziland, but in 1890 it was annexed to the Transvaal [2]. After four years at the Usutu Mr. Jackson reported:—

"I cannot make much impression on the great mass of heathenism around. But to be single-handed is a great disadvantage in this place. Sadly too much of my time and strength have to be given to merely secular matters. The climate is so hot and enervating that even now in midwinter there are few days that are not too hot for much outdoor labour. As I am alone, and have no funds, the necessary buildings must be put up by myself. I have native boys, who can help me much, but they require my constant presence. As little food can be bought in this neighbourhood, we must grow for our own needs, and unless I am present to superintend all planting operations they fail, and the crops cost more than the market price of grain. Matters will improve only when we have a generation trained into more careful and industrious habits" [3].

The first Church building of the Mission was not opened until 1890 [3*a*]. When Mr. Jackson came to the country he had but one white neighbour within a radius of 50 miles. But about the year 1887 the whole of Swaziland was "given out in concessions conveying mineral rights," and parts once like a wilderness have become populated by white people—miners, &c.—and a Government for whites has been established. Europeans, chiefly English, were more than 100 miles in advance of him in 1888, and many were settling near the King's kraal. Mr. Jackson's work among the natives had so lacked encouragement that several times he thought of going to more promising fields, but, said he,

"something always came in the way, which seemed to tell me I must stay. It now seems plain that my presence was needed to prepare for coming events and work. At first we could not gain an entrance even into the country; now I have good reason to believe that very soon Christian marriage without the payment of cattle will be a recognised law of the land for those who desire it. The minds of the King and Chiefs are . . . preparing to accept other changes" [4].

While, however, "the Swazis are waiting for the King" (to become a Christian), progress in their evangelisation must be slow. "How can they go before the King?" [5].

In 1889 the Society provided funds for meeting what had been a "most crying want," viz. a Missionary to minister to the white gold-diggers and proprietors in Swaziland; but Bishop McKenzie was unable to take any action in the matter owing to the unsettled state of the country and to the lack of a suitable agent [6]. A revolution was attempted in 1888, which resulted in the Prime Minister being put to death and the King's brother, who hoped to ascend the throne, fleeing to the Transvaal [7].

(1892-1900.) Mr. Jackson resigned in 1891, and since then the work has suffered owing to changes in the staff and the political situation. Though the country was taken by the Boers in 1895, it was, in 1897, neither under European rule nor native rule, but a sort of mixture of both. Thanks, however, to the British Consul, the sale of liquor had been checked, and the Rev. W. Swinnerton was doing all he could both for the natives and for the Europeans, holding services for the latter at various centres, including Bremersdorf, the seat of government, and at Embabana, where there are tin mines.

Mission work, after twenty years, was "still quite in its infancy." At the Usutu there were some fifty Christian people and about the same number at an out-station (thirty-six miles distant), which was in charge of one of the Royal Swazi family, Frank Nkosi, whose whole aim and object is to teach the Faith wherein he has been baptized [8].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 384.)

CHAPTER XLVII.

TONGALAND, OR AMATONGALAND, OR AMAPUTALAND.

TONGALAND (area 1,200 square miles) lies on the east coast of South Africa between Zululand (on the south) and Delagoa Bay (on the north), and extending from the Indian Ocean westward to the Bombo Mountains. A British Protectorate was established over the territory in 1895: annexation followed, and the country was incorporated with Zululand in 1897. Throughout its length and breadth the country is flat and sandy—none of it being much above and some being below the level of the sea. It is inhabited by the most industrious race in that part of Africa—viz., the Amatonga, or (as they are sometimes termed) "Knob-nosed Kaffirs."

OWING to the deadliness of its climate little has yet been done towards the evangelisation of Tongaland. The first step taken by the English Church in this direction was to place it in charge of the Bishop of Zululand when the diocese of that name was formed in 1870. In his first reports to the Society on the subject Bishop WILKINSON in 1872 was of opinion that the only way of reaching the tribes inhabiting "that land of death" was to establish a post on the heights of the Bombo, from which descents could be made for days together, though no white man could live in the country (that is, for long). A short time before, nine traders had ventured into the district, and "not one came out again" [1].

No advance in the matter appears to have been made during the first Bishop's episcopate (1870–5), but his successor, Bishop MCKENZIE, (cons. November 1880), placed a native catechist (TITUS ZWANE) on the Bombo Mountains in 1881, "to keep open the right of occupation and to prepare the way for a greater work." About a year later the catechist died, and want of funds and agents prevented the re-occupation of the station, though just before his own death (in Jan. 1890) the Bishop was about to accept an offer of a new site (20 acres) on the Bombo [2].

In the meanwhile the Bishop's plan had been to visit Tongaland "in the healthy season, June or July, and try to bring away boys for

school at Isandhlwana" (in Zululand). His last visit was in 1889, when he came to the conclusion that a station ought to be opened in Tongaland itself as well as one on the Bombo. The climate is not so bad as that of Delagoa Bay, and "if one of the higher spots were selected . . . and theMissionaries took reasonable care of themselves, there does not seem to be more danger than in other hot and rather unhealthy places." On this occasion the Bishop was accompanied by the Rev. W. Martyn, a native Zulu deacon, and they spent eight days in Tongaland, "sleeping in the native huts, and having . . . many opportunities for preaching truth in the smaller kraals." As usual "the common people received us gladly" (wrote the Bishop), but "we were not allowed to tell our tale to either King or Queen, but had to accept a message sent out to us that they did not want any of such talk, we had better turn back at once." But the "old indunas in spite of themselves . . . heard a good deal," for on receiving the message the Bishop "began to tell them the chief things we believe and teach," and they listened with patience for some time before they "laughed and walked away." This, probably the first Missionary visit ever paid to the royal kraal, was at an unfavourable time, for political and exploring visitors had recently been there, and the indunas regarded the Missionaries as having some connection with one of the parties: "the idea of a white man taking the trouble to come to them seeking nothing for himself but only wishing to do them good, was too impossible to be received." The Tonga language, though very unlike Zulu in many ways besides words and sounding like "kitchen Kafir," "has affinities, so that a knowledge of Zulu is of great assistance when reading it," and most of the men and boys can understand and talk Zulu [3].

According to Bishop McKenzie the Amatonga know more of the outside world than the neighbouring tribes, are more ready to leave their homes, and are in advance of the Zulus and Swazis in such matters as house-building, and they seem well disposed towards white men. But "the morality of the sexes is deplorably low" [4], and the fact that contact with Europeans has rendered it worse [*see* p. 346] makes it all the more necessary that adequate measures should at once be taken for the conversion of Tongaland [5].

1892–1900.

In order to see if there were any possibility of commencing work among the Tonga, Bishop Carter (Dr. McKenzie's successor) visited the country in 1892. His report may be thus summarised:—

He was accompanied by the Bishop-designate of Lebombo (the Rev. W. E. Smyth), the Rev. R. Robertson (who had already visited the country twice), a young lay missionary, and eight schoolboys taken to assist in the services and to quicken their missionary spirit. On September 5 the party outspanned at the first Tonga village. Here they held service by moonlight amid a large and attentive audience. The waggon excited much curiosity, many of the people not having seen one before.

At Palindaba the ex-Queen, Mambama, was interviewed. A service held there, at her request, was interrupted by a King's messenger, who, marching up to the assembly, worked himself into a frenzy, rating everyone soundly—the missionaries for coming into the country, and the people for listening to them. It proved, however, that he had no message from the King, all the bombast being on his own account, and the interview ended ludicrously by his asking for the gift of a blanket. After waiting nearly three days at the royal kraal, the Bishop was received by a hundred of the King's indunas, to whom the purpose of the visit was explained. The King's reply was that he knew nothing about the Gospel, that the missionaries might come and go as they wished, and he sent them an ox for a present. The people were in great awe of the King—a young man named Umgwanaza, who had signalised his accession to the throne by "eating up" many people and taking their cattle.

Altogether the reception was more favourable than Bishop McKenzie's had been, and many friends were made. Among the indunas were two Portuguese who raised obstacles to a Mission, but this difficulty was removed in 1895 by the placing of the whole Tonga country, south of the Maputa and Usutu rivers, under British influence, at the King's request [6]. This gave the opportunity for a Mission, the way for which was further prepared by the Rev. C. Johnson, of Rorke's Drift, Zululand, who made an expedition to Tongaland in 1895, accompanied by the Rev. L. H. Frere. Mr. Johnson's remarkable account of his visit can only be briefly summarised here :—

At the Queen's kraal a little thin old woman, dressed in blue calico, her neck and breast literally covered with "charms" of all descriptions, and accompanied by about a dozen handmaids, came forth to meet them. She held out her hand, but without speaking, one of the women explaining that she—the Queen—could not speak until the "amadhlosi" (spirits of her departed ancestors) had been propitiated by a suitable present. The Queen asked many questions regarding the habits of Europeans and the Christian religion, and when the missionaries knelt in prayer they all followed the example, covering their faces with their hands.

At the King's kraal the missionaries were met by the King's own mother, who at first was rigidly reserved, asking what the white men wanted, and saying, "I am the only king you'll see to-day." The King was not visible, as his head wife had died the day before, but the Queen-Mother was willing to receive any message for him. Mr. Johnson then preached about the great God, all listening attentively, especially the Queen-Mother, who thawed in a wonderful manner, and commenced asking questions. At the close of the interview, which lasted over two hours, Mr Johnson's proposal to offer up prayer was welcomed, the Queen-Mother saying, "Pray for us, too," when Mr. Johnson knelt down.

She turned to the warriors and said, "Why don't you kneel? What are you squatting down for?" They all shouted out with one accord "Bayete" (your majesty), and fell on their faces to the ground, and at a further command covered their faces with their hands. On the following day the King held a great indaba, when three witch doctors, dressed up in skins and feathers, tried to find out who had caused his wife's death: a fourth witch doctor lying on the ground was supposed to be in an ecstatic trance, or exhaustion, "but he had a strong smell of gin about him." The superstition of these people is that there is no such thing as natural death, except from very old age, and that every death from sickness or any other cause has been brought about by the machinations of some enemy working through spiritual agency or by poison.

Mr. Johnson's presence during the ceremony, which went on with great noise for nearly three hours, may have frustrated the efforts of the witch doctors, as they hesitated in fixing the guilt on to any particular offender. After it was over the King received Mr. Johnson, saying, "Saka bona, Umfundisi" ("We see you, Missionary"), and apologising for having kept him waiting so long, saying that the witch doctors would not let him come sooner. Asked if he believed that they could tell him the cause of his wife's death, he answered, "I do not know, they say they can; what do you say about it, Umfundisi?" Mr. Johnson seized the opportunity to speak to him about life and death, and about the great God who held all things in His hand. He and his people listened most attentively; then he asked many questions, about God, Mission work, education, European civilisation, &c. After much talk, he had a book brought which turned out to be an old unused Letts' Diary, and asked Mr. Johnson to write down the alphabet, and then to write some sentences in English and explain their meaning. Mr. Johnson accordingly wrote, "King Ngwanaza has this day expressed a wish that missionaries of the Church of England should come into his country and teach his people: he promises to point out sites for Mission centres." The King seemed much pleased, saying that he would indeed be glad if teachers would come. Here, as well as at other places, the name of Chief Hlubi was well known by repute, and respected. When the King understood that Mr. Johnson was from Hlubi's district, he said, "Why do you not come *here* yourself and teach my people?" The interview concluded with prayer, the King and all his people kneeling with their faces to the ground.

Through the length and breadth of Tongaland there was "not one authorised preacher of the Gospel of Christ, though lots of sellers of European drink." Drinking, indeed, was "universal," and the normal state of all the people round the King's kraal seemed to be intoxication. Men, women, and children all drink; the men, when questioned, saying, "It is very bad for women, but not for us men"; and the women, "It is good for us women, but very bad for the men." One of the chief reasons why

dissolute traders object to missionaries is, Mr. Johnson thinks, on account of the missionaries' opposition to the sale of drink. He had never come in contact before with a people who had so little idea of God. Some years previously a young native (Isaac Mavilo), baptized by Wesleyans in Natal, made an attempt to commence school work in the King's kraal, but from some cause it ended prematurely.

On the return journey Mr. Johnson met a young man who had been baptized while working in Barberton. He was dressed in European clothes, appeared to be bright and intelligent, and said that he collected as many people together as he could on Sundays and had prayers with them; but as yet there were no converts. "It was good" (said Mr. Johnson) "to see this one solitary Christian, not only keeping alive his own faith, but struggling to impart a little knowledge of God to the dense mass of heathen around him. It is impossible for anyone in a Christian country, in the midst of an active Church organisation, to realise one Christian standing alone in the midst of heathendom. Truly a bright spark in a night of darkness! We knelt and prayed together, and left him with the hope that God would bless his simple endeavour."

Crossing the Pongolo it was curious to notice that peoples living so close to each other, and only separated by a river, should be so different in character and appearance. The improvement in the people in Sambana's country could only be attributed to the restrictions placed on the importation of European liquors by the British Government.* The tokens of joy and contentment shown by the people at their annexation were very striking. At Sambana's kraal, situated on the Lebombo mountains, the chief, a stately old man, after a long talk turned to the headmen and asked them if they thought it would be good to have teachers in their country, and they replied unanimously, "It is good."† Before leaving, the chief offered a wooden house, situated close to his kraal, to be used as a schoolroom and for services [7].

On Mr. Johnson's return to Zululand considerable interest in Tongaland was shown by the people in his district (Rorke's Drift), each out-station being ready to contribute to a Mission. Mr. Johnson was also prepared to commence the work himself and to find native helpers, a sufficient answer to the reproach of a trader that the missionaries "had no fiery zeal for the Master," otherwise they would "not all hug the border, but would strike out for Tongaland" and parts of Zululand as yet untouched by any missionary. This trader (a Mr. Crosby) had set an example by acting as lay reader, and his place was then (1895) the most advanced Mission post established towards the north-east of Zululand [8]. On the appeal of Mr. Johnson and the Bishop of Zululand the Society made provision in 1896 for the establishment of Mission stations in Sambanas'‡ country and Tongaland, or, as the Government now began to call it, "Maputaland."

The whole of Tongaland is regarded as "fever country." A site on the Umbombo mountains was therefore selected for the headquarters of the Mission, and here at Ingwavama work was begun in June 1897‡ by Archdeacon Swabey, assisted by four of the "Lichfield Evangelist Brotherhood" and a native boy from Isandhlwana. The position is good, and overlooks the Tonga country below, but the work has been interrupted by the illness of Archdeacon Swabey and by the Boer war, at the beginning of which the magistracy and courthouse were burnt down by the Boers [9].

* "The difference between the Tonga people, amongst whom liquor is sent in large quantities from Delagoa Bay, and the Zulu people, amongst whom it is very strictly prohibited, is very noticeable." (L. Bishop Carter, 1895.)

† One of the headmen who then began to speak suddenly jumped into the air with a howl. The chief said very quietly, "What is the matter with you?" and he exclaimed, "Ngi lunywa u fecela! ngi lunywa u fecela!" (I am bitten by a scorpion), to which the chief answered, "If you are, need you make so much noise?" Mr. Johnson gave him some *eau de luce* to apply to the place; and the chief begged for some for himself, as scorpions and other venomous reptiles are very numerous there.

‡ The Rev. L. H. Frere appears to have prepared the way in 1895–96 [7*a*].

CHAPTER XLVIII.

PORTUGUESE SOUTH-EAST AFRICA (DELAGOA BAY, &c.).

PORTUGUESE S.E. AFRICA extends from Tongaland (British) to the British Central Africa Protectorate in the North-West and to German East Africa in the North-East. The Transvaal and Rhodesia form its western and the Mozambique Channel its eastern boundaries, the total area being about 298,000 square miles, and the population 1,500,000. The Northern Province (viz. Mozambique) contains the ports of Quilimane, Mozambique, and Ibo; and the Southern Province (viz. Lourenço Marques) the ports of Beira and Lourenço Marques Delagoa Bay.

PART I.—DELAGOA BAY AND DISTRICT.

THOUGH Delagoa Bay was nominally included in the Diocese of Zululand (formed in 1870), no further measures were taken for its occupation by the Church of England until after the resignation and return to England of Bishop WILKINSON, who then began to collect funds for the formation of a separate Bishopric in the district. His action was provisionally approved by the Metropolitan of South Africa in 1879, and some small sums (about £100 in all) were received by the Society for the object. In view, however, of the claims of the existing dioceses the South African Bishops considered the scheme premature, and they suspended it in 1880 [1].

In January–February 1891 the Bishops arranged for the incorporation of the regions about Delagoa Bay (with South Gazaland, and Lydenberg and Zoutspanberg in the Transvaal) into a new Diocese to be called Lebombo, and on their application the Society (May 1891) granted £500 towards the endowment of the see (£7,000 having been raised for the object by Bishop Wilkinson), and £300 per annum for the establishment of Missions within its boundaries [2].

Previously to this the Society (May 1889) had made provision towards supplying ministrations to Englishmen employed at Lourenço Marques on the new railway and in other ways, but the seizure of the line by the Portuguese for non-fulfilment of contract rendered it unnecessary to appoint a chaplain for the English, who began to leave [3].

Soon after his first visit to Delagoa Bay (in 1881) Bishop MCKENZIE secured a site for a Mission, but he was unable to go there again until 1889. He could then find no one "anxious for Communion," and therefore celebrated in Zulu in his room at the hotel for himself and his native companion, the Rev. W. MARTYN of Zululand. The town and neighbourhood "badly needs the counter influence of some clergy, for it is a very drunken and corrupt place. The natives are terribly demoralised by drink and high wages and contact with bad white men." In one kraal, "in the midst of a torrent of Tonga," the Bishop "heard the name of God in English, but it was the common English curse!" During his stay a school of 30 native boys and girls, under native management, and unconnected with any denomination, was to a certain extent offered to and accepted by him [4.]

Owing however to Bishop MCKENZIE'S death and the rearrangement of dioceses, the commencement of Missionary operations in Delagoa Bay has had to await the appointment of a Bishop of Lebombo. In November 1892 the Society provided funds to enable the Rev. W. E. Smyth, the Bishop-designate, to make a preliminary survey of the diocese [5].

1892–1900.

The survey which was made in 1893 does not appear to have extended to Delagoa Bay. Subsequently, on November 5, 1893, Dr. Smyth was consecrated at Grahamstown, and it was arranged that the diocese should not contain any portion of the Transvaal, but should be limited to the Portuguese territory lying between Delagoa Bay (its southern boundary) and the river Sabi, which bounds it on the north —a district of about 400 miles in length and 250 in breadth. A chain of hills called the Lebombo mountains, from which the diocese gets its name, separates it on the western side from Mashonaland and the Transvaal. The only point in the whole diocese containing an English-speaking population of any size was Lorenzo Marques, on Delagoa Bay. The rest is inhabited by some three millions of native heathen people, distributed among five or six tribes, each speaking a different language. Besides these there were numerous Orientals from China, India, and other countries, some being Indian coolies who formerly worked in Natal. The English colony at Delagoa Bay consisted almost entirely of young men, whose object seemed to be to make money as quickly as possible and go away. Delagoa Bay (and indeed the diocese generally) being notoriously unhealthy, most of the few married Englishmen left their wives and families in a more healthy district. Hitherto Delagoa Bay had been sadly neglected by the Church, the Diocese of Zululand was too poor to do much; any passing clergyman held service, but congregations had never been large. Little Mission work had been attempted in the whole of the area embraced by the diocese. Besides some three Portuguese priests there were a few Methodists and scattered Churchmen and some Swiss Presbyterian Mission stations only [6].

When Dr. Smyth was consecrated he was the only clergyman in his diocese. Possibly no such case had occurred before in the history of the Anglican Communion (at least in modern times), but at any rate it set forth in practice the wholesome axiom that the first Missionary to any new country should be a Bishop.

Visiting England in quest of fellow-workers and funds he received a promise of £1,000 a year from the Society, and on his return to his diocese in the autumn of 1894 he was joined by a small band of clergy and other workers. Inhambane was chosen for the headquarters of the Mission, and a centre was formed at Delagoa Bay. A sanatorium was also established, at first at Farm Amsterdam on the Transvaal mountains p. [358*l*], in order that the workers might recruit their health from time to time instead of remaining at their posts and breaking down, a practice which is heroic, but (as the Bishop said), "We do not merely want heroism—we want to get work done" [7].

In 1899 a site was obtained at Namahacha on the Lebombo mountains, which will, it is hoped, be more accessible as a sanatorium and very nearly as healthy.*

At Lorenzo Marques the Rev. J. H. Bovill (the first clergyman to join the Bishop) was stationed in 1894. Some of his South African

* The first converts at *this* station, a man and his wife with a baby and a lad, were baptized by Bishop Smyth in 1900 [8*a*].

friends offered to provide him with a coffin, as if he lived much longer than a month or two he would be very fortunate. But for four years he worked there, single-handed with the exception of the aid of four native catechists, and had only two attacks of fever, one lasting three days, during which he had to turn out of his bed and take two funerals, and the other lasting three weeks, in which "the funerals had to take themselves unfortunately."

Missionary operations—at first directed to the white population (English, Germans, Hollanders, Norwegians, &c.)—were hindered by the war then prevailing between the Portuguese and natives, which ended in the capture of Gungunhana, the head of the Tshangana tribe, and other hostile chiefs, but as soon as the Mission party had taken possession of a house in the town they began regular services in a room set apart as a temporary chapel. During the first two years the Church attendance consisted of four or five persons at evening service, seldom anyone at the celebration, there being but six communicants among the population; but the Church went on doing her duty by offering God His due worship, and praying for those who would not come to pray for themselves, and a distinct improvement took place in the next two years. The work among the constantly-shifting white population took up much time, and tended "to wear away to the very core the spiritual life of a priest."

To a large extent it was "social work," seeking out in their favourite haunts, and befriending, the utterly indifferent, destitute, sick, or friendless young men, many of whom had been regular Church-goers at home. Another branch of work was that of visiting ships, and holding services on board, not only for the English, but also for the Norwegian and Swedish crews, who, almost to a man, spoke English. These services were appreciated, but involved some personal expense to Mr. Bovill, and the cost of living at Lorenzo Marques is greater than in any other town in South Africa [8].

Towards the erection of a suitable church—in place of a corrugated iron building, which became unbearably hot soon after sunrise—the Society, in 1897, voted £1,000 from the Marriott bequest, but owing to delay in obtaining a site the new building was not finished till 1899. Portuguese law prohibits all outside decorations—steeple, belfry or bell, or any emblem signifying *externally* that it is a church [9].

In October 1895 the first native Mission station in connection with Delagoa Bay was opened—at Mtsova, twelve miles from Lorenzo Marques—among the Ba Lenge, or, as they are commonly called, Machopis, who were settled there as refugees from Chopiland. The commencement of this work was a noble act on the part of a native catechist, named John Matthew, who gave up a post in Johannesburg and exchanged an income of £150 a year for one-fourth of that sum.

A temporary church was built by the people in the chief's kraal, and the work received much encouragement. The chief (Mangunyana), although he said he was too old to change his religion, induced his people to attend church, and sent his children to school. His eldest son also sent *his* children to school, attended the services regularly himself, and helped with his own hands to build our church. The

work had developed considerably when, in 1897, the capture of Gungunhana and the restoration of peace to Chopiland enabled the refugees to return there. They took with them a certain knowledge of Christianity, and sent piteous appeals for teachers to follow them.* Some of their children were left at Mtsova to be taught Christian truths, and there remained many other natives in the district to be influenced by the Mission [10].

The second outstation of Lorenzo Marques was opened in January 1897 at Hlambankulu, the suburb in which most of the natives working in the town make their homes. Among these were a considerable number of Christians who had been taught at Durban, Johannesburg, Barberton, and other places. John Matthew began work at Hlambankulu, some of his old congregation from Mtsova followed him, and soon a large number of hearers came round, and the result surpassed the most sanguine expectations. Every Sunday the church was packed as only natives can pack, the chancel part being crammed full of children, with little or no room for the priest to move or turn round, as they were on the altar steps. The windows and doors were thrown open, and all round the church outside were numbers joining in the service who were unable to get even standing room inside the church. Mr. Bovill says he came out from the service sometimes more like pulp than anything else, the building (of corrugated iron) being frightfully hot. The cost of building this church (£95) was collected from the English merchants residing in Lorenzo Marques.

The daily services during the week are well attended morning and evening, the language used being Si Chopi.

Some translations have been made into that tongue, and it was "a great day" for the Bishop when, in 1898, he stood at the erection which does duty for an altar in the little chapel at Hlambankulu, with the type-written copy of the Prayer-book before him, and "for the first time in the world's history sang the Communion Service in the Chopi language."

The day school at Hlambankulu will, it is hoped, become a centre for training teachers and catechists.

Some of the congregation at Hlambankulu, who live some distance from the church in another suburb of the town called Klavani, wished to have a place of worship nearer for daily services, and at their own expense they put up a small chapel, which was dedicated to St. Peter by the Bishop on June 29, 1900 [11].

At Shifunge, ten miles from Lorenzo Marques, on the opposite side of the river, a station was opened in 1897 at the request of the chief, Robert Makusa. In his younger days he had been baptized and confirmed by Bishop Colenso in Natal. On returning to his own country he fell away into polygamy, but now having repented he endeavoured to make amends by building a chapel on his property and asking for a catechist. One was appointed, and the chief himself took the daily services until his death in 1898.

The work was then carried on by a native named Daniel Mhavis-

* The scattered Christians in Chopiland were visited by John Matthew in 1900, and many of them have come to Lorenzo Marques for Communion time. The Bishop is anxious to open a Mission in their country.

as the guardians of the young chief who carried on the chief's work during his minority were all heathen [12].

At Matolla, where work was begun at the beginning of 1898 by Philip Coolman, who had been catechist at Shifunge, a school was burnt down owing to some previous bad feeling which had been aroused against some Missionaries formerly temporarily located near Matolla. The incendiary expressed regret when he found that the Mission was connected with the Church. The work was carried on in the open air until a hut was placed at the catechist's disposal [13].

In 1899 an application for teaching services was received from some kraals in the district of Matutwini. To show their earnestness the people put up a school chapel at their own expense; this was finished and dedicated to the Holy Angels by the Bishop on October 2. 1900

In 1900 the minister of an Independent native congregation asked the Bishop to take over himself and his flock, and to visit and baptize his converts. Accordingly, in November, the leader, Joseph Matoho, was confirmed, the Bishop having visited the school at Hlangmoya and baptized some of his converts on October 5.

The work in the parts of the diocese outside Delagoa Bay district is noticed elsewhere.*

To a great extent the direct Mission work of the diocese will have to be done by native assistants, drawn, as at first, from other dioceses, and eventually from the diocese itself. The European staff have to endure many hardships and privations, and two of them broke down in 1898, and had to return to England—Mr. F. Davenport, who had acquired two of the six native languages, and the Rev. J. H. Boon, whose illness originated from an accident. While travelling in an unknown country his horse bolted, and left him to wander for two days and nights without food or shelter [14].

The Bishop, who endeavoured, but without success, to avoid having a distinct Missionary Association to supplement the Society's grant, visited England again in 1897 to raise funds, but he found this an expensive plan, not to be repeated; every pound (he said) which he earned for the diocese cost him between 6*s*. and 7*s*., and "but for the help of the S.P.G." he "could not go on working at all" [15].

In 1899 the Society, on the Bishop's request, consented to the terms under which the Lebombo Bishopric Endowment Fund is held by the South African Provincial Church Trustees being so modified that any sums over and above the first £10,000 invested may be used "for the purchasing of land for, and the providing of, a See house." At present the Bishop is "content to sleep in outhouses, or pantries, or vestries," but he pleads for "at least an office" in which to keep his Diocesan papers [15*a*].

Inhambane (1894–1900).

Inhambane, the place selected by Bishop Smyth as his headquarters, is almost equidistant from the three land boundaries (N., S. & W.) of the Diocese of Lebombo, and is situated on the coast to the north of Delagoa Bay. On the Bishop's preliminary visit there in 1894

* *See* pp. 346*h* and 358*l*.

he found that in the whole of the district, containing about 60,000 huts, there were only three white men trying to do Mission work—the Portuguese at Mongwe, Mr. Richards, an American Congregationalist (who was doing his best to keep up the work started by the American Board, but given up by them, and about to be taken up by the "Episcopal Methodists"), and Mr. Agnew, of the Free Methodist Church of America. With a view to avoiding unnecessary friction in regard to the location of stations, and arranging that they "should work so as to help each other in all possible ways," the Bishop saw Mr. Richards, who reciprocated the feeling, and gave several proofs of his goodwill, inviting the Bishop to be his guest at Cambini until he had built a house for himself [16].

In 1895 the Bishop settled at GIKUKI, on the north side of the bay, and here, on January 9, 1898, took place the baptism and confirmation of the first convert within the actual borders of the Diocese of Lebombo. This convert, Mbitshi Kambula, who received the name of Josefa, is now doing good work as a teacher under very difficult circumstances. Meanwhile a chapel had been built, a school started, translations printed at a Mission press, and a considerable medical work begun. One of the workmen, after having spent two months in the ceremonies of burying his wife, asked the Mission to advance him £20 to buy another wife. This system of buying wives found favour with the women. The more money paid for them the greater was the honour. In 1898 the headquarters (with the Mission Press) were removed to "Chamboni" or "Camboni," a portion of the Maxixi district [17].

At Chilambi, another suburb of Inhambane, a Boys' school begun by Miss Saunders ("Sister Agnes") in 1895 in a hut lent by Mr. Richards, developed into a College or boarding school within two years, and it is hoped will supply the future teachers and catechists of the Tonga-speaking districts. Up to 1898 Miss Saunders and her friends bore almost all the expense, including the purchase of site. At the end of each year the day-school suffers owing to the occurrence of the "drinking season," so called because the kanju or cashew, a fruit resembling the apple and pear in appearance, is then picked for making wine (the children being employed in plucking the fruit), and the people do very little besides getting drunk.

The opening of a church ("All Saints") at Chilambi in 1897, erected in memory of the Rev. H. T. A. Thompson,* was made the occasion of inviting all the known native Christians in Inhambane, other than Roman Catholics, "to join in a great act of worship," and many came. Miss Saunders, who had helped in the erection of the church at Chilambi, also opened an outstation in 1897 at Churaneni, fourteen miles from Inhambane. During her visits she occupied a small hut, which drew from the Bishop the exclamation, "Oh! if I only had as good accommodation for my fellow-workers as my father has for his horse in England, I should be so thankful!" [18].

In 1897 a school and home for girls was opened at Maxixi by an

See p. 334h.

American* Churchwoman who had joined the staff at Gikuki, the first pupil being a Cape girl who had been abandoned by a man after taking her 2,000 miles away from her home under promise of marriage. Then came other pupils, Christian and heathen, the fathers showing more sympathy with the effort than had been expected. In 1898 the foundress of the school, Miss Scott, and her helper, Miss Dorothy Wells (an adopted daughter), had to return to America for the education of the latter, but the work continues [19].

In 1897 an outstation was temporarily opened in the Bembe district, and in 1898 a Christian Makwakwa, who had been taught at St. Columba's Home, Capetown, and had received further teaching at Inhambane, went off to his own people, twenty-three miles distant, and built a house and a schoolroom so that he might teach the Ba Makwakwa [20].

On the outbreak of the Boer war, in 1899, Bishop Smyth and his staff in trying "to do their duty" rendered splendid service in ministering to the refugees arriving at Delagoa Bay from the Transvaal until they could proceed to their homes. In October 1899 forty-five thousand arrived, the bulk being coloured refugees, or natives turned out of the mines. The demand on the time and purses of the Mission staff was considerable, but was cheerfully met, and they gave up their beds to ladies, and themselves slept on floors or elsewhere. The English and the German residents co-operated in the good work. Happily the church was completed before the rush came, and could therefore be used for sleeping accommodation for those who could get no other. To those people who were inclined to regard this as sacrilege the Bishop invariably replied, "What better use could I make of the house of God than to shelter in it the temples of the Holy Ghost?" [21].

The war has done much good by sending Christian natives to Delagoa Bay, who have stirred up others and created a large demand for catechists in the district [21*a*].

Beira, in the Diocese of Mashonaland (1892–1900).

When in 1898 the railway from Beira to Rhodesia was being constructed, Beira had a larger European population than any place inside Mashonaland. At a visit to this part of his diocese, some two years before, the Bishop of Mashonaland was told by a Portuguese official that he was breaking the law by having services there on a Sunday, but the authorities had now adopted a favourable attitude, and probably at that time at no other place, under similar conditions, on the East Coast of Africa, had a proposal to build an English church been entertained.

During the next four years the English people at Beira and along the railway were occasionally ministered to by Mr. F. W. Ritchie

* The Bishop stated in 1899, "Wherever American Christians get, there Mission work is being done," adding that there were several American citizens in the diocese, "and their example alone is doing a great deal to alter the habits of our degraded people."

(1893), Mr. Mitchley (1894), the Bishop of Zululand (1894), and others. At the time of Bishop Carter's visit the line was not open for passenger traffic, and he had to travel on a truck. The line passed through a country famous for large game, lions being shot at within 200 yards of the train. At "the 81 mile peg" there were a number of men who had been working the whole day (a Sunday) and one of them said, "*Let's ask the Bishop to give us a service; I have not heard a sermon for fourteen years.*" The service, which was held at 10 o'clock at night, was one which the Bishop said he should never forget. The Rev. A. Walker reported in 1897 that the people at Beira, and all the camps between there and Umtali, treated the passing clergy with the greatest kindness and consideration, but it was too pathetic to hear them over and over again express the feeling that the home folk seemed to have forgotten that they, their kith and kin, really had souls, as they were "living and dying like heathen."* In this year the British Consul—Mr. Carnegie Ross, who, with Mrs. Ross, were foremost in supporting the Church—offered a furnished house rent free, and a stipend at the rate of £200 a year for nine months for a resident clergyman. Beira, "so long neglected, after a miserable spiritual and moral failure," was now occupied by the Rev. W. H. Robins. Up to 1898 at least 50 per cent. of those employed in the construction of the railway had died from fever or other causes. "Still the work goes on and *will go on* and be completed" (said the Bishop of Mashonaland). "What a lesson for those who serve the Lord Christ!" The Bishop had found Mr. Robins living patiently in this most trying climate and enjoying it. But outside this "grim happiness" there were almost unimaginable difficulties. It was the "old problem of faith, and hope, and love against the world, the flesh, and the devil."

The Mission in Beira had dropped to a low depth, and it seemed as if it must cease, but the Bishop's visit revived interest and energy, and a fresh start was made.

The hindrances to Christian work at Beira arise chiefly from the mixture of races (there being eight European nationalities, besides a mass of pathetically indifferent natives and Asiatics), the intense heat, and Sunday labour. Up to 1898 no attempt had been made to convert the natives.

With the Society's aid steps have been taken for erecting a church in Beira.

At Fontesvilla, a railway terminus situated fifty miles up the Pungwe river, and with a deadly climate, Church services began in 1893 in a railway carriage.

The Rev. W. J. Roxburgh, of Umtali, now ministers as far as possible along the line between Umtali and Beira [1].

* While (added Mr. Walker) so many parishes in England were consumed with anxiety whether to have a new organ or an extra curate, when there was "no real need" for either.

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 884.)

CHAPTER XLVIII.

PART II.—GAZALAND.

Gazaland [illegible] on the eastern side of South Africa between Mashonaland and [illegible] with the exception of a small portion on the [illegible] South Africa Company. The natives, [illegible] are a branch of the Zulu race.

On the return journey from his famous tour to the Zambesi in 1888 (see p. [illegible]), the Bishop of Bloemfontein, while still far from Gazaland, had to remain hidden behind a hill at Inyampara for fear of some Gaza men who were engaged in collecting tribute from Sipiro's people. His journal at this stage records: "I am told the Gaza people to the south allow no white man to come among them in their own country, and that those that are now here would ask for such of our things as they wanted, and, if they were refused, would take them and kill us" [1]. Notwithstanding this the Bishop proposed in 1889 to visit the Gaza country. The Society considered it premature to do so then; but through the influence of a Christian cousin of Umzila the Bishop sought "to procure admission for Christianity" [2].

In January February 1891 the South African Bishops decided to include Gazaland in the two new Missionary dioceses which they were then forming—the portion north of the Sabi River being assigned to "Mashonaland," and the part south of the river to "Lebombo" [3]. Funds for Missions in both dioceses have been set apart by the Society, and it is hoped that actual work will soon be commenced in Gazaland [4].

(1892–1900). In 1893 Mr. J. R. Burgin was sent from Mashonaland to open work in the Melsetter district, a most beautiful but fever-stricken country, with lemons, bananas, and lovely flowers, growing wild. He visited the different chiefs from village to village, himself sleeping in blankets, with large fires around to keep off wild beasts, and sometimes he sat up half the night to keep lions away. In one tour he travelled 200 miles. Some two years previously the Bishop of Mashonaland had arranged with the American missionaries to leave Gungunyani's people to them, and Mr. Burgin began a station at Melsetter in ignorance of its being in their field. On the arrival of the American missionaries it was thought best that he should leave that part of the country. In so doing he had the consolation of feeling that his eight months' work among the natives would help the Americans considerably in their start [5].

In the part of Gazaland included in the Diocese of Lebombo there are to be found scattered Christians saying their prayers and hoping for the arrival of Church teachers to collect them into congregations, and of priests to give them the Sacraments [6].

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE ORANGE RIVER COLONY.

THIS is an inland country lying on the eastern side of South Africa between Cape Colony and the Transvaal &c., its area being about 50,000 square miles. Its settlement by whites was due to discontented Dutch farmers, who began to migrate from the Cape Colony in 1837. [*See* p. 268.] In 1848 it became formally subject to British Sovereignty, which however was abandoned in 1854. From that time it remained a Republic until 1900, when as a result of its assisting the Transvaal in the war against Great Britain, "the Orange Free State," as it had been called, became "the Orange River Colony," the annexation by Great Britain taking place on May 28, 1900.

As part of the original Diocese of Cape Town, the Orange River Sovereignty was visited by Bishop GRAY in 1850. At that time its population was estimated at nearly 100,000 (85,000 coloured), and the country was occupied by the Dutch Church and the "Berlin," "London," "Wesleyan," and "Paris" Missionary Societies. From the local representatives of these the Bishop met with a friendly reception, the Berlin Missionaries (Lutherans) complaining to him of the "very unsound views generally taught by English Dissenting Missionaries with reference to the Sacrament of Baptism which they said, being spoken of generally as only a sign or mark, the coloured people confounded it with the sign or marks upon the cattle, and did not esteem it in any higher light than this." At Boom-plaats on May 1, the Bishop read the Burial Service over the remains of some British officers and soldiers who had fallen in a recent battle with the Boers and been buried "in a walled enclosure in the middle of Mr. Wright's garden." This appears to have been the first service performed in the sovereignty by an ordained representative of the Anglican Church. Previously to the Bishop's coming the inhabitants of Bloemfontein (the capital), who were "nearly exclusively English," had appealed to him for a clergyman, and on his arrival there on May 3 a deputation from the military and civilians waited on him, expressed their satisfaction at the visit, and their hope "that it might lead to the establishment of a Church and Clergyman" among them. With the aid of the British Resident, Major Warden, who showed much kindness, sites were selected for "Church, Burial-ground, Parsonage, and School," the Bishop undertaking to furnish pla[illegible]hurch to hold 200, towards the erection of which the pe[illegible]d £200.

On Sunday [illegible] Service "in an open shed" (for [illegible]ol-house," when t[illegible]y himself

were confirmed, and ten persons communicated, the building being crowded inside and out throughout the whole services, which lasted nearly three hours. He also consecrated the military burial-ground on this day. Of the capital he wrote: "Bloemfontein is rapidly rising in importance. A press is coming up and a newspaper is about to be started. The Romish Bishop is soon to visit it, with a view, I understand, to fix a priest there, and the Methodists have decided upon planting a station in the village. Everything is of course in a rough state. There is nothing remarkable in the situation of the village; it is defended by a rude fort, mounted with four guns." During the Bishop's stay in the sovereignty (April 30–May 14) he visited Philippolis (the capital of Adam Kok, a Griqua Chief), Bethany, Thaba-'Nchu (the town of Morokko, the Chief of the Barolong), Makquatlin (the village of Molitzani, a Chief of some Basutos and Bechuanas), Merimitzo, Winburg, and Harrismith, and had interviews with the aforesaid Chiefs. Near Harrismith on May 12 he was joined by the Rev. J. GREEN of Maritzburg, whom he commissioned to fix upon sites for a church, parsonage, and school at Harrismith, a promising village as yet of "only two or three houses" [1]. On the return journey the Bishop ordained at Maritzburg Mr. W. A. STEABLER, a catechist of the Society, whom he stationed at Bloemfontein in 1850 [2].

Bishop Gray's visit was followed up in 1850 and 1853 by Archdeacon MERRIMAN of Grahamstown, who in the latter year reported that the church at Bloemfontein was still unfinished, that Smithfield was "bristling with life and activity," the people having raised in a few days £60 a year for a clergyman and nearly £300 towards a church; and that at Harrismith, among an increasing English population was a magistrate who once had acted as catechist under the Bishop of Nova Scotia, and was willing to renew his services [3]. With the exception of these visits Mr. Steabler laboured as the first and only clergyman of the Church of England in the sovereignty until its abandonment by the British Government, when he withdrew on March 28, 1854 [4]. In the previous year, on the subdivision of the See of Capetown, the British Government excluded the sovereignty from the three South African dioceses (Capetown, Grahamstown, and Natal), and this accounts for its partial neglect by the Church during the next ten years. Sir G. Grey and the Bishops of Capetown and Grahamstown seem to have done what they could under the circumstances to meet the calls of the settlers for clergymen, and from 1855 to 1858 the Rev. M. R. EVERY was maintained at Bloemfontein by Sir G. Grey and the Bishop of Grahamstown, aided in the latter year by the Society [5].

About the end of 1858 Mr. Every returned to Grahamstown, and although funds for a continuance and extension of the Mission were set apart by the Society in 1859 and 1860, actual work (under clergymen) was not renewed until 1863, when the Society having provided salaries for a Bishop and two other Missionaries, the Diocese of Orange River was constituted, and the Rev. E. TWELLS was consecrated Missionary Bishop of the same in Westminster Abbey on February 2 [6].

Up to this time Churchmen in the Free State had had no oppor-

tunities of receiving Holy Communion other than at the occasional celebrations provided by Archdeacon Merriman in 1850 and 1853—both Mr. STEABLER and Mr. EVERY being only in Deacon's Orders [7].

In September 1863 Bishop TWELLS and the Rev. A. FIELD reached the Free State. At Smithfield, the first place visited, a public meeting of welcome was held the day after their arrival (September 18), when £460 was subscribed towards building a church, a site (of one "erf") for which and for a parsonage had been reserved twelve years before when the town was laid out. For many years the English people here had been seeking a clergyman, and soon after landing at Port Elizabeth the Mission party received from them a contribution of £60 to assist in the travelling expenses up the country.

Though "brought up in various denominations" the European community, numbering 300, "almost wholly English," "all united in the wish to have a Clergyman, and in the effort to support one," and at the opening service on Sunday, September 20, many (men included) "could not refrain from tears." Some of the people, however, "had no Prayer Books, others did not know how to use them." Near the town were located some 200 Fingoes and Kaffirs, and for these a service was held in Dutch on the same day, in order to show them "that the English Bishop looked upon them as part of his flock." In other places delay and neglect had been followed by a loss of Church adherents and of grants-in-aid allowed by the Volksraad* for religious purposes. Some families had joined the Dutch Church, some the Wesleyans, and others "became altogether careless." Many old settlers complained bitterly of being deserted: "if the Government gave us up," said one, "we thought the Church might still have cared for us." At Bloemfontein a Wesleyan teacher had been working three years, "having been sent when all hope of gaining a Clergyman seemed taken away," but the Bishop was "heartily received by all," and for the revival of Church Services on Sunday, October 4, the Wesleyan Minister gave up the use of his own building, the English Church being "in ruins—a most pitiful sight," having been "turned into a sheep kraal."

Yet this was "the only semblance of an English Church" then in the diocese. The people at Bloemfontein desired a schoolmaster as well as a clergyman. A "College" had been founded by Sir George Grey, but Dutch influence and mismanagement had led to its being closed and to there being "no school in the place." At Fauresmith, on October 8 the Bishop found most of the people "unwillingly pledged to the support of a Wesleyan," who had also the Volksraad grant, but they promised at least £100 per annum for a clergyman. Philippolis, which had "only two years . . . ceased to be a Griqua village, under Adam Kok," was now "a thriving and promising little place," where Church services had been held for three years by a catechist under the Bishop of Capetown. But the people begged for "a real Clergyman," and the chief proprietor (Mr. Harvey) himself promised £50 a year for thre[illegible] for one. The coloured people also, to whom the Bishop r[illegible] "a preacher." On the completion of his firs[illegible] October 21, where he was joined by [illegible]

* House of Representatives.

placed the Rev. A. FIELD and a schoolmaster (Mr. CLEGG) at Bloemfontein,* the Rev. C. CLULEE at Fauresmith and Philippolis,* and a catechist (Mr. BELL) at Smithfield* [8].

From these centres during the next two years (1864–6), Winburg, Cronstadt, Bethlehem, Harrismith, Reddesberg, and other places were visited and occasional services were provided. The schools at Bloemfontein and Smithfield were "worked with great success," becoming self-supporting within a year [9]. At Fauresmith, "chiefly a Dutch village," a Confirmation held on April 27, 1864, had a great effect on those present, "especially on the Dutch, who had never seen anything of the kind before." One person who had left the English Communion for that of Rome four years before "was so moved by it, as by an appeal from his own mother Church, that he resolved to return to her Communion." Two of the candidates came from a distance of sixty miles and remained at Fauresmith a month for preparation [10].

The progress of the Missions generally was interrupted in 1865 by a war between the settlers and the Basutos under the Chief Moshesh, during which the Rev. C. CLULEE acted as "chaplain to the English on *commando*" and ministered to the Dutch troops also, his services being much valued.

An idea of the ravages committed by the Basutos may be gathered from the fact that in one day 3,000 "swept across the district of Smithfield and captured some 70,000 sheep, besides oxen and horses," and the value of the stock stolen in one month was estimated at £200,000. The war resulted in the cession of a portion of Basutoland to the Free State and (by the breaking of the power of the Chiefs) in the removal of some hindrances to the evangelisation of the natives [11]. Already hopeful beginnings had been made among the Griquas at Philippolis (1863), the Kaffirs at Bloemfontein (1865), and the Barolong at Thaba 'Nchu. The Barolong are a Bechuana tribe which, in order to escape the ravages of the Mantatees, migrated under the Chief Moroko from "the interior of Africa, north of the Vaal River," and settling at Thaba 'Nchu about 1834 formed there the largest or the second largest native town in South Africa.† In this district, containing 12,000 heathen, the Mission opened by the Rev. G. MITCHELL in 1865 was all the more acceptable from the fact that two sons of Moroko were Christians, and one of them (Samuel), who had been educated in England, assisted in teaching his countrymen [12]. November 30, 1866, was signalised by the consecration of the first church in Bloemfontein. For the three previous years, during the work of reconstruction, services were held in "a place far ruder and more inconvenient than an ordinary English barn." Connected with the new building was a chapel for native services—the whole calculated to seat 200 persons. At the same time a house was built for the Bishop, who had been occupying the position of "a lodger . . . with

* It was intended to station Mr. Field permanently at Smithfield in 1864; but he resigned in September of that year. His place was then filled for a short time by the Rev. E. C. Oldfield, "a temporary visitor in the State," other ministrations at Bloemfontein being provided by the Bishop. The Rev. E. G. Shapcote (not S.P.G.), who had accompanied the Bishop from England, officiated at Smithfield or at Philippolis till September 1865, when he returned to England [8a].

† An account of the Barolong is given by Mr. Mitchell in the *Mission Field*, of August and September 1875.

only one room" as his own. The day of consecration was kept as a general holiday, the Dutch, including the President, taking an interest in the proceedings. Archdeacon Merriman, who had laid the foundation stone exactly sixteen years before, preached the sermon, and the offertory was nearly £300 [13]. In 1867 a Missionary brotherhood organised in England arrived in the Free State, under the charge of the Rev. Canon BECKETT. It was intended that these brethren should "live together at a farm sixty miles from the nearest town, working with their own hands, and practically setting forth the dignity of honest labour," while they also engaged "in direct Evangelistic work" [14].

For this purpose Modderport was selected as the centre in 1869 [15]. In the previous year four of the brethren* occupied Thaba 'Nchu, Mr. Mitchell having temporarily removed his residence to Bloemfontein to assist in extending the work there among the Kaffirs, Griquas, Hottentots, &c. [16].

By the country-born Dutch and English people in the Free State the coloured races were "looked upon as inferior animals and very often treated as such." The Dutch would "not allow them to enter their places of worship when alive, nor to lie in the same neighbourhood when dead," nor would their ministers, as a rule, "either baptize, or marry, or bury them." Hence "great indignation" was caused in 1870 by Mr. CLULEE burying a Kaffir woman in the usual burial-ground for white Christians at Bloemfontein. A fortnight later a Dissenting Minister who intended following Mr. Clulee's example had not the courage, in face of "threatened violence," to give a poor half-caste woman "a resting-place among her fellow-Christians, but buried her outside the wall, in the open field." A few years before, when some of the English congregation "wished to exclude all coloured people from the Cathedral services," the Bishop and the Rev. D. G. CROGHAN "insisted that the House of God should be free to all baptized persons." The result was that not only were the coloured Christians left undisturbed in the Church but some English parents began to send their children to the coloured school [17].

In 1869 Bishop TWELLS resigned [18]; and Archdeacon Merriman having declined an unanimous call from the diocese, the Rev. A. B. WEBB was consecrated in England to the vacant see under the title of "Bishop of Bloemfontein" on St. Andrew's Day 1870 [19]. In October 1871 he reported to the Society

"with all thankfulness and truth that a real and deep work is being carried on by the Church, both in the directly Missionary Stations, as at Thaba 'Nchu and also at the towns where Europeans have settled. Our staff of clergy though . . . too few to cope with the vast work and opportunities opening out in various directions, are united, sound, and well instructed in the faith; hard-working, and devoted to the cause of God and His Church" [20].

As an illustration of the way in which the Society's grants are put to the "utmost use" Archdeacon Croghan stated in 1877 that in return for £50 a year his native Mission in Bloemfontein showed

"a large and orderly congregation of native converts, daily increas[illegible]

* The brotherhood has not been officially connect[illegible] occasions its members have assisted in the Society'[illegible]

in a comely and well appointed chapel, with daily services and weekly Communions largely attended, day and night schools well conducted, a regular staff of church officers, and offertories which would not be thought small from the similar class of congregation in England. . . . With humility and thankfulness to Almighty God, I can offer this result to the Venerable Society in return for their support" [21].

Thaba 'Nchu, the chief native Mission station, could show as the results of the first ten years' work 100 communicants and the baptism of 800 souls, all of whom had been living "in the darkest and most degrading heathenism." At sunrise and sunset services were held daily, and on Sundays there were from six to seven services, in Secoana, Dutch, and English. The Barolong language, viz. Serolong, had also been reduced to writing by the Missionaries and the Prayer Book translated into it and printed in the Mission. Many children were under instruction, and some of the most promising youths had been sent to the Native College at Grahamstown for training as Mission agents [22].

The following account by the Rev. G. Mitchell in 1876 gives "some idea of outdoor preaching among the Barolong of Thaba 'Nchu":—

"The evangelist sets off so as to get to the village where he intends to preach about the time the women return from drawing water in the afternoon—while the sun is therefore still hot. In some places he will be received kindly enough; in others, however, he will be left to battle with the dogs or keep clear of them as best he can; sometimes he will find the people holding a feast, and most of them far too talkative to listen profitably to a Missionary. At one time permission to preach will be refused him, and at another it will be given so reluctantly as to make the poor Missionary almost afraid to proceed to call the people. For this purpose I usually take with me a hand-bell. But some chiefs prefer sending a servant who climbs the hillside, or on to the top of a low turret, and calls to the whole village from there. Most villages are built at the foot of some hill, and nearly all have this turret near the court. This court is a place inclosed by a circular fence about six feet high, made of stakes and bushes, and is the common place of business for all the people of the village, where news is heard, and whither therefore the evangelist goes to preach the Gospel, and the people to listen to his message. While the people are assembling I usually run about among the houses inquiring after the sick, greeting everybody, and persuading all to come to hear the Gospel. Perhaps twenty persons of a village of two hundred inhabitants may come, sometimes more, or not so many. When the service begins I take my place inside the court with my back to the hedge, the people sitting on the ground just where it pleases them, and, taking off my hat, I say, 'In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' and the people will also take off their hats. And then a portion of Holy Scripture will be read; and afterwards follows a discourse upon it, closing with prayer. But if any of the native Christians are present a couple of hymns will also be sung, the people standing. Towards the end of my sermon I say that if anyone desires to become a child of God he must come to me at my house, or go to such and such a native Christian and he will bring him to me. When the service is over all the people, men, women, and children, will crowd around me and shake me by the hand and then return to their homes.

"This is all straightforward and pleasant enough. Let me tell you, however, that the preacher is not allowed to proceed as quietly as he is in an English church. Both dogs and babies are usually brought to those assemblies; and no sooner do the one begin to fight than the other begin to cry; and then commences hissing and stone-throwing, and mothers getting up and going out and coming in again; and then perhaps a fowl will commence cackling and interrupting us; and if it is the rainy season the service may be abruptly terminated by a storm.

"Thus you see preaching the Gospel among the Barolong in their villages is not an easy work; indeed, it is . . . difficult and wearisome and oppressive, both mentally and bodily" [23].

In 1882 the new Chief, "entirely unsolicited," presented to the

Mission a farm of over 2,500 acres, named Tabule, and £50 for the Boarding School [24]. On the death of the old Chief Moroka, a dispute between Samuel, his son, and Sepinari, his stepson, led to the killing of the latter, and the annexation of the Barolong country to the Free State in 1884. The political changes checked the work for a time, but Canon Crisp was enabled to complete his translations of the Gospels and revise the Prayer Book. In the same year "the first native Minister in the Diocese," Gabriel David, was ordained, after a long probation as Catechist under Archdeacon CROGHAN and others [25]. On the translation of Bishop WEBB to Grahamstown in 1883, Archdeacon CROGHAN, as Vicar-General, administered the vacant see until the consecration of Dr. KNIGHT-BRUCE as its third Bishop in 1886 [26]. The permanency of the episcopal income was secured in 1882 by an Endowment Fund raised by the aid of over £1,000 from the Society, which up to that date provided for the support of the Bishop by an annual grant [27].

The Missions planted among the settlers in this district became self-supporting in a much shorter period than has been usual in the British Colonies, and the Society's operations up to 1892 had long been limited to work among the natives and half-castes. It should be noted that from this division extensions have been made to the other parts of the Diocese of Bloemfontein, viz. Basutoland [*see* p. 324], Bechuanaland [*see* p. 359], and Griqualand West [*see* p. 317]; also to the Transvaal [*see* p. 354] and Mashonaland [*see* p. 363]. In 1891 Bishop KNIGHT-BRUCE resigned the See of Bloemfontein in order to take charge of Mashonaland. His successor was Dr. J. W. HICKS (consecrated in Capetown Cathedral September 21, 1892) [28].

1892–1900.

Within a year of entering the diocese* Bishop Hicks travelled 6,350 miles, and confirmed 1,130 persons, of whom half were English-speaking people and the remainder natives and half-castes, and he could report an increasing sympathy on the part of English colonists with the Missions and natives [29].

In the last ten years great efforts have been made by means of itinerant clergymen—Archdeacon Crisp and others—to minister to the English-speaking people scattered over the country.† The work is one of great promise, and the people highly value the ministrations of religion. A touching proof of the way in which the influence of the Clergy was felt, even by the careless and godless, was afforded in 1896 by a New Year's gift of over £60 to the Rev. P. J. F. King, with a letter expressing their respect and esteem, from some of his "friends and well-wishers on the diggings,"‡ "who do not attend Divine service" [30].

* Including Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Griqualand W[illegible]

† At the following and other places: Klipdam, Win[illegible]rmolis, Edenburg, Reddersburg, Rouxville, Zastron, Springfo[illegible] Viljoen's Drift, Ventersburg, Kroonstad, Wmburg. Jammerburg Mills, Bushman's Kop, Koffyfontei[illegible] Boshof, Luckoff. Many of these names h[illegible] the recent war.

‡ The "River diggings," Kli[illegible]

In Bloemfontein the native Mission of St. Patrick has grown so rapidly that the communicants* were unable to get into the church on great festivals, and the Society, therefore, in 1897 assisted in enlarging the building. Offshoots have been planted at Brandfort, thirty miles distant, and in the Fingo village of Kaffirfontein, two miles away. The Mission suffered a severe loss in 1898 by the death of the Rev. G. David, the native priest-in-charge [31].

In 1897–98 the Society assisted in providing new buildings for St. Andrew's College and for St. George's Cottage Hospital, Bloemfontein. The College provides for the theological training of candidates for Holy Orders, and is a High School—the only Church school for boys within a large area [*see* p. 786*c*]. The Government schools up to 1900 were Dutch, and, as a rule, no religious instruction other than Scripture history was given in them. The hospital is under the care of "Nursing Sisters" [32].

The Mission among the Barolong at Thaba 'Nchu has grown rapidly under the Rev. H. Crosthwaite, who has managed in a wonderful way to minister to a small European congregation (St. Luke's), and to conduct a native school as well as to shepherd a large and scattered flock of natives. In 1896 the Bishop of Bloemfontein admitted to penance George Moroka, the only one of the old chief Moroka's sons remaining at Thaba 'Nchu. He had been married in the Church rites many years before, but afterwards fell into evil ways, and took a heathen concubine. After the death of his true wife his second "wife" was baptized, and he on the same day was received back into the Church as a penitent. In 1897 the Society granted £1,000 towards building a new church (St. Augustine's) for the natives. From other sources the Europeans who used to worship in the native church were provided in 1899 with a separate church for themselves (St. Luke's) [33].

The erection of a church for the native Mission at Modderpoort in connection with the devoted brotherhood there was also aided by the Society in 1897–99 [34].

"St. Deny's" (an offshoot of the Phokoane Mission in Bechuanaland) was begun in 1884 through the zeal of converts by whose efforts many converts were made among the people scattered about upon the farms, the farmers in many instances being glad that their servants should be instructed. Various hindrances—in particular the rinderpest regulations—led to a suspension of the Mission from 1895 to 1897, when it was revived [35].

At Jagersfontein native Mission work has been carried on for some years within and without the compounds, the languages used being Sesotho and Dutch [36].

The death of Bishop Hicks in 1899 deprived the diocese† of its head at the very time when his guidance was most needed, the Boers having declared war against England on the day of his death, which took place at Maseru, in Basutoland, on October 11. An ardent Mis-

* 80 in 1880, and 700 in 1897.

† The Diocese of Bloemfontein has been in a sense the nursery of the South African Episcopate, it having given Bishops to Zululand (McKenzie), Grahamstown (Webb), and Mashonaland (Knight-Bruce and Gaul) [37*a*].

sionary, as well as being eminent in medical knowledge and theology, he was one under whom the missionary work of others increased in force and effect [37].

During the five months which elapsed from the beginning of the war to the entry of the British troops into Bloemfontein the Clergy and their families remained in that city. They were treated with much consideration by the authorities, and, though it was necessary to practise strict economy, they had not to encounter serious privations. The services in the Cathedral were well attended. The Litany, in accordance with the late Bishop's instructions, given a few days before his death, was said daily at noon as a special intercession.

It was possible to undertake occasional itinerating work and to hold services at Winburg, Bultfontein, Bethulie, and Philippolis. Journeys to these places were often made in trains crowded by armed burghers *en route* to the front, but the Clergy always met with respect and kindness. At Jacobsdal two of the sisters from St. Michael's Home rendered good service in the camp hospital, and at Bloemfontein and Harrismith the Clergy were kept busy with the care of wounded prisoners. Archdeacon Crisp employed his spare time in translating the Old Testament lectionary in Sechuana, which he found a fascinating work and a great help amid the distractions of the time.

On the occupation of Bloemfontein the British soldiers, from Lord Roberts downwards, showed great delight at being able again to worship within the walls of a church, and large numbers, Sunday by Sunday, attended the celebrations of the Holy Communion, as well as the other services. The offertories were considerable, and, in addition to this practical demonstration of thankfulness, Lord Roberts, on behalf of himself and the army, initiated a movement for defraying the cost of lighting the Cathedral with the electric light.

It was an impressive sight on Easter Day 1900—the Cathedral full of soldiers, officers and privates — Regulars, Volunteers, and Colonials, all in their war-worn, travel-stained khaki, reverent, attentive, and appreciative, entreating the blessing and protection of the "God of battles," "Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only Thou, O God."

Long after the traces of the war will have passed away a sad memorial will remain in Bloemfontein of the stay of the British army, in the shape of the graves in the cemetery behind the Cathedral. They form quite a small cemetery in themselves, and are laid in regular rows and companies, and every branch of the Empire is represented in this "last sad muster"—Guardsmen, Infantrymen, Australians and Cape Colonists lying side by side [38].

At the request of the Archbishop of Capetown, Bishop Webb* undertook, in September 1900, the administration of the Diocese of Bloemfontein pending the election of a successor to Bishop Hicks [39].

For Statistical Summary
* *See* pp. 3[illegible]

CHAPTER L.

THE TRANSVAAL.

THE TRANSVAAL occupies a portion of the eastern side of South Africa between the Orange River Colony (south) and Rhodesia north, an area of about 113,642 square miles. To this country about sixty years ago, some Boers, dissatisfied with British rule, migrated from Cape Colony and set up a Republic. In 1850 the Transvaal Boers were estimated to number 10,000. Their feelings were "very bitter against the English Government," some regarding it, or the Queen in person, "as Antichrist." Deceived by the apparent nearness of Egypt in maps in their old Bibles, a party among them were under the impression that they were "on their way to Jerusalem and . . . not very far distant from it." The Dutch Boer is described as one who "never casts off his respect for religion," but whose religion is "traditionary" and without great influence over him—albeit he is "very superstitious."* The independence of the Transvaal was formally acknowledged by Great Britain in 1852, interrupted by the British annexation of the country in 1877, and regained† in 1881—excepting that the Queen retained a suzerainty—and finally lost in 1900, when, as a result of the action of the Republic in declaring war and invading Natal and Cape Colony in 1899, the Transvaal was formally annexed by Great Britain on September 1, 1900.

SHORTLY after his arrival in his diocese in 1863 the Bishop of the ORANGE RIVER (a Missionary of the Society) "received intimation from Potchefstroom," the principal town, though not the capital of the Transvaal, that the English residents were anxious that he should visit them, and were "willing to do their utmost to support a resident clergyman" [1]. In 1864 the Bishop visited Potchefstroom, Pretoria, and Rustenberg, and soon after stationed a catechist, and, in 1866, a deacon (Rev. W. RICHARDSON) at the first place, to which, with Pretoria, the Rev. C. CLULEE also extended his ministrations from the Orange Free State in that year [2].

With the exception of "£25 a year from the meagre funds of the Orange Free State Diocese," Mr. RICHARDSON was wholly supported by his flock, and he appears to have continued the only resident clergyman in the Transvaal until 1870, when the Rev. J. H. WILLS was appointed to Pretoria, which had long been begging for a clergyman. Meanwhile the Bishop of the Orange Free State had "repeatedly" visited the country. After his resignation "the two deacons and their congregations" entreated the Bishop of Capetown to come to them, "none of them" having "received the Sacrament for two years." Already the latter prelate had endeavoured to plant the Episcopate in the Transvaal, considering it to have stronger claims than "either . . . Zululand or . . . the Zambesi"; and now, and until this was effected the second Bishop of the Orange Free State, &c. (who was entitled Bishop of Bloemfontein) took charge of it [3]. In his first visits (in 1872) he performed clerical duty at Pretoria three months in the absence of Mr. Wills in England [6].

The next Episcopal visitation was undertaken by the Bishop of ZULULAND in 1873. The country was then "rapidly filling up with

* Bishop Gray's Journal, 1850 [4].

† Though the Boers have effected revolutions themselves, they "cannot endure that the revolution of the earth should be taught in their schools," being unable to understand "why the waters of the sea do not slip off." [*See* Report of Rev. W. Greenstock, 1876 [5].]

our own countrymen," attracted by gold discoveries at Marabastadt and Leydenberg, but there were only three clergymen—at Pretoria, Potchefstroom, and Zeerust—and only the second place possessed an English church. At Pretoria services were held in a "mean" schoolroom. Everywhere "the ministrations of the Church of England" were "inquired for," and everywhere a welcome awaited them, "no religious body" being "before us in the field." The native servants appeared to be utterly neglected, except that at Rustenberg a good farmer gathered forty together and read service. In the opinion of the Bishop unless the Church at home lent its help some of the Colonists would "fall lower than the heathen amongst whom they dwell" [7].

The Society responded by undertaking the support of clergymen at Pretoria (Rev. J. SHARLEY, 1873), Potchefstroom (Rev. W. RICHARDSON), Zeerust, Marico (Rev. H. SADLER, 1874), Rustenberg (Rev. J. P. RICHARDSON, 1874), and Leydenberg (Rev. J. THORNE, 1874) [8]. The last two were ordained at Potchefstroom on Trinity Sunday 1874 by the Bishop of Zululand. Mr. THORNE, like the Rev. W. RICHARDSON, had been a Wesleyan minister, and throughout this visitation "all" with whom the Bishop came in contact, "whether of our Communion or not," were "willing to help to their utmost to found the English Church amongst them." Thus at Zeerust many Wesleyans had joined the Church; at another place some settlers, chiefly Wesleyans, who had been accustomed to "read the Church Service and a Sermon every Sunday," pledged themselves to contribute towards the support of a clergyman, as also did Dutch, Wesleyans and Baptists at Rustenberg. The people at Leydenberg "growing impatient at the Church having so long neglected them . . . were about to establish a kind of Free Church," but after discussion with the Bishop the plan was abandoned and "the whole meeting threw itself heartily into helping in every way in its power the English Church." Every township was visited by the Bishop in this year (1874), and all of them united in signing a memorial for the appointment of a resident Bishop [9].

In the next two years the Rev. W. GREENSTOCK, being detained on his way to Matabeleland [*see* p. 362], spent some time in the Transvaal, ministering at Eerstelling, Pretoria, and several other places, and furnishing the Society with valuable information as to the character and condition of the country and the people. In Pretoria, the capital, the English Church, St. Alban's, was "in a miserably unfinished state," but the "dilapidation of the spiritual building" was still worse. For a long time the Dutch "would not permit an English Church to be built," and Mr. Sharley lived a good while in the unfinished vestry. As yet the English Church had no Missions to the heathen in the Transvaal, but while at Eerstelling (five months) Mr. Greenstock sought to do something for both Europeans and natives, and especially to reach a tribe under Zebedeli, a chief who had expressed his desire to be friendly with the Europeans on the conditions "that no Missionary should be sent to him and that he should be allowed [illegible] natives whenever they deserved it." The Berlin Soci[illegible] "a vast amount of work" among the native[illegible] portance of the gold diggings as a M[illegible] nised by any religious body. Th[illegible]

labourers "with great contempt," and "hardly anyone" was to be found who had "a good word for Missions" [10].

This is not to be wondered at when some of the whites themselves (as reported in 1874) were in a condition "worse than that of the heathens" [11]. "Missionaries will labour in vain among the natives while English masters teach their black servants to drink and to swear," wrote the Rev. J. THORNE after ministering at Pilgrim's Rest Goldfields. "It is no uncommon thing to hear a Kafir who is quite ignorant of the English language, utter glibly enough the most horrible English oaths. I was told of an Englishman on the Fields who regularly held a class on Sundays to teach Kafirs to swear" [12]. The Pilgrim's Rest Fields drew diggers from all parts of the world, the district being exceedingly rich in minerals—at one spot gold was found hanging "to the roots of the grass, and a few persons took out nine or ten pounds weight a day" [13].

Lack of discipline and subjection to authority was, however, bringing this wealthy country to ruin; and, to confusion, terror was added by a war between the Republic and the Chief Secoceni in 1876. The British annexation which followed in 1877 brought feelings of security and joy to the minds of not a few. "A sense of relief came over many a one who for months had had to speak with bated breath," and the occasion was celebrated with a thanksgiving service at Pretoria, where (under the Rev. A. J. LAW'S management) the prospects of the Church had begun to improve [14].

Later in the year (October 1877) the Transvaal was visited by the Metropolitan Bishop of Capetown and the Bishop of Bloemfontein [15], and in 1878 it was erected into a diocese, named "Pretoria," after the chief town. The Society contributed mainly to its creation, and up to the present time it has supplemented the income from the Episcopal Endowment Fund by an annual grant [16].

The Bishop of the new See, the Rev. H. B. BOUSFIELD (cons. in England on February 2, 1878), reached Pretoria on January 7, 1879, after a peculiarly trying journey. In the "trek" of 400 miles from the coast half the oxen died from lack of food and from disease, and for two months the Bishop's party had to live in tents. Good progress had meanwhile been made in the erection of new churches at Rustenberg, Leydenberg, and Pretoria, the former being to a great extent the work of the "parson carpenter" (Rev. J. P. Richardson), and "all so neat that a professional artizan need not be ashamed to own it as his work." Pretoria was described as "a village city" with about 3,000 inhabitants—1,500 white and 500 nominally Church members. Here the Bishop immediately established daily services, and regular celebrations of Holy Communion on Sundays and Holy Days, and introduced public catechising. The benefit of his presence was soon felt throughout the diocese, his visits doing much to cheer the Clergy and to establish their work [17].

During the campaign against Secoceni* in 1880 the Rev. J. THORNE rendered good service in ministering to the British troops quartered at Leydenberg; and it is pleasing to record that the officers

* An *impi* of 8,000 Zwazies aided the British troops by clearing the caves of Secoceni's stronghold after its capture. In an attack on one Chief "they left 500 of their men dead but quite extirpated their foe."

of the 94th Regiment set "a good example to the civilians by taking a personal and active part in the conduct" of all the Church services. The campaign conducted by Sir G. Wolseley resulted in the subjugation of Secoceni and the opening of the district, "as it had never been before . . . to enterprise and development" [18]. But within another year the hopeful prospects of British rule were dissipated by the withdrawal of that rule.

During the struggle between the Boers and the British* the Bishop and his Clergy were exposed to great personal inconvenience and to some risk, and two of the latter died at Potchefstroom (Rev. C. R. LANGE and Rev. C. M. SPRATT). The political change seriously affected the work of the Church, as many English withdrew—the Middleburg congregation being reduced from eighty to five persons in one day. It was soon evident, however, that there would be ample work for the Church to do both among the natives—a very numerous body—and the Europeans, whose numbers a few years later were vastly increased by fresh discoveries of gold, which "made waste places towns and towns wastes" [19].

¶ The native races in the Transvaal form three Mission-fields—(I.) *The resident population, the remains of the original inhabitants (of Basuto or Bechuana race).*

These natives are dwellers all over the land, sometimes in large "stadts," towns rather than villages, and some in smaller "kraals" on the farms, and some in "stations" on the borders of the towns, in which they find work.

At most of the larger "stadts" German missionaries have stations. They were in occupation, and established work, when the Diocese of Pretoria was founded, and in the thickly-populated native districts at no great distances from each other. Any interference with their work would have been "a great injury to the natives, a hindrance to the spread of Christianity, and a breach of the brotherly courtesy that should exist among Christians."

But among the others—the "kraal" natives, as they may be called—there has long existed an acquaintance with, and a leaning towards, the English Church, partly, perhaps, as English, and partly from recognition of at least two of her specialities as a Church, her episcopal constitution and liturgical worship, or its expression in her Prayer-book. To these causes and to the evangelistic efforts made is due the existence of a native Church, numbering (in 1899) some ten thousand souls, which but for a schism, brought to a head by an indiscreet deacon, might have been doubled in numbers. Much of the progress made is due to the efforts of the native Christians themselves in evangelising their fellow countrymen. For instance, large numbers of natives have gone to work in the mines at Kimberley and other places. They have there been converted, and have returned to their homes determined to spread the faith which they have received, using their Bibles and Prayer-books, which they have learnt to read and to love. By this simple means thousands of natives have been led to holy baptism. Also in all the thirty parishes of the diocese the

* In 1881.

¶ The new matter in this chapter begins here.

English clergy have done their best, so that in Pretoria, St. Cyprian's, and other Randt Missions there are congregations of hundreds of natives, while the parish of Potchefstroom includes some very extensive as well as good native work.

In their heathen state these natives have little or no definite religious faith or creed. Some cloudy ideas of "holy people" departed, some lessons of the Kaffir "school" at which circumcision and other "national training" is practised, some superstitions embodied in the medicine men, appear to be all "the creed" they possess. The ground is therefore open, and they are now a facile, docile, and comparatively gentle people.

Particulars of this branch of work will be found under the various Missions (p. 358*a* &c.).

(II.) *The immigrant and temporary African population.* These are employed on the goldfields of the Witwatersrandt range (the main field), and of Klerksdorp, Pilgrims' Rest, and Barberton, and in the coal-fields, especially around Boksburg and Middleburg.

On the Witwatersrandt fields there were before the war of 1899–1900 some 100,000 natives, and on the other fields there were at least 25,000. These come from all parts of South Africa, they speak all its numerous languages and dialects, and, after longer or shorter periods, return to the kraals and districts from which they came, often more degraded than when they arrived, having learned vices they knew nothing of before, from contact with European races who, in spite of prohibition, sell them drink. What they learn they spread; and great would be "the company of the preachers" if they learned on the mines "the old, old story."

With many varying and mixed dialects, the languages may be reduced to four chief tongues, viz. (1) Secoana, or its Sesuto variety, that of the tribes of the Transvaal and the mainlands "up country"; (2) those of the east coast (Chopi, &c.); (3) that of the south coast, "Kaffir," or Fingo; and (4) the Zulu, which has the fewer representatives.

(III.) *The Asiatic population.* These are Indians (principally), Arabs and Chinese, attracted by the gold-fields during the last ten years, and likely to increase under British rule. From the towns, where at first they congregated, they had become in 1897 scattered, or were spreading throughout the land everywhere as coolie servants and coolie hucksters, their presence, their habits, and their rights exciting much agitation.

In 1893 an attempt was made to begin work among the Indians, but the agent—an Indian catechist from the Natal Coolie Mission—left after a fortnight, and since then a renewed effort has not been possible owing to the lack of a suitable missionary and the means for his support [20].

In 1886 the Society's grant to the Transvaal was being entirely applied to the propagation of the Gospel among the heathen, and in large districts where population was scarce and could only be reached by itinerants [21].

By 1888 Pretoria had grown and improved considerably. With

increased prosperity, Church affairs externally had also improved. One layman in 1889 provided stipends for three clergymen for mining districts, and £100 towards the Bishop's travelling expenses, and another promised to build a church. Such instances, however, were, and still are, rare.

"If our mining millionaires would do their duty to their employés," said the Bishop, "there would be no need to appeal to the Church at home, but they do not. I cannot get most of them to support the Church or any work for the good of the natives, whom they seem to think of as machines, or miners, who, they say, are able to support the Church themselves if they wish to do so."

This was written in January 1896, amid the expiring throes of the Jameson raid, one result of which was to "throw back the country for some time," and to reimpose the old cares and anxieties on the Church and Bishop, and the Society's grant was "the only stay and reliable source" for starting new work [22].

Previous to the raid the prospects of the Church in the Transvaal had been growing bright, the older Missions making steady progress and giving cause for sound rejoicings.* But while these had been becoming self-supporting, urgent calls for additional pastors and evangelists had arisen on behalf of "white Christians dying to God,"† and "black men seeking the life and teaching of God's Church" [23].

As each succeeding year brought more immigrants, those calls became more and more pressing up to the year 1899,‡ when the war broke out. Many of the Christians on their arrival found themselves exposed to every temptation which can destroy faith and religion, and supplied with none of the aids and supports which they had at home; and yet, as the Bishop's own work among them showed, they welcomed every visit, every word of sympathy, and every effort to keep alive among them the memories of home and the sense of better things [24].

From this and from the notices of the several Missions which follow, it will be seen that the Transvaal is a Mission-field of the first importance, both as regards the resident natives and the infinite variety of races—white and black—forming the immigrant population, and needing a Patteson in linguistic power. As the Bishop says, no evangelistic work, directly, can be of so great value as the Christian lives of Englishmen, and no wound and hindrance to evangelism can equal that which is caused by the godless lives of supposed Christians. On this account the work among the Europeans is of the first importance to the propagation of the Gospel [25].

POTCHEFSTROOM.

When the Rev. W. Richardson founded the first church in the Transvaal at Potchefstroom in 1864 he gathered together a few natives for instruction, who remained faithful to the Church, with their children; but, his time being chiefly occupied with the

* In 1897 it was reported that, except in remote little towns, a clergyman doing his duty was sure of being creditably maintained by the people.

† In passing through the Transvaal in 1893 the Bishop-designate of Lebombo (Dr. Smyth) arrived at the store in Eland's Valley ten minutes after a man had died of fever. The people there thought that, "considering what the past life of the poor fellow had been," Dr. Smyth had better not read the burial service over him [23a].

‡ The number of clergy in the Transvaal when it was formed into a diocese was five, and in 1899 thirty-two.

white congregation, he was unable to do more. During his ministry of about seventeen years the work of spreading the Gospel to the heathen was chiefly in the hands of the Lutherans and Wesleyans, who do not seem to have done much. The initial impetus to the present Mission was given by the Bishop of Pretoria in the year 1880–81, when a small body of independent native Christians—remnants apparently of other religious bodies—approached him for union with the Church. These, in the town of Potchefstroom, and another body at Deel Kraal, with their leader, Jacob, were placed under the care of the Rev. A. Temple until 1881, the number of baptized being then about 200. In 1882 Prebendary Richardson died, and the Rev. C. Page Wood succeeded him, and carried out the work amongst whites and natives alone until 1883, when the native Mission was placed under the Rev. C. Clulee. Having established St. Chad's Mission in Potchefstroom, he began, in July 1883, his first work amongst the country natives. Jacob and others had been bringing the scattered remnants of the Church together, and now Mr. Clulee organised them into a workable system. In the various parts of the Mission he established centres under a responsible leader, generally an old Christian who could read Secoana, who assembled the people together on Sundays for worship, preached the Gospel to the heathen, and instructed the catechumens in the Catechism as used in the Diocese of Bloemfontein. On his visits, Mr. Clulee examined the candidates and catechumens, and finally baptized those he deemed fit. Under this system, which has remained ever since, the Gospel has spread rapidly. Mr. Clulee worked in this way for the next three years, under great pecuniary difficulties, which he sought to overcome by establishing a Mission farm about sixty miles from Potchefstroom. Mr. Clulee had intended to make Molote (the Mission farm) the centre of the Mission of Potchefstroom, but it proved too remote and eventually it became a new centre. The work now reverted to the Rev. C. Page Wood up to 1891, and the Rev. C. B. Shaw, of Johannesburg, undertook the care of a portion of the district adjoining Johannesburg, with Mr. Wood's assent. From that side the work quickly spread, so that when Archdeacon Roberts arrived in 1891 he found the two interlapping, and, apparently moved by rivalry, the leaders appointed by the two clergy were striving for the control. As Mr. Clulee also was desirous of extending his sphere, the three missionaries, with the Bishop, met together and mutually defined the Mission limits, so as to restrain the leaders from injuring each other's work. The work under Mr. Shaw appears to have been carried on under the original plans of Mr. Clulee, and prospered equally with the rest until want of strength obliged him to abandon it. Latterly it has been under the care of Canon Farmer.

Another difficulty arose out of the insubordination of some of the teachers, who did their utmost to alienate natives from the Mission, and to set up an independent Church. However, with firmness and forbearance, this was prevented, and "the general tone of the Mission clung to the Church through all." Jacob remained, but was compelled by the people to keep quiet, and nearly all the leaders worked under Church authority. One of the causes which led to the crisis was the system of "leadership," which in the main had been satisfactory. These leaders, who call themselves "foremen," were now made to assume the position of churchwardens and sidesmen—a change that has worked well.

Notwithstanding these troubles, the Mission continued to prosper. Including Mr. Shaw's Mission and Molote Mission, four to five thousand souls were gathered into the Church between 1881–92. "The enthusiasm that has penetrated the hearts of the natives themselves thus to spread the Gospel so spontaneously is indeed the power of the Holy Spirit working as it did in Apostolic days, and quite as visibly."

1892–1900.

The Church under Archdeacon Roberts' charge in 1893, besides a white congregation, consisted of two congregations in town, a central station for the location natives, about two miles distant, and Buffelsdoorn, about twenty-one miles to the east towards Johannesburg and forming a centre for Buffelsdoorn, Deel Kraal, Losberg, Driefontein, Elandsfontein, and many other stations.

The half-caste and Cape people in town speak Dutch only, and hold themselves separate from the rest. The location natives are a mixed race of Zulus, Basutos, Bapedis, and bushmen, who were slaves or servants to the old inhabitants, with their children. These for the most part have forgotten their native tongues and speak Low Dutch. Though there is a sprinkling of worthy persons amongst them, they are as a body, with the half-castes, the least satisfactory of the Mission,

the facilities for obtaining drink and the temptations to immorality being so prevalent.

The rural population comprise the bulk of the Mission people, and among them the work is most satisfactory. They consist of the descendants of the old servants brought into the country by the Boers on their immigration hither, or reduced to servitude by them in the early days. These speak Low Dutch only, but are mostly the remnants of the old Bapedi tribes, who dwelt in the land before the Boer arrival. Experience throughout the country has shown that the practice of collecting together the Christians into locations has been most harmful to religion, but the plan introduced by Mr. Clulee has worked admirably.

"The strong Calvinistic views and racial feeling have prohibited the Boers from admitting the natives to their churches, or even from teaching them religion." The location system also set them against the Christianising of the natives. But since 1893 the Boers generally have begun to change in this matter, having found that the new system of preaching in the villages or the farms does not rob them of their servants. Some of them have encouraged teachers on the farms for their people, and at our Mission services in the country have often come from a distance to join in, and thus encourage their people by their presence. The language chiefly used is Secoana, with a few Dutch services amongst some farms. The Boers are "particularly attracted by the singing, which is a speciality among the natives." During a tour in 1893 one of the Christians, who was suffering from paralysis, was brought a distance of seven miles in order that he might join with the other Christians in Holy Communion. It was touching to witness his enjoyment of the service. Everyone united to make him happy and comfortable, and yet only a few years before "such as he were carried out into the wilderness and left to perish by starvation and wild beasts." Hand-shaking is a great institution with the Boers, "but they never use it with a coloured person." In the Church Missions it is a significant act, a peculiar Christian ceremony, "the right hand of fellowship," not vouchsafed by a Christian to a heathen. Amongst the latter a different salute is made. Often Archdeacon Roberts has found natives who have not taken his offered hand, because they were "not yet baptized."

In 1899 the Mission had centres established over an area of 600 square miles, and worked with the aid of a fine class of voluntary native helpers. These are the real missionaries who get hold of their heathen neighbours where others fail [26].*

During the Boer war of 1899–1900 the Archdeacon was enabled to continue his work though under great difficulties, the threat of expulsion being even suspended over him until the British troops arrived in June 1900. His native flock, some thousands in number, were commandeered for work by the Boers, deprived of their cattle and other possessions, and "forbidden to bring even their children to

* At one time it was feared that the "Ethiopian" movement would do much to wreck the influence of true Christianity in our South African native communities; but, as will be seen on page 804*f*, that community has since been received into the Church.

Baptism, or to come to Holy Communion," and some of the native Mission agents were beaten for daring to hold services in the native villages. Many of the white loyalists also "suffered from Boer insult and rapine" [26*a*].

KRUGERSDORP (1892–1900).

At Krugersdorp, in the heart of the gold and coal mining industries, Archdeacon Temple has tried to compass a work which needed many men to do it. But what he has been able to do is full of encouragement. The impetus in mining operations brought with it in 1896 an overwhelming amount of extra work, and he was constantly asked, "When are you coming out to give us a service?" He introduced a book of prayers compiled from the Prayer-book and Hymns A. & M., &c., by Archdeacon Crisp, of Bloemfontein, and the services held at the two Randfontein camps, Champ d'Or, were appreciated, the people at Champ d'Or refusing to attend any other.

Even more encouraging was the work among the natives. Visiting new districts in 1894, Archdeacon Temple was heartily welcomed, the old men and women clapping their hands for joy on seeing him, and begging to be made, through baptism, "children of the great 'Molimo,'" and bringing first one and then another of their children —some of them old people themselves—to enjoy and partake of the same privilege and blessing. Some of them for years past had been desiring baptism, but had not seen a minister of the Gospel until that day. The Archdeacon made his way with waggon and oxen supplied by various natives, over a rough part of the country, visiting from kraal to kraal, and holding as many services as possible at Doornfontein, Wonderfontein, Driefontein, Elandsfontein, Weltevrede, and other places. Travelling all night, and preaching and baptizing, and waiting for the natives to assemble for catechising the greater part of the day, he hardly had time so much as to eat bread—the only food he had or could get—often taking up along the road those who had come long distances to be present at the next meeting-place; and several of those who had been long baptized were stirred up to seek God's blessing on their natural marriage.

About a year later his churchwarden bought some property for "a Mission farm" for natives, but the Government withheld its sanction to the scheme. After sixteen years' unbroken work, the Archdeacon was enabled in 1896 to take a fortnight's holiday, and for the first time in twenty-three years he saw the sea again [27].

CATHEDRAL MISSION (1881–1900).

This Mission work was first commenced by Bishop Bousfield himself after the retrocession of the country in 1881 and the removal of Mr. Clulee from Pretoria to Potchefstroom for greater facilities in superintending the wide-spreading work around and from that town. For some time, with the aid of a catechist (Kinyani), the Bishop was able to keep day and night schools going under his own eye, to take part in daily services, to preach through an interpreter on Sunday afternoons, and to visit kraals to the north of Pretoria, spending Sundays

occasionally among them. "Through injudicious kindness during the Bishop's absence in England in 1885–6, and afterwards equally injudicious high-handedness and want of tact, by a deacon whom he called to assist him on his return, a spirit of insubordination was set up, ending in a sad schism and the loss of a once hopeful catechist." With the help of an earnest lay evangelist of the cathedral (Mr. Morris) the work was kept together through some trying years both in Pretoria and in a large area of which it is the centre. On the appointment of the Rev. E. (now Canon) Farmer to the charge of the Mission in 1895 there were little knots of Christians in four or five kraals who provided him with a waggon and oxen and a portion of his stipend; and on the death of the oxen and the outbreak of rinderpest, with a bicycle on which he has travelled some thousands of miles, sleeping in native houses and living on native fare. On commencing work he was surprised to find sixty native men working hard for the Church in his district. They had been amongst those who had gone, at different times, from the Transvaal to work in other parts of South Africa for money to pay their taxes or supply their needs. Whilst there they had come under the influence of some of our Missions, been converted and baptized, and, having possessed themselves of the New Testament and the Prayer-book translated into Sechuana, they had returned to their own homes. There, in the midst of heathenism, instead of falling away, as might have been expected, they set to work to preach the Gospel to their own fellow-creatures, without a thought of pay, with no other idea but the glory of God and the salvation of souls.

As the results of work done by the Rev. G. Mitchell in the compound at Kimberley: the Cowley Fathers at Capetown, and the Brotherhood of St. Augustine at Modderspruit, near Ladybrand: the Rev. S. W. Cox at Herschel: by the Kaffir institutions at Grahamstown under Canon Mullins, and at Zonnebloem under Canon Peters, Canon Farmer had to register in the Church books thousands of converts.

Each year his baptisms exceeded five hundred, and during a tour just before the war broke out in 1899 he administered the Holy Communion to over two thousand natives.

"I was also surprised," he said, "in going up and down the country, to find that these natives had built for themselves, without any outside prompting or assistance, rough buildings which they called churches. These buildings were only of rude structure, with walls of mud and roofs of thatch; with holes for windows, and a rough screen of bamboo for doors. They were often decorated inside with crude ornamentations in coloured earths, and on the wall at the further end would be drawn a large cross in some coloured pigment. These buildings were, some of them, quite small; but others were capable of holding from one to two hundred people. They had done this amidst a great amount of difficulty in finding time and means for building, as well as from opposition from their Boer masters. I have known instances where, when the building has been finished, the Boer owner of the farm has coveted it and taken it for a barn. Rough though these buildings were, they served for church and schools, and were a fitting expression of native devotion. I found fifteen of them in my district alone, and others were being planned and built.

"If these figures represented one's own work, they would not have been given; but, fortunately, they are a testimony to the work of others, and they are cited here to prove my statement that the natives desire the blessings of our holy religion more than anything else that we can give them."*

* For further particulars see Canon Farmer's excellent book, "The Transvaal as a Mission Field" written during his exile in England, in 1900 (Wells Gardner, 2*s.* 6*d.*)

In 1897 St. Cuthbert's College was started in Pretoria for the further training of a band of native workers who were preaching and teaching, without pay, for the glory of God and the Church. At that time there were twenty-six of these volunteers, and it was largely due to their aid that Canon Farmer could then report 5,000 Church members under his care. The prejudice against natives rendered it almost impossible to obtain aid from white men in the diocese, and the Society therefore assisted in providing buildings for the College and for a native chapel in Pretoria [*see* p. 786*c*].

The Jameson raid and the strained diplomatic relations caused extreme bitterness on the part of the Boers against the English, including the clergy, but personally Canon Farmer found the Boers at that time quite friendly, and some attended his services held in the veldt, and behaved quite decorously. Still, they have prevented the natives assembling in large numbers and travelling from farm to farm, and this has added to the work of the missionary. Among the places included in the Mission up to 1899 were Mathibestad, Withoek, the Gatsrandt district, Molote, East Potchefstroom, and Reidspruit* [28].

Molote is a station which was started by the Rev. C. Clulee, and for a short time carried on by Archdeacon Temple, but in 1894 the Mission property was lost to the Church by a discreditable and unjust lawsuit. But, though the Lutherans obtained possession of the mission-house and the church, the majority of the people remained faithful under a long persecution. In 1897 Canon Farmer reopened work in an improvised tent, and there was a great gathering from all the country round, and much enthusiasm at the renewal of the Church services [29].

In the same year, in the East Potchefstroom district, hundreds of candidates were confirmed. At the last station, out in the open air, as the sun went down and the darkness gathered, the confirmation rite went on. So numerous were the communicants on the following morning that the Communion service lasted three hours [30].

Johannesburg (1886–1900).

At this place the first services of the Church of England (or of any religious body) were held by Bishop Bousfield in October 1886, and for some months afterwards by his lordship and the Rev. C. Maber. In 1887 the Rev. J. T. Darragh was stationed there, his work being almost self-supporting from the first. After a few years a division of the vast field became necessary, and the Bishop started services at several mining centres, which have resulted in the erection of three churches and two parsonage houses and two schools. To these efforts he added earnest appeals and exertions (but with little success) to raise funds for commencing work among the natives employed on the mines [32].

* Among the converts at Reidspruit in 1896 was a boy named Simon, who had broken away from an infected kraal under quarantine in order to obtain baptism. As he could not be persuaded to return without baptism, he was allowed to stand at the church door until the others were baptized. Then, having received baptism kneeling on the grass, he sped away across the veldt in the darkness, but died soon after [31].

In 1894 the Rev. R. H. Bellamy was placed in charge of Fordsburg, then the poorest and most neglected district in Johannesburg. The English Church was represented by a disused forage store, uninhabitable during rain. A piece of a disused counter acted as an altar, and a trophy of some amateur race did duty as a chalice. In the work of erecting a church much patience and persistence was required. Most of the people were indifferent; the revolution dispersed the Church people to all parts, and the dynamite explosion blew the parish to pieces, hardly a house escaping damage. Mr. Bellamy's house was wrecked with the rest, but his life was marvellously spared. At last, with the Society's aid, "Christ Church" was built, and with its opening in 1897 the Mission was placed on a permanent basis, the mining community in the parish being reached, and contributing substantial support [33].

Generally speaking, while the goldfields added enormously to the responsibilities of the Church, they did not increase its pecuniary resources, the wealth being greatly in the hands of Jews, Wesleyans, Presbyterians, and worshippers of mammon. Hence, in 1897, the large European population along the mines were described by the Bishop as "godless to the last degree, but in great measure because when they come hither no man cares for their souls; a shifting population, here to-day, there to-morrow, and gone altogether ere long." Yet, as the Archbishop of Capetown stated, no grander field can be imagined for missionary work. There are hundreds and thousands who would welcome it, and are perishing for want of it. One striking exception on the part of the wealthy was that of a layman, through whose liberality in 1897 five clergymen were brought out from England and their stipends guaranteed for two years [34].

Mainly owing to lack of means and to the variety of tongues and tribes, little had been done up to 1899 for the native *mining* population at Johannesburg, at that time numbering 100,000, the native congregations there being drawn almost entirely from those living in the town and those engaged in domestic service.

"What can you tell me about my people who come to work here? What are you doing for them?" "Oh! nothing; you see I have 6,000 white people, and I am single-handed." "Oh! nothing; we have 10,000 white people, and the hospital, gaol, and cemetery besides, and there are only three of us." "I have 4,000 white people who take up all my time, and I do not know any native language."

These are samples of the answers which the Bishop of Lebombo received to inquiries made at Johannesburg in 1898 (at the request of Bishop Bousfield) on behalf of his 20,000 East-coast boys [35].

From the white man the natives were learning to drink spirits of the vilest, to plunder on a large scale, to wear clothes; but of Christ and His Church and His robe of salvation nothing. The moral deterioration of the native miners attracted the notice of the Natal magistrates also, and of Archdeacon Johnson, of Zululand, who was enabled, in 1897, to make provision for the spiritual welfare of five hundred of his native Christians who had gone to work in the mines. The subject generally has also engaged the attention of the South African Bishops, and one of the most striking incidents of the Provincial Synod in 1898 was a speech by Mr. Tracey, a Johannes-

layman, on the Rand as a field for Mission work and its crying need. The importance of such work is increased by the fact that the natives return to their own people carrying with them influences for good and evil [36].

In 1898 schemes were submitted to the Society with a view to the establishment of a great Mission centre at Johannesburg for the natives employed in the mines, but action was necessarily deferred in consequence of the war of 1899–1900 [37].

KLERKSDORP (1894–1900).

The Mission here, which, owing to commercial and other causes, had been declining, was reorganised in 1894, and services were extended to Eastleigh and Buffelsdoorn, also to a prosperous native Mission at Hartebeestfontein.

The natives in Klerksdorp were reported, in 1897, to be eager to be taught and nurtured in the Church, whose liturgy and discipline they instinctively prefer, and they readily came forward to support a new native teacher who had volunteered for that office, and whose appointment led to a revival of native work [38].

MIDDLEBURG (1894–1900).

In this quiet village, containing a small English community then ministered to by the Society's missionary, schools were established in 1894 both for the English and the Dutch children, though the Boer Government refused any assistance. Efforts have also been made to open work among the Basuto and Shangaan natives of the district. The construction of a railway drew numbers of workmen, black and white, to the neighbourhood in 1894. The former were from the eastern coast and utterly heathen, and the Rev. H. B. Sidwell's endeavours to teach them were almost hopeless owing to the strangeness and diversity of their dialect. Several of the English and Australian workmen joined in the Church work with zeal, but the majority of the whites, especially the Italian and Portuguese, had fallen into reckless and degraded habits, and viewed any attempt to Christianise them with indifference verging on hostility [39].

SEKUKUNILAND (OR "SECOOCOONIELAND") (1897–1900).

This is a "large native location" situated in the north-east and north-west of the Middleburg and Lydenburg districts respectively. It is a beautiful country, mountainous and everywhere picturesque, but naturally dry. In response to repeated requests the Rev. Canon Farmer, of the "Cathedral Mission," Pretoria, visited Sekukuniland in 1897, this being the first visit of a clergyman since the Bishop of Lebombo* had passed through the country previous to his consecration. In the meanwhile native Christians connected with the Church had been preaching the Gospel and converting the heathen, and some of the converts were waiting for baptism and others longing for Holy Communion. "It is wonderful" (Canon Farmer said) "how these men are to be found almost everywhere in this diocese founding

* At that time it was proposed to transfer the district to Lebombo Diocese, in order to provide a healthy base on the hills for operations on the low coastlands.

congregations. At an 'indaba' held at the 'stadt' of the Chief Malikatu, the people wanted to know why the English Church had neglected them for so long; there was only a German Lutheran Mission just outside their district, and they did not like the Germans. A few of their young men had gone away to work and had come back Christians, bringing the English Prayer-book (in Secoana). 'Did the English care no longer for the natives of the land?'" At the place of Job, a native Christian who had been doing Mission work on his own account for years, the natives came in from all sides to see the missionary. Here, in a rough chapel built by Job, services were held by Canon Farmer, converts baptized, and some who had not been confirmed admitted to Holy Communion, confirmation being almost impossible for them in this remote part. The "Queen" and some of her chief men were also visited, and arrangements made for starting a regular Mission under a native teacher [40].

Among other places in the Transvaal where the Society has Missions under the Bishop of Pretoria are Thorndale, Rustenburg [41], Zeerust [42], Wakkerstroom, Maraisburg, Roodepoort, and Pietersburg.

Thorndale is a centre from which little groups of Church people scattered over a wide district have been ministered to at Hekpoort, the Junction, Groot Plaats, Nooitgedacht, and Blaauw Bank [43].

The construction of the railway to Johannesburg brought a large number of persons of various sorts and conditions into the Wakkerstroom district in 1894, and for their benefit services were extended to Standerton (which was then vacant) and Volksrust, by the missionary at Wakkerstroom. Since then a clergyman has been resident at Standerton and a parsonage house has been built. A small church has also been built at Volksrust. During "fifteen months of horrible war" the Rev. H. Sadler carried on Church Services as usual at Wakkerstroom without a break, and regularly said the prayers for the Queen. Sunday after Sunday "a faithful few" met and tried to cheer one another, and through their help Mr. and Mrs. Sadler managed to exist in a very humble fashion, no "stipend" whatever reaching him. After being deprived of Holy Communion for three months, for want of wine, the congregation were enabled to have a Celebration again on Christmas Day 1900, through the kindness of Major Lushington, who with some other British officers and some privates joined in the service [44].

In 1897 grants were voted by the Society towards the erection of churches at Maraisburg and Roodepoort, where Church work has been carried on for some years, and latterly supported by the managers and others concerned in the mines of the district [45].

The Mission at Pietersburg was started in 1894–95 by the Rev. H. Grellier, services being held in the Masonic Hall for the white people,* a church being afterwards provided. In the district the natives had already commenced Church work among themselves. Shortly after Mr. Grellier's arrival a native chief, named Jonathan, called on him to ask for Prayer-books, hymn-books, &c., for his people in their own

* Mr. Grellier also visited the Spelouken, or rolling lands, 100 miles distant, to hold services for the white people, and an Englishman offered to build a church on his own property if a resident clergyman were appointed [46a].

language, and in 1896–97 a school-church, built by the chief and people, was opened at the chief's kraal. Jonathan, a very hopeful man and a steady worker, was brought into the Church at Port Elizabeth. On the death of his father, the great Chief Maraba, he should have succeeded to his position, but being a Christian and having already a wife, he refused to marry, according to Kaffir custom, his father's widow. He hired a farm some eight miles from Pietersburg, and nearly half his tribe voluntarily left their reservation and threw in their lot with him [46].

In the Boer war the Rev. H. Pugh Jones, then in charge of Pietersburg, fared worst among the English clergy in the Transvaal. After carrying on his ministry with marked success he was arrested, tried for "high treason," and sentenced to death, for sending a copy of Lord Roberts' proclamation to a country friend, who thus obtained it a little earlier than he otherwise would have done. But his life was bought by friends, and he was subsequently sent to Lydenberg, where the entrance of the British released him [46*b*].

Owing to the war the work of the Church in the Transvaal was to a great extent suspended for a time. The Anglican clergy were regarded by the Boers as representing "the Queen's Church," and therefore as "specially obnoxious" and "dangerous," and most of them,* as well as the Bishop of Pretoria, were obliged to leave the Transvaal. It was the Bishop's desire to remain at any cost, and leave was given him by the President. When all arrangements had been made by him for continuing his ministry permission was refused by those to whom the matter was committed, and the Bishop took refuge in Natal, where he ministered in hospitals on sea and shore. Up to the present (December 1900) he has been unable to obtain permission from the British authorities to return to Pretoria. It is hoped that one result of the war will be the opening-up of new fields of missionary labour, especially among the natives employed in the goldfields in the Transvaal. If, with peace, an honest and wise government be established, no words can express the glory and excellence of the prospect before the Church, in a country so favoured by Nature and marvellous in recuperative power [47].

Stations in the Transvaal in connection with the South Bechuanaland Mission in the Diocese of Bloemfontein (*p.* 361*a*).

Of the stations among the natives in the Transvaal several are offshoots of the South Bechuanaland Mission. Two of these—St. Mary's, Gestoptefontein, and St. James's, Kopela—are due to the efforts of a man named Wilhelm, who migrated from Phokoane; a third,† St. John the Baptist's, Khunoana, originally consisted of refugees from Thaba 'Nchu, in the Orange River Colony, who afterwards (about 1898) migrated to Matabeleland. Much of the good work in these stations is due to the efforts of native catechists.

* Eleven of those in Pretoria Diocese (that is about a third) were allowed to stay at first, but four of these were afterwards expelled, two permanently and two for a time. The Bishop left Pretoria on October 18, 1899.

† The other branch stations include St. Petronilla's, St. Boniface's, St. Martin's, and "The Visitation" [5].

Among the converts in 1895-96 were some of the bushmen race, two of whom were married in 1896 by Canon Bevan, who wonders whether this was the first bushman marriage which has ever taken place in the English Church. The husband, "Silas," had acquired Secoana and was teaching it to other converts of his race [1–3].

The immigration of some converts from the Orange Free State (now the Orange River Colony) led to the revival of the abandoned station of St. John's on the Vaal* in September 1893 [4].

Stations in the Transvaal in connection with Zululand Diocese.

Vryheid is the chief town or "dorp" in the district of Vryheid. The district is that patch of country which the English Government allowed the Boers, who helped Dinizulu to overthrow Usibepu in 1884, to take over and form into what they called the "New Republic." This New Republic joined itself to the Transvaal in 1888, adding to the (then) "South African Republic," a most fertile piece of country.

(1894–1900.) Though united to the Transvaal, Vryheid remained in the Diocese of Zululand, one of the clergy of which—the Rev. J. S. Morris—was stationed there in 1894. The majority of the white population were then Dutch, but some of the Dutch-speaking farmers, with distinctly English names, proved to be descendants of Englishmen, who in years gone by had been attracted by the hunting found in the Transvaal. Their children became like to the children of the Boers, and they grew up entirely under Boer influence. Still, whatever the influence of the Boers may have been in other respects, the love for the Mother Church had been fostered. Mr. Morris itinerated in the district, holding services and classes which were greatly appreciated by old and young. After a celebration of Holy Communion at sunrise, the children collected together for instruction. None of these children had ever seen the inside of a church, except in pictures, until a few came to Vryheid in the waggons to witness their fathers' confirmation. Greater kindness could not be wished for than Mr. Morris received from all the parishioners. In 1897 the Society assisted the English people in Vryheid to erect a new church in place of one built some five years before of green brick.

The native branch of the Mission was most encouraging, both among the resident Zulus and the servant boys and girls coming from different parts of the country. The Boers were willing that services should be held for the natives, but objected to their being taught to read and write. Illness drove Mr. Morris from his post in 1898, when he was succeeded by the Rev. T. H. Robinson [1].

At Utrecht (forty miles from Vryheid) the Rev. J. W. Alington, Vicar-General of Zululand in 1878-79, died in 1879 while in charge of the Mission at the time of the Zulu war. Since then the few English Church people there have been occasionally visited by the missionary at Nondweni (Zululand) and by clergy unconnected with the Society, service being held in a room provided by the people [2]. During the Boer war of 1900 Bishop Carter, of Zululand, in trying to visit Vryheid from Utrecht, was "interviewed" by two armed burghers, who drove off with his cart and horses, leaving him on the veldt,

* *See* p. 360.

twenty miles from anywhere, to get back with his goods and chattels as best he could to Utrecht [2*a*].

Station in connection with the Diocese of Lebombo (p. 346*a*).

FARM AMSTERDAM, TRANSVAAL.—In 1893 the Rev. W. E. Smyth, Bishop-designate of Lebombo, visited a portion of the Transvaal which it was intended to include in (but which did not become a part of) his diocese. In passing through the town of Amsterdam he held service in the Dutch Church for the English-speaking people there, and his Zulu attendant named Philip Mkizi* was asked by one of the men "What he meant by coming to the white man's church?" Philip replied that "he did not know that it was the white man's; he thought it was God's Church."

In 1895 the Bishop "borrowed" from the Diocese of Zululand the unoccupied Mission station of Komati, in the Transvaal mountains, as a health resort for the workers engaged in the fever-stricken portions of his own diocese. This station,† consisting of a farm of over six thousand acres, and now known as "Farm Amsterdam," must not be confounded with the town of that name. Since it has been used as a sanatorium, work of a missionary character has again been carried on in connection with it, both at the centre and for small communities near and far—Three Spruit (a promising out-station), Lake Chrissie, Carolina, Makwani Kop, &c.

In 1896 four Christian Swazies—one man and three women—"tramped thirty miles from Swaziland" in order to obtain baptism for a child, churching for the mother, and Holy Communion for those confirmed. Other Swazies have left their homes to seek baptism for themselves or to bring their heathen relatives or friends for instruction.

The intense desire of the newly-brought-in to bring others into the same state of salvation is marvellous. In 1898 many native Christians were resorting to the sanatorium from time to time for Holy Communion, it being the only place within a radius of eighty miles where a native could obtain the Sacrament. In the same year a small church and schoolroom were built in place of a bedroom and sitting-room which had previously been used for those purposes [1].

The first-fruits of work among the natives were baptized in November 1900. Some refugees from the Boer war took refuge at the station during 1900, and the British scouts encamped in Swaziland found the ministrations of religion by crossing the border [2]. A more convenient and less distant situation being desirable, arrangements have been made for a new sanatorium at a site on the Lebombo mountains [p. 346*a*]. The Bishop of Zululand now intends to re-occupy Farm Amsterdam [2*a*].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 384.)

* Since ordained for work in the Diocese of Lebombo, after training at St. Paul's College, Burgh, England.

† The Komati Mission station, established by the Rev. G. Carlsen, some seventeen years before, was included in that part of Swaziland which the Boers had succeeded in incorporating into the Transvaal.

CHAPTER LI.

BECHUANALAND.

BECHUANALAND lies to the north of the Cape Colony and to the west of the Transvaal. In order to protect the natives from internal divisions and from the Boers, a British Protectorate was established in the country in 1884. This was extended in 1885, and followed in September of that year by the annexation of the district south of the Molopo River and of the Ramathlabama Spruit, under the name of British Bechuanaland, which in December 1895 was incorporated with Cape Colony. The area of the "Protectorate" is estimated at 886,200 square miles.

UNUSUAL interest is attached to the story of the introduction of the Church of England into Bechuanaland. In 1853 some Bechuanas who had been living at the French (Protestant) Mission station of Bethulie in the Orange Free State set out to seek a new home. During many years' wanderings they built a chapel at three of the places where they stayed, and one of their number, named David, continued to work on alone for many years, teaching and helping the few people about him. In 1869 some of them settled in Bechuanaland on the bank of the Vaal River, and in 1872 David went to Bloemfontein, where he had a son working as a catechist in the Society's Mission, and asked the Bishop to send a clergyman to them. A preliminary visit was paid by the son (GABRIEL), and the Rev. W. CRISP following in 1873 found the people "living in a few miserable reed huts and worshipping in a little enclosure fenced round with brushwood." Mr. Crisp spent three days with them, baptizing 5 adults and 6 children and receiving several others. The Missionaries in the Orange Free State were "too poor to be able to promise any stipend" to David, but, though at one time barely able to keep himself alive, David proved "a most admirable worker." In October 1874, while the Bishop of Bloemfontein was visiting the Diamond Fields, Griqualand West [*see* pp. 817–18], "two hundred natives came down from the north seeking baptism, women with babies strapped on their backs, lads and lasses, old grandparents, men in the prime of life." They had "hardly had any food on the way" and arrived "mere skeletons, with shrivelled black skins drawn over the bone." Yet they "did not complain nor beg . . . baptism was all they asked." They stayed only a day or two at the Diamond Fields, and in this time the Bishop baptized at Klip Drift forty infants and admitted the adults as catechumens, promising to send them a priest to prepare them for baptism. These people had been brought by David from Phokoane, to which place, twenty-five miles from his own village of "St. John's on the Vaal," he had extended his labours. Mr. Crisp spent twelve days at Phokoane in 1875 and baptized sixteen adults. A year later Mr. Crisp and the Rev. W. H. R. BEVAN took up their residence in South Bechuanaland. The people at St. John's station were now living more comfortably. The reed huts had given place to decent Secoana houses, every man had "his little flock of goats and a few head of cattle." A small chapel had been erected, and "a church of considerable dimensions begun." The

people had been well instructed by David, they attended daily prayers morning and evening "with great regularity," and on Sundays formed a congregation of 45 adults and many children. Copies of the newly-printed Secoana Prayer Book they purchased readily, and in a short time they mastered the responses and were able to sing the canticles. At Phokoane the handful of Christians had through "a year of much trial and serious opposition . . . *marvellously* kept the faith." They were "most eager for instruction," and amply supplied the Missionaries with food. Not being permitted to build a church, their services were held "in an inclosure fenced round with branches of trees roughly plastered with mud" [1].

The climate was so hot that holding service in this roofless enclosure was only possible in the early morning and in the evening, and the Missionaries suffered severely from the want of a proper shelter. In face of strong opposition they succeeded in raising a wooden church, but ere the roof was finished the building was demolished by the Chief's orders in February 1877. No violence was done to the Missionaries, but the Chief was determined "that no white man, be he Missionary or trader, should live in his town." The Missionaries before withdrawing secured for their converts liberty of worship and for themselves permission to visit them periodically. Mr. Crisp now visited England and the Mission was left in charge of Mr. Bevan, who took up his residence at the Diamond Fields, Griqualand West. Left to themselves the converts rebuilt their church and maintained with surprising pains and regularity such services as could be supplied by a native catechist. The new church was dedicated in October 1877, and in the following February the first episcopal visit took place when forty-four converts were confirmed by the Bishop of Bloemfontein [2].

Later in 1878, the Europeans having taken the land of the Bechuana, war broke out: Phokoane was abandoned by all the natives, the Chief, Botlhasitse, and his tribe were routed by the British forces, and he and his brother and his sons were captured and thrown into prison as rebels. While he lay in Kimberley jail the Chief was constantly visited by one of the Missionaries (Mr. BEVAN) whom he had been foremost in opposing. During these troubles the Phokoane Christians fled for refuge to the Chief Montshio on the border of the Transvaal [3]. It should be added that in the previous year the Transvaal Republic "proclaimed its authority over St. John's and the neighbouring country," and ordered the people to "quit as soon as their crops were reaped" [4]. The abandoned site is now in some Transvaal farm [4*a*].

Peace was so far restored that Mr. Bevan was enabled to return to Phokoane in 1879, and though the country remained unsettled until the establishment of the British Protectorate in 1884–5 the progress of the Mission during this period was most hopeful. By 1882 the communicants had increased six-fold (from 20 to 120). Not one failed to attend the Easter celebration in that year. Of the 157 catechumens received since the beginning of the Mission more than eighty per cent. were "*known* to be doing well." The remainder had mostly removed and been lost sight of. Very few indeed had "gone back into evil." The reality of the conversions was shown by the fact that the converts led such lives "that their neighbours friends and relations" were "drawn to cast in their lot with them." The baptisms in 1882 numbered 57 [5].

At the request of Bishop KNIGHT-BRUCE on his appointment to the See of Bloemfontein in 1886 the Society voted £1,000 for the extension of Missions in Bechuanaland. On becoming personally acquainted with Bechuanaland the Bishop could not see any opening for the Church to the north of Mafeking, every other place of any importance being in the hands of the London Missionary Society, and in fact he declined an invitation of the chief Sechele to place a Missionary at Molepolole, feeling it would be an "unwarrantable intrusion." One half of the special grant was therefore diverted to Mashonaland, and the remainder applied to strengthening and extending the Phokoane Mission, especially in the Mafeking district.

A clergyman, the Rev. Canon BALFOUR, was also (in 1889) sent to the police camp at Elebe, about 120 miles to the north of Shoshong, to minister to the police and report on the prospect of Mission work previous to his removal to Mashonaland, which took place in 1890.

During the ten years (1882–91) the work of the Phokoane Mission spread considerably. Several outstations were established, and some of the converts—aged women—have been known to travel thirty-five miles on foot in order to partake of the Sacrament [6]. At Eastertide, the season reserved for baptisms, as many as one hundred adults have been baptized at one time.

The extension of the work is in a great measure due to good and trustworthy catechists. The existence of these agents and of native Councils, and a system of public discipline, constitute three strong points in the Mission. On the other hand, the converts are backward in contributing to the support of the Church; suitable buildings and schools are needed, and the Mission in 1891 experienced the most serious crisis that has occurred in its history, a large number of the young men having gone back into habits of native life, which are absolutely inconsistent with Christian profession [7].

1892–1900.

The drawbacks and hindrances to the work were stated in 1895 to be the apathy and laziness, and the low moral tone and want of self-respect, which appear always to be found in a hot climate. In insisting upon the inviolability of marriage the Missionary was hampered by the facility with which divorce is obtained in the civil courts and in Non-conformist Missions. At that time Phokoane, the oldest and most important station, was torpid and still practically a heathen place. But there was very little crime, and the country was in peace and prosperity under British rule, and secure from the encroachments of the Transvaal Boers, and it was a great advantage having a shop on the spot where useful articles were sold without the vile brandy which makes many shops in the country a curse rather than a blessing. Two years later there were signs of an improvement in the moral tone of the Christians. They were beginning to perceive the difference between right and wrong and to be really concerned at doing wrong [8].

About this time the Mission received a temporary check from a native rising at Phokoane, which placed the work of the Church and the workers in peril. Political disaffection, intensified by famine and rinderpest, and "fomented by the Boers," sought an outlet in open rebellion at Christmas 1896, when three English traders and th

coloured servants were murdered. The authorities exercised considerable restraint, but burnt down the whole place excepting the Church and Mission buildings, and removed all the people saving a few families who were allowed to remain under Canon Bevan's protection; with this exception the whole congregation was dispersed, though the Christians had not had anything to do with the rebellion. Through all the trouble Canon Bevan remained at his post, and at the following Easter and Whitsuntide some of the scattered Christians stole back to church for service. The communicants at Phokoane are encouraged to come clean and neat, but not in smart clothes. The boys sometimes wear nothing but a sheepskin. The people are attentive and reverent at service.

In the next two years the Mission recovered to a great extent from the effects of the rebellion, and real and solid progress was made in the religious life of the converts, and Canon Bevan had a marvellous recovery from what was feared would be a fatal illness [9].

The amount of work which this wonderful Missionary has done with the means at his disposal is almost incredible, his Bishop reported in 1896. Another fellow-worker (now Bishop of Mashonaland) characterises his work as "the romance of drudgery."

Patiently and persistently for over twenty years he has, single-handed,* gone on with his work amongst a most unpromising, difficult, and cheerless people, his flock being spread over an area as large as England, on lonely farms and isolated locations. Such a life and such a work is the best missionary report that could possibly be made. Of his numerous outstations many are of a tentative character, the casual and unsettled state of things resembling that of the English Church in the time of Bede [10].†

Thus the imposition of a new police regulation in the (then) "Orange Free State" led to the formation in 1897 of an outstation about ten miles from Phokoane, called *St. Bartholomew's*, where the number of converts was considerable and of good report.

About the same time a second outstation, *St. Giles*, was founded, consisting at first of only one family, but with one good man (Stephen), who did his best for the spiritual good of those around him [11].

Another instance of how the Gospel is carried forward to fresh places by the zeal of converts was seen in the establishment of an outstation at *Marcetsane*, the result of the labours of a Christian of only three years' standing, named Paul, who, with his cousin Stephen, brought a number of catechumens forward in 1895 [12].

The formation of a new outstation, *St. Augustine's*, near Mafeking, in 1897, was the result of the migration of a body of Batsatsing from the south. The Barolong, into whose country they had come, are Wesleyans, and were at first disposed to annoy them as Churchmen, but the difficulty appears to have arisen more from a misunderstanding than from any real ill-will, and was overcome by Canon Bevan. These Batsatsing are quiet and humble, and the work, though of small begin-

* Canon Bevan has not had an ordained fellow-worker since 1877, but in 1895 he was joined by two disciples—Philip Nevis and Peter Gray—who share his life-work, and whose example and influence are valuable to others. They are now being prepared for ordination.

† For the outstations in the Transvaal and in the now "Orange River Colony" *see* pp. 358*j* and 358*a*

nings, is hopeful [13]. At *St. Barnabas*, an outstation six miles from Phokoane, there was a large number of converts in 1893, but the work there was not and never had been satisfactory [14].

Two new outstations were begun in 1900—*St. Thomas the Martyr's*, close to Maribogo, at the request of a prosperous Mosuto, whose wife and daughter were already converted, and *St. Bernard Mziki's*, Lotthakone, ten miles south of Mafeking, where there is a congregation of about sixty very civilised and intelligent people, who had been taught by one of themselves, William Shuping, who had been educated in the Thaba 'Nchu Mission years ago [14*a*].

Generally speaking the work of Canon Bevan has now reached that stage when he is "no longer a missionary, but the pastor of a large congregation of Bechuana, dispersed over a very wide area." Native pastors are now needed to set him free to preach the Gospel to other heathen.

In the Boer war of 1899-1900 Canon Bevan was enabled to carry on his work without interruption during his seven months of isolation until a fortnight before Easter 1900, when his team of ten oxen were stolen by two robbers from the Boers' camp at Fourteen Streams; otherwise he was not molested, and, though food was not always easy to procure, the Mission was never actually in want. In the meantime daily services were held, catechumens received, and there were many baptisms. In addition to his native work, Canon Bevan ministered to a congregation composed of Royal Fusiliers stationed some five miles from Phokoane [15].

Mafeking (1882-1900).

As the result of pioneering work by Archdeacon Gaul, of Kimberley, between 1882-92, a church was built for the Europeans at Mafeking, and a Mission was opened among the natives* [16].

In 1893 a new Mission was established among a colony of half-castes and mixed natives—Bechuana, Amaxosa, and Zulus—living in a location a mile from the township, and across the river. Some of them had been baptized in infancy, but the majority were absolutely heathen, and all were practically so. But they were most anxious to be taught, and at the first service, held in a hut 18 feet long by 10 feet broad, over fifty persons crowded into the hut and blocked up the doorway. This building was soon replaced by a Mission chapel, in which services were held in Kaffir, Secoane, and Dutch. The success of the effort was largely due to the work of an old coloured man, named William Makriel [17].

The Rev. A. B. Stanford, who was stationed at Mafeking in 1894, exercised a great influence for good among all classes of people, rich and poor, white and coloured alike, so that confirmation was administered to both races at the same service without the slightest expression of ill-feeling from anyone. This was no trivial success, considering the prejudices of the colonists against mixing with the coloured races [18].

* Mrs. Knight-Bruce relates that at an early celebration of the Holy Communion Mafeking one Easter a troop of Bechuana, headed by their catechist, came in church, stayed reverently through the English service, and then had their c belonged to a native settlement thirty miles away in Canon Bevan's Mi left home on Good Friday in order to reach Mafeking for their Easter C

At this time Mafeking was the terminus of the railway, and the most northern town of Cape Colony, and it became the headquarters of the troops sent from England for the Matabele War. To the north of Mafeking, separating British Bechuanaland from Matabeleland, lies "the Protectorate." This country has been thinly populated by Europeans, but it includes Khama's district, with its capital, Palapwe, and the country of the other two chiefs who accompanied Khama on his visit to England some years ago. The Europeans have consisted mostly of traders in these native towns, and a large force of the British Bechuanaland Police scattered over the country to preserve law and order. Hitherto the Church had done no Mission work amongst the Bechuana tribes in the Protectorate, as the London Missionary Society had old-established Missions in all the larger stadts, and the chiefs have been unwilling to allow any other Missionary agencies to enter the field. In order to minister to the Church people—there being no clergyman between Mafeking and Bulawayo, a distance of five hundred miles—Mr. Stanford in 1895 made a journey through the Protectorate as far as Gaberones (one hundred miles north of Mafeking), named after the chief Gaberone, and the seat of a magistracy and a station of the British Bechuanaland Police. Here nearly every man and woman in the place attended and joined reverently in the first service ever held there by any English clergyman. Oaklands, Mochudi, and Palapwe were also visited, but illness prevented Mr. Stanford from holding service at Palapwe. The hardships of his journey appear to have brought on a second illness, from which he died on December 27, 1895 [19]. The Society's aid was not required for his successor, the Rev. W. H. Weekes (1896–1900), but it has been continued to the native Mission at Mafeking, which Mr. Weekes superintended. During his incumbency this work changed in character, and the congregation in the Mission Church of the Good Shepherd now consists chiefly not of half-castes but of Xosas, Bechuana, and Basutos.

During the siege of Mafeking in 1899–1900 the rectory house, built by Mr. Stanford in 1895, was practically destroyed, and St. John's Church received such damage that it will have to be entirely rebuilt. The church was used for service continually during the siege, and was well attended. Mr. Weekes acted as chaplain to the garrison, visited the sick and wounded, provided Church services, and buried the majority of the dead. He also assisted in the charge of the women's laager.

Archdeacon Upcher, of Mashonaland Diocese, who accompanied the relief column, was present at the final battle, May 17, 1900, assisted with the wounded, and marched into the town the following day with the troops. The whole garrison then paraded for a service of thanksgiving. Mr. Weekes, who had remained throughout the siege, officiated, and afterwards Major-General Baden-Powell addressed the men.* Bishop Gaul, of Mashonaland, who was in charge of the

* Hitherto the garrison had refrained from firing a volley over the graves of those killed, for fear of drawing the fire of the enemy's guns, but now that they were enabled to pay these last honours to the dead they assembled round the graveyard and bade good-bye to their fallen comrades. After sounding the "last Post" the garrison attempted to sing the National Anthem, but could hardly be heard, everyone being so overcome with emotion; General Baden-Powell in particular was much affected.

ambulance waggon accompanying Colonel Plumer's relief column, was reported missing after the final battle. His ambulance was "shelled and shotted" by the Boers, but by making a detour of eighty miles—in which he had exciting adventures in his long and thirsty walk—he reached Mafeking safely in time to celebrate the Holy Communion at St. John's Church on Ascension Day [20]. After the relief of Mafeking Mr. Weekes visited England to recruit his health and to raise funds for rebuilding the church and parsonage.* The new church at Mafeking is intended to serve as a national memorial of the siege, and as a sign of gratitude to God for the deliverance of the place. Besides his work at Mafeking he had established services at Gaberones [21].

Vryburg (1884–1892).

Vryburg, like Mafeking, was included in the itinerant Mission of Archdeacon Gaul, of Kimberley, between 1884 and 1892. He found it in 1884 a place of five houses, and the centre of a spasmodic republic, but it became the capital of British Bechuanaland; and he left it with a church and rectory for the Europeans. Afterwards a Mission-and-school-chapel for the natives was built. The few European laity, who had shown enduring devotion to the Church, were aided by the Society in 1892-93 in supporting a resident clergyman. The annexation of British Bechuanaland to Cape Colony in 1895 made it impossible to maintain Church work from local resources, Vryburg being no longer the seat of Government, and the chief supporters of the Church having left. The Mission was, however, occasionally visited by the Society's Missionaries from other parts of the Diocese of Bloemfontein until in 1900 it again received a resident clergyman† [22].

Railway Mission (1897–1900).—In connection with the Railway Mission started at Bulawayo in 1897 [p. 362*e*], the employés on the railway in North Bechuanaland, and other Europeans, have been regularly visited and ministered to by a clergyman from the Diocese of Mashonaland. The Mission centres in Bechuanaland include‡ Palapwe Road and Palapwe Staadt—the name of Khama's town. Khama was converted to Christianity at the age of fifteen through a Lutheran Mission. From that time his life may be summed up in Sir Charles Warren's words—"a Christian and a hero." All the native Mission work in his picturesque town is done by the L.M.S. For the use of any clergyman who may visit them the Europeans have built an "undenominational chapel." The Church services, which are held in this building, are welcomed by all the railway employés, including non-Churchmen [23].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 384.)

* On his return to South Africa in 1901 Mr. Weekes will succeed the Rev. Canon Woodman at Beaconsfield, Kimberley [20*a*].

† The value of faithful lay ministrations was singularly illustrated at Vryburg and Mafeking, where Mr. R. Tillard, the R.M., held services Sunday by Sunday for months, and kept Sunday school, and so kept the way open for permanent Church wo

‡ Also Gaberones, Mochudi, Debeti, Palla, Magalapwe, Kalakani.

CHAPTER LII.

MATABELELAND.

MATABELELAND lies to the north of the Transvaal. In the time of Chaka, King of Zululand, one of his generals named Mosilikatsi, desirous of supreme power, fought his way into the country at the head of a Zulu army, which, by slaying the men and marrying the women of other tribes, gave rise to the Matabele race and kingdom. To their own subjects and to the neighbouring tribes Mosilikatsi and his successor, Lobengula, were a constant source of terror and death; but in view of the growing strength of the Transvaal Boers, Lobengula found it politic in 1889 to place his country under British protection; and in 1893 his power was shattered by the British South Africa Company. Under the Royal Charter granted to that Company in 1889 Matabeleland became one of the two provinces of Southern Rhodesia, the other being Mashonaland [p. 363]. The area of Matabeland is 61,000 square miles; population, 150,000.

The Matabele (or Mandebele) used to be entirely pastoral and warlike, most of the cultivation being done by slaves. Now they are, practically, entirely agricultural.

It is difficult to discover what the exact religious belief of the Mandebele used to be before they came into contact with the original inhabitants of the country as well as Christian missionaries. As they came from Zululand originally, there are remnants of Zulu rites practised, but these are merely traditional, and more political and social than as the expression of any formal religion. It seems clear, however, that, like all the rest of the Bantu race, they never had more than a vague idea of a Supreme Being; *e.g.* they do not even possess a name for the Deity. The word "Molimo," which is generally used for God, has been adopted from the original natives of the country. The only form of original worship retained by the Mandebele is that of their ancestral spirits. This usually takes the form of propitiation—*e.g.* by killing and offering a beast for the spirits to eat at night. After death an offering of prayer and beer is made to the ancestral spirits, which are believed to be constantly appearing in the form of snakes.

IN December 1874 the Society received a proposal from the Rev. W. GREENSTOCK, its Missionary at Port Elizabeth, to make a Missionary tour of eighteen months to the Matabele diggings and the regions south of the Zambesi. Considering it as "a singular opportunity for opening Mission work in a wholly new region," the Society provided funds (£450) for the journey [1]. In Mr. Baines, the explorer, Mr. Greenstock found a companion whose "master thought was the advancement of religion and civilization," but they had not got further on their way than Durban when Mr. Baines died [2].

This caused a temporary abandonment of the expedition; but after ministering some months in the Transvaal [*see* p. 355] Mr. Greenstock successfully accomplished a journey into Matabeleland in 1876 [3].

Meanwhile (in 1875) the Society had considered a proposal (made by one of its members) for establishing a Bishopric in Matabeleland [4], and preparations were made in 1877 for opening a Mission in the country under Mr. Greenstock; but the altered condition of affairs in South Africa in 1879 led the Society in that year to abandon the undertaking "until the way" was "made more clear" [5].

The Society was not brought into direct connection with Matabeleland again until 1888, when the Bishop of BLOEMFONTEIN made his journey to the Zambesi. [*See* p. 363.] At that time the British Protectorate had not been established, and it was only after nearly a fortnight's pleading at Enkanwini that the Bishop could obtain permission from Lobengula to proceed to Mashonaland. Referring to the revolting cruelties practised by Lobengula and his people the Bishop wrote: "All that I know of the Matabele throws a light for me, such as no

previous argument has done, on God's command to the Israelites to destroy a whole nation."

From the agents of the London Missionary Society in the country the Bishop received "every possible kindness and attention," and although they had not made a single convert, his opinion, as expressed in 1888, was that as they have gained for themselves a kingdom which could not be disputed, it would be unadvisable to attempt to establish a Church Mission in Matabeleland* [6].

The Roman Catholics tried to force their way in, but were sent south. Lobengula asked them where their wives were. They told him that they did not believe in wives. He then asked them where were their mothers, and they are said to have given some answer to the same effect. His reply was, "I do not wish anyone to teach my people who does not believe in mothers and wives" [6*b*].

It will be seen that under British rule circumstances were so altered that the Church found work to do in Matabeleland, both among her own children and the heathen, without interference with other Christian bodies. Provision for such a contingency had to a certain extent been secured by the action of the South African Bishops in 1891, by which Matabeleland was included in the *Diocese* of Mashonaland [7].

1892–1900.

For over seventy years the Matabele had every spring raided into Mashonaland, killing every man and woman they could find, and carrying back the girls to be slaves and the boys to be soldiers. In 1893 the British South Africa Company found it necessary to intervene. Bishop Knight-Bruce (who had been translated from Bloemfontein to Mashonaland) accompanied the expedition against Lobengula in that year, but in so doing he made it clear that he was in no way acting as chaplain to any force, but as Bishop of Matabeleland as well as Mashonaland.

During his stay with the force the Bishop was unremitting in his attention to the wounded and dying on both sides alike; ready night and day to minister to their necessities or to bury the dead, and his waggon was given up to the doctor to serve as a hospital, whilst he himself slept on the ground beneath or walked by its side [8].†

* Sykes, the great missionary to the Matabele, at the end of 25 years' work, was unable to point out a single convert, but his life-work was not fruitless. "Every word he ever spoke is remembered," it was reported in 1893 [6*a*].

† The savages (Mashona and Matabele) were not "kindly affectioned one to another," and so thoroughly did the wounded realise this that they preferred being bumped along in the springless waggon to running the risk of being left behind by their friends if they were carried. The lifting on and off the waggon was accompanied with such remarks as, "Why should we carry these things?" Some of the camp followers got tired of bringing their children along, and were heard telling them to say to the white men that they wished to be left behind; but the children were too sharp to do that.

At the battle of Shangani, during the thick of the fight, the Bishop saw a native fall, severely wounded, who, as he fell, cried aloud the one word, "Mother!" This cry so appealed to the Bishop that, regardless of all danger, he rushed forward in the face of the enemy, heedless of falling bullets, and brought the man to a place of safety, himself being stained with the man's blood.

But of all the benefits attendant upon the Bishop's presence, the one most appreciated by the white men was that of Christian burial for their dead. There were occasions when the burial had to be carried out at dead of night, but whatever the hour he was ready [8].

BULAWAYO.

Arriving at Bulawayo on November 4, 1893, the Bishop went up to the burning town. Pity for the poor people in trouble tended to make him forget the iniquity that had its origin there, though for the last twenty years there could "scarcely have been a place on earth" that had "seen more murders." Even to the last the tradition had been kept up, "a young woman being left hung in one of the huts," "a royal wife" it was believed.*

As Lobengula had fled, and scarcely even his own people could approach him with any message from the Chartered Company's officers, the Bishop offered to negotiate between them, but it was felt that, though Lobengula (who had asked where the Bishop was) was not to be feared, the Bishop would be killed before he could get to the king. Savage as Lobengula was towards his own people and other natives, he had been most considerate in not allowing houses belonging to missionaries or traders to be touched, or any European who stayed in his country while the fighting was going on to be injured; he said he had "given his word."

On Sunday, November 5, 1893, the Bishop held a service in Bulawayo, near the hospital, but it was not well attended. On the following Sunday the "first full church parade in Matabeleland" was held, the Bishop preaching to the men on the extraordinary mercies given them—in their freedom from illness and accidents, and their escapes, but taking care not to imply that the service was one of thanksgiving for victories.

Immediately after the parade, about eighteen of the company "met together in a room for the Holy Communion." It was, the Bishop said, a most beautiful service,

> "the perfect peace after the life of fighting and noise and dust and heat; the looking back into the plunge into the unknown that had been made by the men; the strange end to the long series of unexpected acts that only culminated here—all affected us very strongly. I have never seen a more utterly reverential body of men."

After having been nearly seven weeks with the troops, the Bishop and a scout rode with two despatch riders to Macloutsie, travelling by night for the first half of the journey in order to avoid being seen by the Matabele.

After the Bishop's departure, on Bulawayo being laid out as an English town, Sundays seemed likely to be misspent, till two young laymen held a service in the dining-room of the Maxim Hotel on October 11, 1894, in the evening. Over sixty persons were present. Mr. Very, the engineer, read the service, and Mr. Smith, the Assistant Resident Magistrate, the sermon. At the conclusion a Committee was

* The destruction of Lobengula's own capital was a curious instance of wickedness bringing its own reward, and in an unexpected way. Raiding on all the neighbouring tribes had not only made the Matabele the terror of the country for the past forty years, but had caused the whole of their race to deteriorate by the continual inflow of slave blood, while the king's dread of competitors for the throne had made him kill nearly every dangerous relative, general, or chief, till in his need he had no great men to lead his troops.

formed for church building, and regular Sunday evening services were organised. These were attended by large congregations, an efficient choir giving their services; and some months later, when Archdeacon Upcher, of Mashonaland, was enabled to visit Bulawayo, he found things in a very satisfactory condition. Of the entire white population of 2,000, 1,600 had registered themselves as Church members, and they contributed liberally to the maintenance of Church ministrations.

On February 6, 1895, the memorial stone of the church (bearing the inscription "St. John's Church, December 1894") was laid by the Resident Magistrate and his wife (Captain and Mrs. Hayman).

On March 10, 1895, the chancel of this, the first Anglican church in Matabeleland, was finally opened. The altar, lectern, and prayer desk were the gift of a working man, and it was proposed to hold a memorial service yearly for the brave men of Captain Alan Wilson's party who fell at Shangani [9].

In 1895 Bishop Gaul, the second Bishop of Mashonaland, visited Bulawayo. He had a rough coach journey of 550 miles from Pretoria, with scarcely any sleep and little food, and on his arrival went at once to the church for a thanksgiving service. Though only a year old, Bulawayo insisted on a conversazione to welcome the Bishop, and everyone came irrespective of creed and nationality. Archdeacon Upcher was beloved by everybody, and had "simply been the saviour of the diocese here." Speaking of his first Confirmation at Bulawayo, held at 7.15 A.M., before Holy Communion, the Bishop said it was strange to think of these holy rites being solemnised on the very spot where heathenism had so lately ruled supreme.

The Rev. E. A. Hammick, who relieved Archdeacon Upcher in 1895, found many difficulties in Bulawayo. In March 1896 the Matabele rose and began killing every European they could find in the country districts. The black police revolted and fled with their arms to their brethren, and a general rising of the Matabele natives resulted. Bulawayo was practically besieged and went into laager. Houses and stores were looted, cattle seized, and the whole of Matabeleland, except the towns, was in the hands of the rebels. The Rev. D. R. Pelly acted as chaplain to the British force from Mashonaland which assisted in suppressing the revolt, but he suffered much from illness during the expedition. In Bulawayo Mr. Hammick passed bravely through the period of trial, winning much respect for his single-minded devotion* [10].

On Mr. Hammick's resignation Bishop Gaul had to undertake parochial charge of Bulawayo for nine months (1897–98), assisted by the Rev. N. W. Fogarty, besides administering his diocese as best he could by forced journeys. As yet the Church had not taken its place in Matabeleland, and at Bulawayo "everything had to be

* According to his own experience, Bulawayo, though "colonised by the pick of young England," was "not a whit better than any other Colonial town;" in fact, it was "worse, because it ought to be better." All the recent talk about religious education in the great schools would be silenced "were some of the masters to come and see some of their old pupils' lives out here." What was needed was a "good bed-rock of principle—the first principles of Christ, on which to build a sound superstructure of life. At present the so-called religion is bolstered up by conventionality. Take that away and the whole building falls to the ground" [10].

begun again." "If ever the Society's *Colonial* work needed emphasising" it did there—with "the white man victorious, after a bloody and protracted struggle with the natives—both exasperated and revengeful, and *both* with cause to be so."

"Who and what but the Church of God could mediate!" (added the Bishop), and he assured the Society that it has "cause for thankfulness that their constitution demands equal care for the native and European." The Bishop declined "to take sides"—he could only "*state and teach principles.*" Regarding Bulawayo as "the spiritual watershed" of the country, he made it a strong and germinating centre of Church life. Lost ground was regained, the church became so crammed that it was necessary to hold service in the theatre on Sunday evenings, where crowds of men gathered, of the strong, athletic sort, accustomed to give and take, and expecting straight speaking and definite teaching. More suitable accommodation was afterwards obtained by the erection (in 1897–98) of a large church hall, with rooms for the clergy, and a boys' school, which was started in 1897. The Bishop himself and Mrs. Gaul lived in two rooms of an iron and wood house—something between "a canal boat and a cloak-room."

The first ordination in Matabeleland was held in St. John's, Bulawayo, on Sunday, October 31, 1897, when Mr. F. Gillanders was admitted to the diaconate [11]. In the same year a Railway Mission was set on foot, and a Native Mission begun in Bulawayo. Among the natives who came to work in the mines were five Pondo Christians, who were seen standing at the door of the church one Sunday morning in June, almost afraid to enter. Brought up to the Bishop they said, "Now we have found our true kraal and the Shepherd." Commencing with these five Christians, the native Mission was extended to various other races—Fingoes, Bechuana, Matabele, and half-castes—with a strong and partly self-supporting centre ("St. Columba's") for educational, ministerial, and evangelising work, and several outstations. One of these consists of a Fingoe settlement at the Bembeze River, the spot where Bishop Knight-Bruce rescued a native soldier. On Christmas Day 1899 forty natives were baptized by immersion in St. Columba's school-chapel and confirmed. Thirty-seven of these were Matabele, including a former wife of Lobengula. She had walked eighteen miles every Sunday for months for instruction.

The Rev. Canon A. Bathe, a Yorkshire clergyman, who volunteered to relieve Bishop Gaul for twelve months, was told by an Englishman in 1898 that St. John's, Bulawayo, was the first* church in South Africa in which *he* had seen coloured people worshipping together with the white.

At the Criterion mine Canon Bathe was shown a party of fifty natives at work, all of whom were Christians. Canon Bathe believes that in fifty years' time the whole of South Africa will be nominally Christian. "It is for us to make the Christianity more than nominal" [12].

* Of course this was, and is, far from being the only case of the kind.

Railway Mission.

During the construction of the railway to Bulawayo the Bishop of Mashonaland and the Rev. N. W. Fogarty made frequent trolley journeys, holding services for the engineers and men—"most fascinating work."

On the completion of the railway, arrangements were made between the Bishops of Mashonaland and Bloemfontein for the spiritual charge of the railway employés on the northern portion of the line to be undertaken from Bulawayo. The work was begun in 1897 by Mr. Fogarty,* and with the aid of a church coach (provided by the railway department in 1899)—which includes chaplain's quarters and a lending library—the whole 500 miles between Bulawayo and Mafeking have been regularly visited, and the Church brought as a factor into the lives of the empl yés. Every ganger's cottage and every siding is visited, books are distributed, children baptized, sick visited, candidates prepared for confirmation, and the Holy Communion is administered whenever and wherever possible. Many of the centres are in Bechuanaland [*see* p. 361*d*].

At Francistown and Old Tati, Mission stations were started in 1898, partly for the benefit of some Bechuana (Batlapin) emigrants from Basutoland under their chief Samuel Moroka, originally from Thaba 'Nchu. Francistown itself owes its origin (1897) to the Monarch mine. A church hall (St. Patrick's) was erected in the town in 1899 [13].

Gwelo.

Gwelo (110 miles east of Bulawayo, on the main coast road, between two important gold centres) was occupied as a Mission in 1895 by the Rev. W. Griffiths. During the Matabele war in 1896 the town was almost destroyed in order to make way for a laager. Mr. Griffiths went through much tribulation and sickness and had to be invalided. The Rev. D. R. Pelly, who was acting as chaplain to the troops, held (in passing) a service under a tree, the duration of which was ordered to be limited to ten minutes. On Mr. Griffiths' departure "an excellent *independent* minister stepped in on undenominational lines," but the majority of the people were Church folk, and warmly supported the Rev. J. A. Walker, who succeeded Mr. Griffiths in 1897. Service was held at first in the Court House, and then in a reading-room until, with the Society's aid, a Church hall was built in 1898. Under Mr. Walker, Gwelo became a central station for a district as large as two Yorkshires. Though he has "deadly battles with fever monthly" (the Bishop wrote in 1899), "he struggles through his journeys like a hero," visiting the mines around, Victoria and Selukwe being among the places regularly served by him [14]. But for the Society's help (Mr. Walker says) the Church in Gwelo could never have been placed upon such a good footing in so short a time; and, taking the interior of the Church hall as a symbol of a year's work (1898), he contrasts it with a picture of a mutilated Mashona woman

* Succeeded by Rev. J. Hallward in 1900.

(as he saw her in Victoria Hospital), as a faithful illustration of the depths of sin and cruelty from which that same emblem of Christianity must raise the degraded natives of this country.

"No power but that of the Gospel could ever eradicate the cruelty and superstition represented in this picture of a poor creature whose husband cut off her ears, nose, and top lip, and left them hanging to her face by small bits of skin. He then chopped through the fingers of her left hand, and the thumb and three fingers of her right hand, and almost cut through the one remaining finger, after which he tied her hands thus mutilated behind her back, and left her to starve. In this ghastly condition she was found three days afterwards in an old mealie field, without any food, and brought in to the Victoria Hospital."

The perpetrator of this cruelty, Mugorli, maintained his right to do as he liked with his own property, like the Romans of old with their slaves, but he was sentenced to ten years' penal servitude [14*a*].

Gwanda (St. Augustine's Mission).

The Gwanda district embraces the country from the Umzimgwani river to Tuli, and includes the Geelong and other mines. It contains a large native population, mostly "Mandebele" (Matabele), and quondam Mandebele slaves, all speaking Sindebele, a dialect of Zulu.

In June 1898 Bishop Gaul sent the Rev. N. W. Fogarty to the Gwanda district to minister to the Europeans at the Police Forts and mining camps, and "to prospect for a likely reef of native ore," invitations having been received from three important chiefs to send teachers. Wherever Mr. Fogarty went, especially at the Geelong mine—then the largest in the country and containing "the nicest lot of men to be found in the country"—he was kindly received by the white men, who were all anxious for a resident clergyman. Later in the year a second visit was paid by Mr. Fogarty, accompanied by the Rev. J. W. Leary, and on their report Bishop Gaul went down with the native Commissioner and held a satisfactory "indaba" (meeting) with the natives headed by their chiefs, Manyagavula, Umlugulu, and Nyanda. The site selected for the Mission (which was named "St. Augustine's") is a beautiful spot overlooking the Umzimgwani valley, and between four and five miles from the historic Matoppo Hills, the scene of Mr. Rhodes' famous indaba. Mr. Leary was appointed to the charge of the Mission, and on the first Sunday the Holy Communion was celebrated with a rock for an altar, and a service was held for the natives under a tree. After the service every member of the congregation complained of sickness and wanted "muti" (medicine).

Manyagavula is one of the most powerful and Umlugulu one of the most crafty of chiefs. Nyanda is a brother of Lobengula. It was felt that having secured their support it would be easy to start Mission stations at other parts. In the face of many difficulties (amongst them blood poisoning and fever attacks), Mr. Leary held on bravely, and, though at first the men held aloof, the work on the whole among the natives up to 1900 has been encouraging.

At the mines most of the men were "either Dissenters or nothing;" still they welcomed him with the greatest kindness, and the manager of the Geelong mine, in 1898, offered £100 towards his ministrations there among the labourers, white and native.

Many of the Europeans have shown a proper sense of their responsibility to the natives [15].

On the outbreak of the Boer war (1899) Mr. Leary was sent to minister to Colonel Plumer's force at Tuli. In a surprise attack by the Boers he was wounded, but, refusing to allow his companions to remain by him or to carry him off, he was taken prisoner to Pretoria. On being set free he ministered to the British forces in Natal, returning to St. Augustine's at the end of 1900 [16].

Macloutsie.

At Macloutsie, the camp of the Bechuanaland Border Police, Church ministrations were begun by the Rev. W. Trusted in 1890. Arrangements for the building of a church, suspended by his death in that year, were renewed in 1898, when, after stirring services by the Bishop of Mashonaland, the whole camp came forward to supply the want, under the lead of Sir F. Carrington, who had gone out some distance to welcome the Bishop.

In the meantime (1892) Messrs. F. Lawrence and J. R. Burgin had rendered valuable service. The former was ordained* at Macloutsie by the Bishop on Easter Day 1892, in a reading-room fitted up for service. The lessons were read from two drums, a trooper in uniform played the harmonium, and a goodly number of the troopers received the Holy Communion.

At a subsequent visit, in 1894, the Bishop found men, women, and children in the tiny fort, as the Matabele were reported in the neighbourhood. But no emergencies could alter the hospitality and courtesy of the officers.

The work at Macloutsie does not appear to have since received aid from the Society other than that afforded by the visits of the Bishop of Mashonaland.

The place is now (1900) a mere police fort, and can only be reached across country [16*b*].

Fort Tuli.

After the death of the first clergyman at Fort Tuli in 1890, services were organised again in 1892 by Archdeacon Upcher, nearly every European in the place attending, and the officer in charge (Captain Raaff) providing a waggon to fetch the residents on the other side of the Shashi river, and undertaking to read service on Sundays in the absence of a missionary. An evening service held at Mr. Raaff's was thus described by the Archdeacon:—

"I wish I could picture the scene—the tents and trek waggons under a mighty

* Mr. Lawrence was invalided to England and died there on [illegible]

tree; a table with candles lighting the faces seated round; lanterns on the waggons with children on the front seats, and a turkey below trying to get its eyes out of the glare; a fire a little way off, with a Kaffir squatting near; dogs all round, pigs occasionally squealing, the solemn-looking trek oxen lying down; some people sitting, some standing up behind—all conspired (clothes excepted) to transport one back to the days of Abraham and Jacob. We had a Mission service, the captain reading the lessons, I the prayers."

Tuli is now (1900) a police fort, and will probably be worked from a new centre [16*c*].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 384.)

CHAPTER LIII.

*MASHONALAND.**

MASHONALAND, which now forms one of the two provinces of Southern Rhodesia [*see* p. 862], is a well-watered and fertile plateau lying to the north-east of Matabeleland at an elevation of from 4,000 to 5,000 feet above the level of the sea. Its northern border is the malarious valley of the Zambesi, its southern boundary the River Limpopo, and its size, roughly speaking, is an oblong block as long as England and Scotland and as wide as England and Wales (area over 80,000 square miles). Ruins of old buildings and shafts into old mines are the fragments left of an ancient history, though the old name of the country went long ago. While the Portuguese skirted round its borders to east and north, a numerous race throve within, who dug for iron and smelted and fashioned it. No other native South African race had ever been known to smelt ore. These people, consisting of slightly different tribes, became generally known as the Mashona.

The principal native races in Mashonaland are (1) the Mashona in the north; (2) the Makalakas in the south; (3) the Marozi, or the Abolozi tribe, the aborigines of the country, once powerful, but now few (5,000), and scattered along the banks of the Sabi River principally. (The Shangaans (5,000), who are superior to the others, more resembling the pure Matabele, and speaking Cherozi, inhabit Gazaland, only a small portion of which is within the Chartered Company's territory.)

The religion of the heathen Mashona is ancestral worship: all sickness, bad crops, and ill-luck are attributed to those ancestors whose spirits are supposed to occupy certain trees known as "Aja." The heathen seem to have no conception of an evil spirit, or to possess any word for devil. Their witchmen are not exorcists, but "holy men," who are favourable to some good and strong spirit, and to whom, therefore, the people turn in trouble. Many of the traders think that some of their customs are reflections of past Christian or Jewish influence. The Mashona religion belongs to those which are at least 2,000 years older than Christianity. Bishop Gaul once heard a Mashona praying to the spirit of the lion to guard his mother and her crops, and to take care of her in his absence.

Polygamy exists, and the women are slaves to the men. Once a missionary gave some work to a man, who went off and brought back two women and made them do it, he superintending it and pocketing the money.

By the ravages of the Matabele the country within the last 100 years had been almost depopulated of this industrious and peaceful people. The establishment of a British Protectorate over this and neighbouring regions in 1889 was a guarantee that the reign of terror was at an end; and under the rule of the British South Africa Company, by whom the territory was acquired by Charter in 1889, there is being realised the hope that while earthly treasures are being gathered up, the Church will be permitted to make spiritual conquests for her Lord and Master.

THE first step in this direction was taken before the country had come under British influence. On his appointment to the See of Bloemfontein in 1886, Bishop KNIGHT-BRUCE laid before the Society proposals with a view to the evangelisation of the tribes between Griqualand West and the Zambesi. The Society "encouraged him to mature the design as he should find opportunity," and voted £1,000 for operations in Bechuanaland [1].

The needs of Bechuanaland having been over-estimated, one-half of the grant was applied to enable the Bishop to explore in Mashonaland in order to ascertain if it could be occupied by the Church as a Mission field [2]. The journey, which extended from Bloemfontein to the Zambesi, and took up eight months of 1888, has been described by high authority as "an admirable instance of Christian Missionary enterprise, and not inferior to any other achievement in South African travel" [3]. It was accomplished by the aid of three half-castes, three Bechuana, one Matonga, and two Basutos, besides which native carriers were hired on the way. Some of the regular servants were Christians,

* This chapter deals only with the country of Mashonaland; the diocese of that name [*see* p. 865] embraces a large area outside this district, viz., Matabeleland, and portions of Bechuanaland and of Portuguese territory. The Episcopal Synod of the Province of South Africa in 1895 expressed the opinion that the diocese should be subdivided so soon as a minimum income of £600 has been provided for each of the dioceses so constituted.

and "upon the question of native servants who are not Christians being better than those who are," the Bishop says: "If I had a difficult journey to do again I would try to take no other than Christians." Before an advance could be made into Mashonaland the consent of Lobengula, the Chief of the Matabele, had to be obtained, and this involved not a little delay and difficulty. "A large part"* of the country was claimed by Lobengula, and he had "always refused permission for a Mission to be established amongst the Mashona, probably from fear of what would happen if the subject tribes whom he raids upon should be taught." Of one of these tribes, the Banyani, a branch of the same family as the Mashona, the Bishop says: "To have seen these people, and to have had dealings with them—to have seen fallen humanity untouched by the regenerating influences of Christianity—is an argument for the necessity of Missions such as nothing else could provide, should the command to Christianise all nations not carry sufficient force." Of the Mashona he adds:—

"It is easy to see how these wretched creatures—wretched only in character, not in physique, for they are as a rule immensely strong—fall a prey to the Matabele, though they might meet a Matabele Impi with ten to one. They have not the slightest idea of uniting; no one seems to have any authority; for no one seems to inspire respect among a people who have too little self respect themselves to reverence others . . . however it must not be forgotten that they are a nation of slaves, taken when they are wanted apparently, and that they have inherited, possibly, the usual characteristic of slaves. Yet with all their faults they are a pleasanter people to deal with than the Matabele. In general character they are, I think, superior."

Near Zumbo on the Zambesi the Bishop saw "the ruins of an ecclesiastical building, said to have been a Roman Catholic Mission station." Since the founders of this station had been killed no Missionaries had been in the neighbourhood, and though the natives on both sides the Zambesi, under the influence of the Portuguese, showed "a higher form of civilisation," the Bishop had his pocket Communion service and other things stolen at Zumbo. Throughout the journey services were regularly held for the travellers, the people were prepared for the coming of teachers, and friendly relations with the Portuguese officials on the Zambesi were established [4].

In May 1890 the Society (at the Bishop's request) set apart £7,000 to be expended in seven years, for the establishment of Missions in the regions explored by him between Palatswie and the Zambesi [5].

A few months later the Rev. Canon BALFOUR, who had been provisionally stationed at Elebe in Bechuanaland [*see* p. 361], set out for Mashonaland with the troops of the British South Africa Company's police, to whom he ministered on the way.† In his account of the march he says (Nov. 12, 1890):—

"On August 13 and 14 the column passed under Mt. Inyaguzwe on the left, by an easy ascent of nearly 1,500 ft. out of close bush, on to open, treeless, rolling veldt. It was a great change, and for the remainder of the journey (Aug. 19 to Sep. 12) *i.e.* from Fort Victoria to Fort Salisbury, a distance of 185 miles, we kept on a backbone of country, in some parts very narrow, which forms the watershed, and from its endless bogs and springs supplies with great liberality the tributaries of the Zambesi flowing West by North and of the Sabi on the East. Our leaders took us as nearly North as possible, avoiding rivers by heading their sources. . . . The scenery varied much. At one time we marched through glade and forest at

* R. 1887, p. 77.

† The Rev. W. Trusted, who had undertaken similar duties at Fort Tuli in 1890, *died there on* October 26, 1890 [6].

another over almost treeless rolling downs. Fresh flowers made their appearance every day; and by the time we reached our destination the veldt was all ablaze with colour. . . . Trading was done as we came along, with the Mashona, always ready to sell their produce for calico and beads and shirts."

Detachments for post stations were left at intervals on or near the Makori, the Inyatsitsi, the Umfuli, the Hanyane, and Umgezi—Fort Charter being erected on the Umgezi.

"On Friday September 12 the Colonel directed us to our final halting place" (*i.e.* Fort Salisbury). "The Union Jack was hoisted next day, with prayer, the Royal Salute and three cheers for the Queen. I celebrated the Holy Eucharist on the following morning. Our fort being finished by the end of the month the pioneer part of the force was disbanded and went out . . . to prospect for gold. Since then we have been hut building. I am in a round hut, made of poles and thatched, 15 ft. in diameter, which temporarily serves as a Church on Sundays for the few who care for holy things. Next year . . . I hope a start may be made towards letting the natives of the country see something of the Worship of God. And there will be great work for the Church to do besides, for a rush will be made from the Transvaal and from Kimberley, and from all parts to seek for God's treasure of which this land is full, and either to help or to hinder the establishment of His Kingdom" [6*a*].

Fort Salisbury is close to a large native town, the inhabitants of which said they would build a house for a Missionary if ever one came there. The support of a second clergyman* in 1890 was undertaken by the British South Africa Company, and further assistance from this source has been promised [7].

In July 1891 Canon Balfour started on his first Missionary journey, and during that and the next two months he visited a considerable number of towns and villages, his tours extending to Perizengi on the Zambesi, 170 miles from Fort Salisbury, and involving 400 miles of walking. With the help of two Mazwina or Mashona boys who accompanied him as interpreters he was enabled to tell the natives something of the Christian religion. "They generally listened and tried to understand, but apparently their interest was only momentary. They seem to have some slight conception of God, using the word 'Molimo' (the same word as is used by the Bechuana), which is also their word for medicine." They have "a custom of dancing and singing in honour of the spirits of the departed, at whose graves they leave offerings of meat and beer, in the belief that those who have left them will keep them supplied with all good things." Beyond this Canon Balfour "does not think they have any practices that could be called religious." Witchcraft and polygamy however exist [8].

At the South African Provincial Synod, held in January and February 1891, Mashonaland and adjacent regions were formed into a diocese, and Bishop Knight-Bruce was asked to take charge of it [9]. Accepting the responsibility, the Bishop started with seven Mission agents, of whom three were Mozambique Christians. A clergyman joined him from the Cape; three trained nurses from Kimberley followed him. The Bishop walked about 1,300 miles, visiting forty-five towns and villages in Mashonaland and Manicaland during a few months. No part of his work, he says (February 27, 1892), was so encouraging as this:—

"Not only did the Chiefs receive the Missionaries in nearly every case, but they offered help in some form or another. . . . Apart from our centres of work there are five native catechists and three Europeans working in the Mashona villages,

* The Rev. F. H. Surridge.

and as these visit to some distance around, the number of tribes under the Church's influence is very great. Besides this there are a large number of tribes who are only waiting for us to supply them with resident teachers. Sanguine as I was as to the position which the Church could occupy in Mashonaland, I never anticipated so universal an acceptance of our teaching as has taken place. With all the difficulties and failures—and they are neither few nor small—there is nothing at present apparent to prevent this Mission, under God, becoming one of the largest fields of work that our Church has. But I need hardly say that much more money than we have at present is needed for this development."

Catechists are already (1892) labouring up as far as Ruia River, and there are six distinct stations, each having its own centre, viz., Fort Salisbury, Sosi's Town, Maconi's, Maguendi's, the fifth to the north of that, and the sixth at Umtali. Umtali and Fort Salisbury are also centres of European work. By the generous action of the Chartered Company, there is practically no fear in the future of the Church not having "all such land as may be needed for every possible purpose in nearly every direction that we may extend." The site for the central Mission farm at Umtali "is perhaps one of the most perfect spots in the whole country." One of the most important branches of the Mission is the hospital work at Umtali, carried on by the aid of three qualified nurses. Owing to a lack of carriers these ladies walked up the country to their destination under the protection of the late Dr. Doyle Glanville. Few comparatively even of the men who were on the Pungwe River at that time got through that difficult journey, and in the opinion of the Company's police at Umtali this feat of the ladies was "one of the finest things that they had ever heard being done." The Company have determined that "no natives shall be allowed to have any drink supplied to them," and the high tone of the officers with whom the Clergy have had to deal has been "very conducive to the success" of the Mission. In December 1891 the Bishop visited England for the purpose of obtaining more funds and workers. At present the Bishop "receives no income," and the Clergy "only £30 or £40 a year" and "board and lodging." Nearly all the lay workers are working for nothing, excepting the two skilled carpenters" [10]. In concluding his report in February 1892 the Bishop said:—"I cannot end a letter which speaks of the work inaugurated by your Society without expressing the obligation which I feel we are under to it for the help and encouragement that it has given to this Mission, without which it would never have existed" [11].

1892–1900.

Bishop Knight-Bruce returned to Africa early in 1893, after a severe illness. He held a meeting at Capetown, which was remarkable for the presence of a Mr. Hepburn, a missionary from Bechuanaland, who had helped Khama to become a great Christian chief. The London Missionary Society, of which Mr. Hepburn was a representative, had

brought Dr. Livingstone and Dr. Moffat into South Africa, and it was the Society which seemed the most fitted to pass on to the Mashona. For years they had longed to go into Mashonaland, but no opening came till the Church of England undertook it. Mr. Hepburn considered that country "especially entrusted by God to the Church of England," and he "called on all Church of England people to support the Mashonaland Mission" [12].

Before the Bishop's visit in 1886 there had been no Missions in Mashonaland. As yet there was no opposition to the Church, and many heathen were waiting to receive her teachers. One chief said that all his life he had been fighting to rid his people of certain evils —murder, theft, and immorality—but that nothing he did seemed to make any difference. If what the missionary said was true, however, he thought the God spoken of could help him; and he begged that teachers might be sent at once, so that he might see a change before he died.

In addition to the enormous native work to be done, the Mission, under the altered circumstances arising from the formation of the Chartered Company, had now to provide for the spiritual training of the white settlers, and to take a large share in preventing the demoralisation of the country by drink.* In some countries missionaries have to work against the evils already brought in by Europeans; here the Mission was laying its foundation before other Europeans had thought of settling there. The difficulties of the work were, however, immense; the cost of feeding the few workers in the country was great, only a few huts sheltered them; nearly all the work had to be done on foot; supplies could only be got into the country at great trouble and expense; and the cost of sending workers was high [13].

Canon Balfour's share of the work done had been a large one. His journeys among the native villages had become historic, and they were the more valuable as they showed how such work ought to be done—costing scarcely anything except exertion, but a good deal of that.

Associated with Canon Balfour for a time was Mr. Frank Edwards, who travelled practically on foot from Capetown to Fort Salisbury, in 1891, a distance of about 2,000 miles, in order to join the Mission, there being no room for him in the two waggons which were taking up the Mission workers already engaged. Mr. Edwards spent nearly two years (1891–92) walking about from village to village in Mashonaland, and wherever he was able he got the natives round him and talked to them of Christ, and in all those places he put up a rough wooden cross to show that Christ had been spoken of.

Excellent work was also done at this period by the Colonial native catechists. From the European settlers nothing but praise was heard of them, and one (Bernard Mizeki) won the martyr's crown [*see* p. 366*h*] [14].

All over the country in 1893 the work was "growing alarmingly." The representative of one of the most energetic of Missionary Societies,

* Bishop Gaul, in 1896 and 1899, testified to the way in which the British South Africa Company had supported his efforts, and those of other religious bodies, to keep the liquor from the natives [13*a*].

after travelling through Mashonaland for some time, returned, saying that "all the great chiefs in the country were in the hands of the Church." Though this was not quite correct, there was but little room for other workers. One of the leading Europeans of the country characterised the Church's work among the natives as "splendid," while at the largest meeting for political purposes that had ever been held at Fort Salisbury the Chairman said that the Missions had "done more work in Mashonaland during the short time" they had been there "than all the efforts made in Matabeleland." As yet, however, there was not one convert, the effect of Christianity among the natives did not seem to be great, and friendly intercourse and a steady leavening were as much as could be expected for some time.

The good opinion of native Missions in the country was not universal, the attitude of a section of the people finding expression in the local newspaper by an inquiry whether certain Mission funds collected in England were "all intended to be used on the infernal Mashona? If so, what a sinful waste of money!" Besides the native work the Church had a clergyman at the large mining camps.

Much time was now devoted to arranging details of the native land question. All over the country the Bishop, with the assistance of Dr. Rundle and Mr. Pelly (the Church alone seeing to the question), secured blocks of land to serve as native reserves in the event of the Mashona being crowded out by the white man. Later on other arrangements were deemed advisable by the authorities [15].

For seventy years past, up to 1889, the Mashona had suffered every spring from the raids of the Matabele. In 1888 there were thirteen raids. In some villages every man, woman, and child had been killed outright, except the old women, who were used as carriers while required, and then tied to trees round which dried grass was heaped up and then set on fire, such holocausts being regarded as "a capital joke" by the Matabele. The raids having been renewed in 1893 the Chartered Company intervened, and as their expedition against the Matabele had no chaplain the Bishop accompanied it.*

From the necessity of the case he had to do heroic deeds, and he gave proof of physical as well as of spiritual courage. It was noteworthy that the two officers in command of the British column, and the other two leading officers, were, all four, members of the Church Committees in their respective districts; but some of the language of the troopers was "very painful," the "most unjustifiable" coming from some "whom God had intended to be gentlemen." At Fort Charter, where the force assembled on Sunday, September 17, 1893, nearly every man in the camp attended the service. One had been through the Maori wars and been confirmed by Bishop George Selwyn, who seems to have been "superior to any stories told of him." "Savagedom as it really exists" was shown by the Mashona in their brutality to their own wounded [16].

In 1894 the work of translation was begun at Umtali. The translators were three of the Colonial native catechists, Kapuya (one of the Mashona), the Bishop, and Mr. Walker. All lived in the

* *See* under Matabeleland, p. 362*a*.

Mission house, and worked five hours a day at a translation of parts of the Bible and Prayer-book.*

In the summer of 1894 Bishop Knight-Bruce was invalided to England with a constitution undermined by malarial fever and exposure and hardship, and, acting under medical orders, he resigned his See in October of that year. In February 1895 he accepted the vicarage of Bovey Tracey, Devonshire, where he died on December 16, 1896, of pleurisy, pneumonia, and fever. His great work, as pioneer and founder of the Church in Mashonaland, and his bravery and enterprise in the Mission cause ("like a knight-errant of old") will cause his name to be held in enduring honour by the Church at large [18].†

During the vacancy of the Bishopric the Bishop of Zululand, at the request of the Metropolitan of South Africa, visited Mashonaland, and cheered the two remaining missionaries.

Archdeacon Upcher, to whom the diocese owed (and still owes)‡ a deep debt of gratitude, was offered, but declined, the Bishopric, and the Diocese of Bloemfontein, "the nursery of the Episcopate" in South Africa, once more filled the vacancy. The new Bishop, Archdeacon Gaul, for many years connected with the Society at Bloemfontein and Kimberley, possessed the advantages of long Colonial experience, unbounded energy, and almost equal physical strength. His consecration took place in Bloemfontein Cathedral on St. Mark's Day, 1895. On the way to Mashonaland (where he was accompanied by Mr. D. R. Pelly, a candidate for Holy Orders) he stayed at Johannesburg, where many old Kimberley friends had settled. He asked them to help to raise an Endowment Fund for the Bishopric, and within a few days £3,000 were contributed. Pending the completion of the fund, the Society has (since 1895) contributed an annual allowance for the Bishop, and in 1899 it gave £250 towards increasing the endowment [19].

The year 1896, which saw the baptism of the first Christian

* Catechist Bernard was considered to be the best Mashona scholar existing, and the only one who had ever mastered the language. A Mashona grammar had been written by a Jesuit priest from knowledge acquired near the Zambesi, but the meaning of words required more knowledge than he possessed, though the grammar was useful in the general grammatical construction in the present instance. The Mashona language was considered to contain about 9,000 words, of which 6,000 were common throughout the country, and 3,000 varied in the several dialects. Great caution was observed by the translators at Umtali. Every word in the grammar, and the pronunciation, had to be passed by Kapuya (one of the Mashona) before it was allowed to exist. The peculiarities of the grammar are extraordinary. For example, the Mashona have a different tense to express an act which happened to-day, to one expressing an act which happened yesterday or earlier; another tense implies, in one word, reverse action. So that there is a certain tense of "to die," which, if it were used, would mean "he died and came to life again." Later on the work of translation was taken up by the Rev. D. R. Pelly [17].

† *See also* the memorial tablet placed in the South Choir aisle of Exeter Cathedral by the Bishop's parents in 1900.

‡ The Archdeacon has won all hearts amongst a community drawn from every style and circumstance of life. He has travelled around the native kraals, borne the burden and heat of the day, lived often on native food, and has slept many a night on the veldt, a stone for a pillow, and the beasts of the forest around him. He has gone cheerily through many attacks of fever, and has adapted himself to all the changing vicissitudes of the diocese, becoming now the hands and now the heart of the diocese, and tiding the Bishop over many periods of difficulty and anxiety. (*See* L., Bishop Gaul, M.F 1900, p. 405) [18*a*].

Mashona, and an ordination held at Salisbury, was marked also by pestilence, war,* and famine. Following on the rinderpest came the rebellion of the Matabele and the Mashona, characterised by murders and massacres as hideous and repulsive as any in the Indian Mutiny. The Rev. D. R. Pelly, who acted as chaplain to the "Rhodesia Horse," buried in one day murdered people numbering from twelve to fourteen, so far as it was possible to distinguish and count the remains. Bernard, the first Christian martyr of Mashonaland, fell at his post [p. 366*h*], while Archdeacon Upcher and the Rev. H. H. Foster† narrowly escaped being killed, two of the most promising stations were destroyed, nearly half the clergy were invalided, and European Mission work was hindered and embarrassed, and native work stopped. In appointing December 4, 1896, as a day for commemorating all those who had met their death in the occupation and holding of the country during the past six years, the Administrator asked that religious services might be held in the various churches and places of worship—a welcome recognition of religion. It was also proposed that the two churches at Salisbury and Bulawayo should be completed as memorials of the dead. The Bishop was in England obtaining more workers and funds when the war took place. On returning to his diocese he passed through the country, visited some of the graves of the former settlers who had been murdered, or of soldiers who had been killed in the Matabele war, and said a short prayer over them [20].

His object now was, "first, to save our fellow-Christians from lapsing into Paganism; and, secondly, to bring the heathen into the fold."‡ A man of vast experience of colonial life said to one of the missionaries, "The natives will never be converted till the folk at home have first provided for the conversion of the whites, and also sent out converted settlers. The utterly bad example of the whites is an insuperable difficulty."§ The principal cause of this was, in the Bishop's opinion, due to the neglect of proper training at home on the part of parents, teachers, and clergy.‖

* The reports as to the cruelty shown by the white troops during the war were, Mr. Pelly said, "quite without foundation," at least so far as his company was concerned [20*a*].

† The Archdeacon on his journey from the coast, and Mr. Foster on his way to Umtali.

‡ The number of natives in *Rhodesia* is about 400,000. Of these the English Church had (up to the end of 1900) come into contact with some 10,000, but few as yet have been baptized, the missionaries believing in the growth of a real sense of sin and a real feeling of responsibility rather than in a rapid manufacture of nominal followers.

§ Bishop Gaul desires to bear witness to many admirable exceptions.

‖ The Bishop says that many (not all) young men had come from public schools, board schools, Church schools, "utterly untrained to *resist* evil." They had been taught "the *Gospel of getting on* and little else." Their wills had not been trained to be strong against temptation, or their hearts to *love* holiness and purity. Surrounded as they had been by "the conventional guards of mere convenience, and expediency, and appearances," how could they be expected to remain either religious or even moral in circumstances where strength or smartness are, on the whole, the chief means, and covetousness and avarice the chief motives, to what is called success? While England sends out "*some* splendid men of all ranks—a credit to her religion, her home life, and her institutions," yet each year "hundreds of gentlemanly pagans leave our public schools, and thousands of merely smart and sharp, though often very manly, pagans leave our board and voluntary schools to seek their fortune amongst untutored heathen"; and, instead of uplifting the heathen to any higher level by their example, they show a quite natural tendency to throw off the remains of conventional religion and morality, and yield themselves up to the sur-

In commenting on a remarkable sermon preached by a South African* native priest to an English congregation at Umtali in 1897, on "the responsibility of England's Church and nation to the native races," the Bishop said :—

"England's empire is either making or marring native races—either taming and refining them into a nobler, purer manhood, or degrading them till they become the dregs and drainage of humanity. Educated natives, and especially Christian natives, are observing and drawing conclusions; they are, in fact, measuring us by our own bushel of the Gospel, and testing us by its standard. Let people who come from home remember this, legislators think of it, and the faithful pray over it."

It is right to add that the Bishop was certain that "the *proportion* of faithful men and women who live and serve Christ for His own sake and the Church, with its faith, ministry, and sacraments, as His spouse and their mother," was "as great, if not greater" in his diocese "than in the old land" (England) [21]. Heartier services than those at the chief European centres could not be wished for, and since the Bishop's arrival in 1895 the effective occupation of the diocese had been doubled, notwithstanding the Matabele and the Mashona rebellion, and instead of only two clergy there were now (1898) fourteen. More workers, however, were still needed, especially as the settled state of the country had now admitted of the re-opening of work at the various Missions, but the response made to the appeals† for clergy from England has been quite inadequate. The Bishop (1897–98) pleaded for communities of clergy and teaching orders of men and women. Already, with not more than ten per cent. of Roman Catholics, the Roman Church had a strong staff of devoted men and women.‡

The needs of the diocese were formally commended to the Society by the Episcopal Synod of the Province of South Africa in 1898, and substantial aid was given for the establishment of a Medical and Industrial Mission [*see* pp. 366*l* & 366*n*] [22].

Particulars of the several Mission centres now follow.

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rounding material influences until "the sovereign is the only standard, and nature the only judge of human destiny."

Another truth that wants teaching in every school at home is that privileges of birth, position, and wealth derived from the past involve equal responsibility to the future. Mashonaland, like Colonial dioceses generally, suffers from the ignorance of the first principles of free Church life and organisation which distinguishes alike members of established and endowed Churches. In his first journey through the diocese Bishop Gaul was asked by one old-fashioned Churchman whether the good old Church of his fathers would provide him (of course, free) "with a University man to prepare his son for Cambridge." "And of course we shall now have a resident clergyman here." Who was to pay for this never occurred to him. Still, good progress has been made towards self-help, the diocese having in 1900 raised one-half of its total income.—L. Bp. Gaul, Feb. 28, 1901.

* The Rev. H. M'Tobi [*see* p. 366*k*], whose sermon is printed in the *Mission Field* for July 1897.

† "A heathen chief can claim the first child of a marriage as his slave, servant soldier, or wife, why should not our Great Chief claim the firstborn of every family, as of old, for His service at the altar, the hospital, the school, and the Mission station, in solemn detachment, and poverty, and consecrated life? But I fear one is only a *Vox clamantis* in 'this feverish, money-making, money-spending age of competition in business and pleasure."—L. Bp. Gaul, June 28, 1899 [22*a*].

‡ *See* Father Kelly's "History of a Religious Idea."

SALISBURY.

The work begun at Salisbury by Canon Balfour in September 1890 [*see* pp. 365 & 366*a*], and carried on by him bravely during the first two years of hardship and want, with the assistance of Mr. F. Edwards and some Colonial native catechists, resulted in the planting of the Church among the Europeans and the natives in an extensive district. The "wattle and daub church" built by him in Salisbury (and opened "about Christmas time," 1890) was "the very first church in Mashonaland," and for nearly two years the only one.

In 1891-92 an outstation was opened at Tseke's, on the Hunyani river, thirteen miles south-east of Salisbury, and affiliated stations were established in the villages of the head chiefs, Iseki, Unyamwenda and Chidamba. On August 7, 1892, the first native-built Mission church in Mashonaland was opened at Chidamba's,* in the Mazoe district, about fifteen miles north of Salisbury. The building consisted of poles, reeds, and grasses brought by natives of their own free will, and built by them under the direction of Mr. F. Edwards, and with the surplus material a "palace" was built for the Bishop. In the same year native churches were erected in the countries of the other two chiefs by Mr. Edwards, who taught in seventy villages. The Mission Church had a good effect on the natives, who called it "House of God." Wherever the missionaries went the one wish expressed by the natives was for teachers. "I feel like a little child, and need teaching," said Chidamba. At his station† only men at first came to service. "God's Word is not good for women, it is only for men," they said, but at last they found that it was good for all [23].

Under Archdeacon Upcher, who relieved Canon Balfour in September 1892, and under the Rev. H. H. Foster, who took charge in July 1895, the work both among the Europeans and the natives continued to prosper. The Archdeacon's great value to the Mission, the Bishop said, lay in his doing things for himself, and not appealing to headquarters for help except when necessary. The portion of a new church erected by him at Salisbury with local aid was pronounced in 1893 to be "by far the finest place of worship that exists for hundreds of miles in every direction."‡

At first the windows of this building, "the Cathedral,"§ were of calico, the altar was made of packing cases, the Bishop's prayer desk of whisky cases, and the first altar cross‖ was cut out of cigar boxes.

The vestry of the new church became the abode of the Archdeacon,

* Since given up because of the war, and not yet re-occupied, owing to the natives being removed or very much scattered

† A curious custom prevailed here. All the people visited the graves of those who had been buried in the previous autumn, and after opening them they killed goats and put some of the flesh and Kaffir beer into the graves, which were then closed again; the ceremony ended with the firing of guns and dancing. All this was done "to ask the spirits" of the dead "who are in heaven" to keep the living "from sickness, and give them good luck in their gardens and hunting" [23].

‡ In 1900 it was enlarged by an iron annexe.

§ Dedicated to St. Mary and All Saints. An ordination was held in it on Sunday, November 21, 1897.

‖ This wooden cross (replaced by a handsome one) now hangs over the Bishop's throne.

and was the bedroom of Bishop Gaul on his arrival in 1895. A parsonage was given by Mr. Rhodes in 1894.

A Church day school, opened at Salisbury in 1893, was very successful, it being the only school anywhere near that had any pretensions to giving systematic education. It has since been closed, as the Public School (with due provision for religious instruction) took its place in 1898 [24].

During the native rising in Mashonaland in 1896 the inhabitants of Salisbury took refuge in a laager. That people who were afraid of their own shadows should have risen as the Mashona did seemed extraordinary, but the Matabele and the native prophets seem to have been the chief cause of the mischief. Writing at this time Archdeacon Upcher said it was so difficult to realise in England the dreadful results of heathenism. "Even amongst the worst people at home we don't know what heathenism is; pray God we never may; it is beyond anything unspeakably dreadful, despairing, heartbreaking" [25].

In 1896 a tablet to memorialise those who died in the first Matabele campaign was placed in the church at Salisbury, and dedicated by the Bishop at a Church parade on January 24. Some sacred vessels which had been captured by the Mashona in 1896, and intended to be presented to the "Mandoro," were for the most part recovered at the taking of Tseke's kraal in January 1897.

This Mandoro ("or lion god") and Myanola, both notorious witch-doctors, who had committed terrible murders of white people, were sentenced to death in 1898, and it fell to one of the missionaries at Salisbury to attend their execution [26].

The rebellion, which had checked Mission work in the district, was followed by renewed appeals from the Mashona for teachers and by efforts to provide them. In the language of some of the natives, "before they heard about those things which were spoken, they were lost and knew nothing" [27].

Besides the Mashona and the whites, other races were now at Salisbury, and claiming the Church's attention—Indian coolies, "coloured" people from the Cape (speaking Dutch and English), and Zulu police. For the East Indians nothing had been done up to 1899, although there were a few Christians among them in 1896. Of the native police, who were Christians and formed into a class in 1897, it was reported in that year: "Here are these Zulus living hundreds of miles from home, with peculiar and subtle temptations to face, and yet many of them living godly, consistent lives."* One of the Matabele whom they brought to service could not bear being separated from them, and on their return to Zululand he accompanied them with the intention of being trained as a teacher for his own countrymen [28].

Salisbury, which in 1893† was the largest camp in the country, had in 1899 become a settled community; and, excepting that the

* A fever-stricken Zulu, who had been taken to the hospital, got out of his bed and knelt on the rough brick floor to say his prayers on the first night. His example was followed by all the other sick natives in the ward, excepting two, who could not move.

† A portion of the celebrated "Moodie trek," forming quite a little colony, arrived in 1892. They consisted of English people born in Cape Colony and had been eight months on the road [29a].

cost of living was double of that in England, life was almost ordinarily English. The residents have proved generous in supporting the Church. Bishop Gaul undertook parochial charge for seven months in 1899 [29].

MANGWENDI'S.

In his journey to Mashonaland in 1891, Bishop Knight-Bruce was accompanied by Bernard Mizeki, a native of the Bagagwambe tribe, who, having been baptized* and trained at Capetown, had volunteered for service as a catechist in Mashonaland. On the journey they visited the great chief, Mangwendi, at whose village (fifty miles east of Salisbury) Bernard was stationed as teacher to his people. Bernard gathered together some catechumens and made himself respected both by the natives (a low type by nature) and the whites. The latter expressed the highest praise and admiration for his life and work, and one (a Mr. Meredith) used to stop work on his farm on Sundays and bring his labourers to the Mission service. The first Mashona convert, John Kapuya [*see* p. 366*h*], was mainly the result of Bernard's work. Bernard's life was broken by short journeys to visit other chiefs and by translation work, in which his aid as the best Mashona scholar was invaluable. But the witch-doctors hated him because his teaching was undermining their influence, and during the Mashona rebellion in 1896, two sons and a nephew of the chief attacked him with axe and spear at night and left him for dead.

Recovering consciousness, he crawled away and hid under a rock. His wife Mutkwa (one of the Mashona), who had been taken prisoner, escaped each night for five nights, and in company with one of the catechumens who was in hiding, nursed and fed her husband. On the fifth night, "on or about June 24, 1896," when she came, Bernard was dead, probably having been killed in her absence. Mutkwa was taken, with Mangwendi, a long way to the north, and in November her baby, a girl, was born. While she was lying sick she overheard that Mangwendi intended to send her as a present to a witch-doctor. She therefore fled at once, and, weak as she was, managed to reach the Mission farm at Rusape.

Mangwendi's station was abandoned during the war [30].

UMTALI.

Umtali lies about 170 miles south-east of Salisbury. In June 1892, when Mr. D. R. Pelly arrived to take up the work started by Bishop Knight-Bruce, the Mission consisted of three huts on a hill half a mile from the town. Services were begun in the Court House, and on July 23, 1892, a church was opened, Mr. Pelly and the two builders being the only congregation. So it went on for months—sometimes for weeks together, no congregation at all, sometimes only three or four persons, till it almost seemed as if the money spent in building had been thrown away. But with perseverance the blessing came, and at the end of the year more than half the total white population of Umtali were attending service. This meant much.

* At the first service ever held in St. Philip's School-Chapel, Cape Town, viz., on March 7, 1886, the Feast of St. Perpetua, one of the earliest of the African martyrs.

"You have no conception" (said an eye-witness) "what these mining towns are, or how callous the majority of men become under the conditions of life here. I have seen the stores and offices—Government offices and Court House included—closed for a whole day, whilst the inhabitants were 'sobering up' after a big night" [31].

At this time (1892) half the population of Umtali had passed through the hospital, drink and exposure being at the bottom of most of the illness. While Umtali was becoming a centre for European work, a native branch of the Mission was begun in 1892. The difficulties of converting the natives may be gathered from the fact that four "boys" employed by Mr. Pelly spoke between them three dialects. His first direct efforts for their conversion was to teach them the following prayer:—

"Oh, Chief, great Chief, I wish for a good heart, give me a good heart. When I am dead take me up above" [32].

In December 1892, Umtali was literally "held up" by lions,* and no one dared to put his foot out of doors after dark. In taking a funeral service at 6 P.M. Mr. Pelly had a man by his side holding his rifle, and all the rest of the party were armed.

At a visit to Umtali in 1893 the Bishop spoke of the church, the congregation, the beginning of work among the Mashona boys, as being all the work of Mr. Pelly.

Around Umtali at this time, for about 130 miles in every direction, there was no worker of any Christian denomination other than the Church of England. One of the European catechists, an enthusiastic missionary, had just been invalided after nearly losing his life [33]. Another valuable lay helper, Dr. E. Rundle, the Mission doctor, was found dead in his hut adjoining the church on Sunday morning, January 14, 1894, death being from heart disease, and was buried the same day [34].†

The translation of the New Testament and the Prayer-book into Seshona was begun at Umtali in 1894, and the baptism of the first Mashona convert of the Anglican Church [*see* p. 866*h*] took place there on July 18, 1896, when Shoniwha Kapuya‡ was baptized by immersion in the river, under the name of John, by the Rev. H. H. Foster. (Mr. Foster had just escaped from some Mashona who had been following his coach.) The second Mashona convert (Sahanya—named Raymond), was also baptized at Umtali, by immersion, on St. Matthias Day 1897 by the Bishop [35].

The town of Umtali, which had already been removed from its original situation, was again removed in 1897, this time to a distance of ten miles—its present position—the Mission receiving compensation

* At one place in the country in 1895 a storekeeper lost one hundred pigs. A lion had got in and killed the whole lot.

† Dr. Rundle came from England with the Bishop and two hospital nurses in 1893, but was not on the Society's list. During the Bishop's absence in the Matabele war he had charge of the Mission at Umtali, and held services. He also assisted in the work of building Mission huts in the [illegible]uring kraals, including Mtasa's" [34].

‡ John was sent to Isandhl[illegible], Zululand, for training after his baptism. He is now a Catechist at Wrenin[illegible]

from the British South Africa Company for its buildings. Church service was started at New Umtali in 1897 at a Mr. Meikle's store, and subsequently held in the Court House, until, on September 11, 1898, the third church (or the first church in the third Umtali) was opened, the congregation, which filled the building, being mostly men.

The Mission was then in charge of Archdeacon Upcher, whose hut (which he had refused to exchange for a deanery) afforded such poor accommodation that the Bishop, by dragging out his bed into the middle of the room, and using an umbrella, didn't get *very* wet, and, like his host, tried to be patient [36].

The Mission at Mtasa's and Zimunya's, and the Medical and Industrial Mission, St. Augustine's, are all offshoots of Umtali [36*a*].

Since 1898 the Mission has been carried on bravely by the Rev. W. C. Roxburgh, "a many-sided man," there being now three distinct branches of work—the town, the native, and the railway—the natives crowding the services on Sundays [37].

During the Boer war in 1900 several battalions of the Colonial troops and Imperial Yeomanry arrived at Umtali from Beira on their way to "Mafikeng" (Mafeking) and Pretoria. In passing through Portuguese territory numbers contracted illness, and many died and were laid to rest in the Church cemetery at Umtali. In only one instance had the companies a chaplain, and it fell to Mr. Roxburgh to minister to the troops generally, both in hospital and in church—to their great comfort and joy. The church became a miniature kaleidoscope of Greater Britain. On the first Sunday a few big shy Bushmen from Central Australia hung about the building. One of them said to Mr. Roxburgh:—

"You know we have an English service once in six months on our station, and an English minister rides round to take it. I don't suppose this is the same sort of service."

"Yes, it is," was the reply, "and you will see in a minute."

"How is there an English church here?"

"Because friends at home keep it going."

"Fancy coming 4,000 miles and dropping into the old church again!"

All these men turned up for service half an hour before the time—they said they had nothing better to do—and though many of them had never been even at one of their own Australian cities until leaving home, yet they knew the English service and could sing the English hymns. After the Australians had left Umtali the Canadians came, fifty of whom presented themselves at the early service to make their first Communion since they left Canada. They were followed by the New Zealanders—one of whom half crushed the clergyman's hand as he said, "That Church of England seems to be everywhere." Lastly came the Imperial Yeomanry and the Sharpshooters, and in the same seats where men from the other parts of the world had been sitting and worshipping for the five or six Sundays before, Englishmen, Irishmen, Scotchmen, and Welshmen knelt and worshipped and sang to the same God in the same service and with the same tongue. This lesson in the power and future of the catholicity of the Anglican

Church is all the more striking when the seeming failure of the first attempt to plant the Church at Umtali is remembered* [37*a*].

Mtasa's Country.

In Mtasa's (or Umtasa's) country, about twelve miles from old Umtali, a Mission station was started in 1893 by Mr. D. R. Pelly and Dr. Rundle. The venture proved to be premature. Mr. Ritchie, stationed there in 1893, was driven away by illness, the work fell through, and the Mission buildings were afterwards burnt. The Mission was revived in 1896 by the Rev. H. M'Tobi, a native priest from the Diocese of Grahamstown, who arrived at Umtali absolutely starving and beggared. Shipwrecked in the *Saxon*, he had undertaken the terrible walk of over 100 miles to Delagoa Bay through swamps and marshes, with little clothing and less food, and on the subsequent journey from Beira his difficulties were aggravated by the insults of some white men.

Mtasa, the paramount chief in the district, represented the old dynasty of the Monomotopo, dating at least from King Solomon's time, but greatly degenerated by the native worship. He was described by Bishop Gaul as a mere savage, brutal, morose, cruel, cunning, and drunken—the last vice being due to white men who had "become the devil's missionaries for making heathenism more devilish still by their heedless examples and their drunken and immoral lives." At a visit in 1899 Mr. and Mrs. Pelly heard a fearful noise as they drew near the chief's kraal. Beer-drinking was going on, and the shrieks and yells were like those of wild beasts. Nearer the group of Mission huts a Christian hymn could be heard sung by the boys. The contrast was wonderful. Evensong was going on in Chino. It was a beautiful service, and the behaviour and devotion of the boys were most reverent. The second Mashona convert of the diocese (baptized at Umtali in 1897) completed his training at this Mission. Mtasa did not join in the native rebellion, but the war made him more difficult to deal with. While professing friendship to the missionary he has not shown much encouragement: still the Mission is quietly growing in influence and permanence [39].

In 1900, Stephen and Natalie his wife (formerly of Mangwendi's Mission, and the fruit of the Martyr Bernard's work), were baptized with their child, and then married, Stephen also being confirmed at St. Augustine's Mission Chapel. This appears to have been the first of the Mashona confirmed by Bishop Gaul [39*a*].

Zimunya's Station.

Zimunya's (St. Werburgh's).—An attempt was made to open a Medical Mission at Zimunya's farm, about fourteen miles from New

* Since 1891, when Bishop Knight-Bruce brought out nurses from England to tend the sick [*see* p. 366], the diocese had been responsible for providing nurses for the Umtali hospital, and for some years at least they were the only trained nurses in the country. At the end of 1896 the Government made an allowance for uniforms and salaries, and in 1899 the Bishop decided to give up the responsibility of providing nurses, feeling that the diocese was not justified in spending its funds, with no corresponding missionary spiritual advantages, although in their own department the nurses have done splendid work [38]. The funds here referred to were not those of the Society, but of the Bishop's Special Association, which supplemented the Society's grants.

Umtali, in 1897, but the position was very lonely, and Dr. Owen found it impossible to remain more than a few months.

A catechist, Alfred Gedeza, afterwards stationed there, won the confidence and friendship of the old chief, who sent seven of his sons in 1898 for training. The people had then removed to new quarters, the baboons having literally driven them away by eating their crops.

The Mission, which is *partly* supported by the associates of St. Werburgh's, Derby, is now superintended from Umtali, spiritual and industrial work being carried on by the faithful catechist [40].

Medical and Industrial Missions.—St. Augustine's, Penhalanga.

"In a country riddled with witchcraft, necromancy, and their accompanying abominations, there can be no surer way of *preparation* for the Gospel than to undermine the superstitions and worship of evil spirits tyrannizing over the whole domestic, social, and public life of a race, by practical science and skill sanctified and consecrated, and their exercise based neither on fear or personal profit, but on the supernatural grace of love. . . . If only I could obtain a single Medical Missionary, in less than six months I could put an end to the dreadful tyranny of the witch doctor over a tribe."

Thus wrote Bishop Gaul, in appealing to the Society for aid in establishing an institution embracing medical and industrial work, and a normal school, with a church or chapel building as the spiritual home and focus of its hopes. The land and buildings were to be entirely set apart for the purposes of Native Mission work, and the Institution to be a memorial of the late Bishop Knight-Bruce, and the other pioneer-workers who spent their life-strength in the early days of the Mashonaland Mission—viz. the Rev. W. Trusted, who died of fever at Fort Tuli; Dr. Rundle, who died at Umtali; the Rev. F. Laurence, who died on his return to England from Tuli; and Catechist Bernard Mizeki, the first martyr of the Mission. The Society in 1898 contributed a building grant of £800, and the Institution, erected on St. Augustine's Mission farm, twelve miles from Umtali, was dedicated on January 26, 1899, by Bishop Gaul. At the close of the day an affecting service took place, a Mashona family—father, mother, and little girl—being baptized in a stream of water about a quarter of a mile from the church. After the newly-baptized had been clothed in white, the procession returned to the church, where Evensong was sung, and the father was confirmed. The next morning the father and mother were united in holy matrimony by the Bishop.

The pupils are encouraged to pay for their schooling, either in money or labour. One result of industrial training should be the emancipation of the native women from doing men's work. The original staff, consisting of the Rev. D. R. Pelly, the Principal (and to a great extent the founder), and four members of the Lichfield Evangelist Brotherhood, living in community, was weakened by sickness, and in 1899 Mr. Pelly himself was invalided to England. But though the Mission, like others, has suffered much from sickness and other disappointments, great hopes are entertained of it. There were twelve boarding pupils in November 1900 and outside work of various kinds is undertaken. No Medical Missionary has as yet (1900) been obtained [41].

Victoria.

Victoria (originally Fort Victoria), previously visited by Canon Balfour, received its first resident clergyman in 1892. At that time the original, or old town, consisted of twenty-five huts, and four miles distant a new town was being projected, which, it was believed, would become the principal one in Mashonaland. Service was at first held in canteens, or wherever an opening could be found, until in September 1892, St. Michael's Church (due to the foresight and aid of Canon Balfour) was opened, all the officials of the place attending. Ninety per cent. of the people at this time were Church folk.* On Sunday, April 30, 1893, "the first confirmation ever held in a church in Mashonaland" took place in St. Michael's, which was also the first church in the country supplied with a church bell [42].

In the afternoon of Sunday, July 9, 1893, the church and parsonage were surrounded by an armed impi of Matabele, who were slaughtering the Mashona on all sides. Sunday School was being held in the church at the time, and a Mashona boy whom the clergyman was teaching fled and was butchered. The Matabele swarmed in thousands, and for miles around lay the bodies of dead Mashona terribly mutilated. All the people at Victoria took refuge within the Fort, but service continued to be held in church, though in the evenings it had to be shortened for fear of an attack. Since the coming of the white man the Matabele had not killed Mashona so openly and close to camp or town.

On this occasion they seemed to have had no intention of touching Europeans.

> "You must remember" (Bishop Knight-Bruce said) "that killing Mashona is to them no more than killing sheep is to an Englishman; and also that for thinking as he does on this and similar points, he is to some a 'noble savage,' whom we are not to injure by teaching Christianity" [43].

The clergyman visited thirty European camps situated at distances of from five to thirty miles from Victoria, but he suffered from fever, and left in 1894 [44].

Victoria had now begun to decline owing to "the Bulawayo boom," and it was not till November 1900 that it had a resident clergyman (Rev. H. Selmes), services meanwhile being supplied from Gwelo, in Matabeleland. Owing to the ravages of insects and the climate the church was in ruins in 1898. With the exception of an effort made by Mr. Burgin,† who found the people eager to learn, the natives in Victoria district up to 1899 were practically untouched.

The district, which is as large as Ireland, is estimated to contain more natives than there are in the remaining part of Mashonaland.

The Roman Catholic Mission has been recently withdrawn and the English Church is now (1900) practically alone in the district and town [45].

* Captain Lendy, the resident magistrate, read service when the clergyman was ill.

† Mr. Burgin, who cheerfully went through many trials and some dangers, placed wreaths on the grave of Major Wilson and his men on Good Friday, 1895. The wreaths were sent from Cape Town [45*a*].

MAPONDERAS (45 miles from Salisbury).

Soon after the commencement of work here by a catechist (Jacob) in 1894, the natives took away his cattle and threatened his life because he reported the murder of a white man. Jacob bravely returned to his work, saying, "Well, if one is doing right, one must not be afraid of being killed," whereupon the cattle were returned, as the "Umfundisi" had done no harm. Jacob had bought a plough for his own land, and became "prophet and husbandman too," teaching the Mashona by example and precept that work is a blessing and part of a Christian life. Being afraid of evil beasts, his first schoolboys lived in a hut fixed on high poles, or in a tree.

The Mission, given up during the war, has been abandoned, as being in too close proximity to the Wesleyan Station [46].

ENKELDOORN (WRENINGHAM).

In 1897 the Rev. J. H. Selmes visited Enkeldoorn, then consisting of "a few thatched houses and a few waggons, grouped together on a bare-looking hill." The residents were mostly Dutch, and had a minister of their own. Mr. Selmes held service at "the Range," the residence of the native Commissioner (Captain Taylor), nine miles away, the people there being grateful and desirous of regular visits. Captain Taylor having invited the Church to plant a Mission among the natives at Gabajena's kraal, twelve miles from Enkeldoorn, and Mr. Selmes having interviewed the chief in 1898, arrangements were made by Archdeacon Upcher in 1899 for the opening of a Mission, to which the name of his father's parish in Norfolk was given—*i.e.* "Wreningham." The chief, Gabajena, or Gabeenzen, welcomed the Mission, and built huts. A catechist was stationed there, and later in the year Mr. Selmes took charge. On being invalided in November 1900, he was replaced by Archdeacon Upcher.

The Mission is of great promise, Dr. A. Dunley Owen, the resident surgeon and a voluntary helper,* having ruined the influence of the witch-doctors, and opened the way for the Gospel of Truth in a marvellous degree. "If the medicine for the body be so good, that for the mind must be good too"—thus argues the black man, and comes to be taught the wisdom of the white man's God. Most of the chiefs in the district are asking for teachers [47].

MAKONIS.

"Makonis," situated about eighty-five miles from Salisbury, is one of the places where Bishop Knight-Bruce stationed a catechist (Frank Zigubu) in 1891. Makonis was then almost, if not quite, the largest native town in Mashonaland, and Makoni the most savage chief the Church had had to deal with. After two years' opposition he accepted and promoted the Mission, but his professed friendship was short-lived; in 1894 he "raided" and robbed the station, and ill-used the catechist. Archdeacon Upcher suggested that Frank should remove to Umtali,

* It is impossible to estimate the value of this generous service on the part of Dr. Owen. He is now preparing to embrace the poverty and hardships of a missionary life [47*a*], and the Society (May 1901) has provided funds for a Medical and Industrial Mission under him.

but he, being a Zulu, had great contempt for the Mashona generally, and said he would not leave his people at the station. This was calculated to make Makoni feel small, and teach him a lesson. A whole Mashona kraal would have run away from fifty men; here one man was alone and stopped. The work and influence of Frank impressed not only the natives and the superintending missionaries: the European settlers spoke of him as "splendid" * [48].

In 1895 the station was removed to a site on the Mission farm—Rusapi. Just then one of the best school-girls was sold to "an old reprobate," who already had over a hundred wives. It is a case like this which brings home to one the awful curse which heathendom is. And in Mashonaland heathendom was much worse than had been thought. Cannibalism was being practised. Makoni's chief witch-doctor had made the people believe that the chief would die unless he occasionally had a meal of human flesh; and so the witch-doctor went about the country waylaying and killing any solitary traveller in order that Makoni might have his prescribed meal. Happily this was brought to the notice of the native Commissioner, who did his best to suppress the evil. In the same year, Mr. Pelly reported the case of a native who had run away with a girl promised to another man. The last-named caught them and tied the man hand and foot, after which some women "cut out his eyes" [49].

During the native rebellion in 1896–97, Makoni, one of the leaders, was shot, and the Mission was suspended, the Mission people taking refuge with a neighbouring chief, who remained loyal. In 1897 Mr. Pelly visited the station and recovered several things belonging to the Church hut, including a chalice. The successor of Makoni is favourably disposed to the Mission, which is now awaiting reoccupation [50].

In addition to the Native Mission, occasional services have been held since 1893 (by the English missionaries) for the whites in the district, in particular at "Laurencedale," on "The Van Der Byl Settlement." The services have been appreciated. Some men have walked twenty miles to attend the services, and a fund has been started for building a church at Rusapi [51].

Mtema's Country.

To this beautiful and fertile district Mr. Burgin was sent in 1893 to work among the natives and to minister to the settlers, but the work appears to have been only temporary [52].

The work of the Church in the *Diocese* of Mashonaland, which, at the opening of 1899, was "rich with hope and promise," was interrupted at the end of the year by the most serious conflict in which South Africa has ever been involved. The Transvaal border trends along the whole southern border of the diocese. The Boers were preparing to invade, the natives all round were becoming restless, and the authorities had, at a moment's notice, not only to defend the whole border, but the Protectorate of Bechuanaland as well, and,

* Frank, wishing to give up teaching, is now farming in the neighbourhood, and is still much respected.

besides this, to police the whole country. The settlers responded nobly to the call, and in a week a force of 1,000 men, fully armed, took the field prepared to defend the flag. The Bishop offered his own services and the services of the clergy to the authorities as chaplains, and four* of the Society's missionaries were accepted, all of whom rendered conspicuous service in ministering to the troops and in aiding the sick and wounded. The "Church coach" of the Railway Mission [p. 362e] was turned into an ambulance, and took sick men to Bulawayo. The Rev. J. W. Leary was wounded, made prisoner, and sent to Pretoria, and the other Chaplains shared the perils of the campaign, and were in no little danger. Archdeacon Upcher was with the troops for months, ministering to all necessities of body and soul and heartening every one, and in two engagements he was sent to the Boer lines to ask for the British dead. The Archdeacon and the Bishop marched to the relief of Mafeking (*see* account of the Bishop's escape [p. 361c] [53].

CHAPTER LIV.

MAKOMBE'S COUNTRY.

MAKOMBE'S (or Macombi's) country—the land of the Barue—is situated south of the Zambesi, east of Rhodesia, and some distance north of the Pungue River. Though nominally under Portuguese dominion, the people are free practically, and there is no resident white population. The first real call to the Church to occupy the district came in 1897, when Makombe, a warrior of renown, who has repulsed the Portuguese and kept the Matabele at a safe distance—sent down some men to the Bishop of Mashonaland with a present of ivory—an elephant's tusk four feet long—and asked for teachers. Archbishop Upcher volunteered for the work, but his carriers deserted him on three attempts to reach the district in 1898. In the following year a pioneering visit was paid by the Rev. W. H. Robins, of Beira, accompanied by John Kapuya and Raymond Wata, two Mashona converts. At Nyankune the party were for several days in danger of their lives, as Mr. Robins was believed to be a paid spy, and therefore worthy of death. But the chief, aided by two of his trusted counsellors, refused consent to the proposed massacre.

Provision has been made by the Society for opening a Mission at Makombe's in 1901 [1].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 384.)

* The Bishop, Archdeacon Upcher, Rev. J. W. Leary, and Rev. N. W. Fogarty

THE RT. REV. GEORGE HAMILTON WYNDHAM KNIGHT-BRUCE.
Third Bishop of Bloemfontein (1886–91) *and first Bishop of Mashonaland* (1891–4).

CHAPTER LV.

CENTRAL AFRICAN MISSION.

THE UNIVERSITIES MISSION TO CENTRAL AFRICA was undertaken in answer to appeals from Livingstone and Bishop Gray of Capetown. The first Bishop, Archdeacon C. F. Mackenzie of Natal, was consecrated at Capetown on January 1, 1861; and in the following summer work was begun at Magomero. After his death (January 1862) the title of the Missionary Bishopric was altered from Zambesi to Central Africa; and other Stations in the Shire River district having proved unhealthy, the headquarters of the Mission were removed in 1864 to the island of Zanzibar.* Since its subdivision in 1892 [*see* p. 368] the diocese has been designated "Zanzibar and East Africa."

IN 1867 the Society was brought into direct connection with Mission by undertaking to receive its funds, keep its account

* Zanzibar had been recommended to the Society by Bishop suitable for a Mission station [1*a*].

correspondence, &c., and lend a room, provided the Committee of the Mission, while encouraging the transmission of all their money through this channel, discouraged the alienation of any support from the Society. The only charge for this accommodation was to be £50 a year, but it was reduced to £25 in 1871 [1].

At the request of Bishop Steere, who had long desired a closer connection than had existed, the Society in 1879 began to afford the Mission further aid by making an annual grant of £300. It was welcomed as "a rich investment abounding to God's glory," and assisted in the support of two clergymen at Masasi (the Rev. W. P. Johnson and the Rev. John Swedi, the first native deacon of the diocese) until 1881, when "in view of the large funds" then "at the disposal of the . . . Mission" the grant was discontinued [2].

The additional office work required having outgrown the resources of the Society's staff and house, the arrangement of 1867 was now terminated, but the Society still holds certain trust funds for the benefit of the Mission [3].

The labours of Bishop Steere and the impression made by the Universities Mission and the C.M.S. Mission "on Eastern Africa, and on the darkness and misery which for so many centuries have oppressed that unhappy land," were formally recognized by the Society on his death in 1882 [4]. His successor, Dr. Smythies, consecrated 1883 [5], was in 1892 relieved of a portion of his charge by the formation of the diocese of Nyasaland, to which the Rev. W. B. Hornby was consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral on December 21, 1892* [6].

CHAPTER LVI.

MAURITIUS AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

The island of Mauritius (area 708 square miles), situated in the Indian Ocean 500 miles eastward of Madagascar, was discovered in 1507 by Dom Pedro Mascarenhas, a Portuguese, and called Ilha do Cerno. The Dutch, who found it uninhabited in 1598, named it Mauritius, after their Prince Maurice, and formed settlements in 1644; but finally abandoned the island in 1712. After being in the hands of the French from 1715 to 1810, during which time it was styled "Isle of France," it was captured in the latter year by the English, whose possession was confirmed by treaty in 1814. Of the present population of Mauritius, about two-thirds are by birth or descent East Indians; the remainder consist of Creoles of various races and natives of China, Bourbon, Great Britain, Madagascar, France, East Africa, and other parts. The dependencies of Mauritius comprise the Seychelles group, also Rodrigues, Diego Garcia, and some 70 other small islands—the total area being 172 square miles. The Seychelles (934 miles to the north of Mauritius, population about 19,000) were discovered by the French in 1742; Mahé, the capital, was taken by an English vessel in 1794; and by treaty of 1814 the whole group became subject to Great Britain.

The Articles of Capitulation in 1810 stipulated that the inhabitants of Mauritius are to "preserve their religion, their laws, and their customs";† and the instructions of Lord Minto to Sir R. T. Farquhar required that "all the religious establishments of the colony should be preserved (conservés) without any change, with their privileges and revenues"—not that they should be *increased*. But English Churchmen have had continual cause to complain that the Roman Catholic faith has been patronised "to the neglect if not to the actual disparagement of their own." At the capture of Mauritius

* Both dioceses became vacant in 1894, Bishop Smythies (after eleven years' devoted service) having died at sea on May 7, and Bishop Hornby being obliged by ill-health to resign in August. For their successors see page 765.

† The existing laws are based on the "Code Napoleon," and the French language and its Creole *patois* are still predominant.

there were four Roman Catholic priests on the island, salaried by the French Government at an annual cost of £400. In 1850 there were 14 and a Bishop, maintained by the British Government at an expenditure of £4,000 per annum. During this period ten years passed before a single Anglican chaplain was appointed (1821), and twelve more before a second was added. In 1813 a Roman Catholic cathedral was built in Port Louis by the British Government, the funds (£13,000) being obtained by the imposition of a house tax "on Protestants and Romanists alike." Yet for 18 years no provision was made for an English church, and then (in 1828) it merely consisted in the "conversion of an old powder-magazine into one, with walls ten feet thick, and in a position to which one hardly knows how to find the way" [1].

In February 1830 the Rev. W. Morton, a Missionary of the Society in India, while on his way to England on sick leave, was driven by storms to take shelter in Mauritius. Being detained there by the need of repairs to his ship, he officiated in the Church at Port Louis (the capital) "nearly every Sunday" for the Rev. A. Denny, the Civil Chaplain, and also for some Sundays in the garrison during the illness of the Military Chaplain. While thus engaged he so far recovered his health as to determine to return to his Mission at Chinsurah. On his way back (in June) he (with the approval of the Governor of Mauritius) visited the Seychelles, which then contained a population of 8,000 to 10,000, of whom 5,000 to 6,000 were slaves (Malagaches, Mozambiques, and Creoles), about 400 to 500 (European or Creole) French, proprietors, artisans, &c., and the remainder "free born or manumitted blacks, and people of colour." The religion of the whole population was nominally Roman Catholic, but "except in one solitary instance" when an Indian Missionary "touched there and remained for a few days" the sacraments and services of their Church had never been celebrated there, consequently "save in name and general confused notion, little of Christianity" was to be found. The Government Agent (Mr. G. Harrison) had been in the habit of regularly "assembling the little Protestant population at the Government House on Sundays" and reading the English Church service and a printed sermon. On Mr. Morton's arrival at Mahé, the capital, he (with the Agent's approval) sent round a circular stating his office and profession, and offering baptism "to all who might wish to avail themselves of the opportunity." A few were anxious to ascertain if in so doing they should be "understood to compromise their Catholicity," and only one family failed to be satisfied with the assurances given. During his six days' stay, Mr. Morton was "incessantly occupied" in instructing "adult candidates, and the sponsors of infants, free and slave," and in bestowing the rite, "in four days baptizing little short of 500 persons." The affection with which Mr. Morton was received and the attention paid to him and his ministrations "by every class of the inhabitants" induced him to recommend to the Governor of Mauritius regular provision for their religious wants, and the British Government and the Society united for the purpose of supporting a clergyman in the Seychelles. The appointment was accepted by Mr. Morton, but his attempt to open a Mission met with such opposition from the Roman Catholic priests, and his health suffered so much that, remaining at Mahé about twelve months (October 1832 to Oct he returned to India [2].

Excepting for a visit paid by the Rev. L. Banks*

* Mr. Banks represented that of the 4,369 *white* a 4,000 earnestly desired an English clergyman to be s

of the Governor of Mauritius) in 1840, when 542 children were baptized by him, the Seychelles remained in a state of "practical heathenism" until 1843, when the Society, at the invitation and with the support of Government, sent the Rev. F. G. DE LA FONTAINE to Mahé [3].

Referring to the "first fruits" of his ministry, Mr. De La Fontaine wrote in 1847: "The profligacy and corruption of this poor people is so enormous; wickedness under all its forms is so deeply implanted in the hearts of most of the inhabitants, of both races, the disgusting manners and habits they have contracted during slavery, when the black lived like beasts, and the white with no less sensuality, are still so general, that the fact of a few of them abandoning such an abominable life for a pious and sober one, can be nothing but a glorious victory of the Gospel over the devil and his angels" [4].

The first Anglican episcopal visit to the Seychelles was in August 1850, when Bishop Chapman of Colombo confirmed 65 candidates. Nearly 1,200 persons had been baptized, but no church had been erected [5]. In 1859 the Bishop of Mauritius consecrated churches at Mahé and Praslin, and licensed a third at La Digue [6].

On the abolition of slavery in Mauritius (1834) the Society sought to promote the instruction of the emancipated—about 90,000 in number—but its operations were limited by the fact that the negroes were for the most part nominally Roman Catholics though "wholly uneducated." "Many of the planters and other respectable inhabitants" were, however, desirous of establishing and supporting schools in connection with the Church of England, and raised "a handsome subscription for this purpose," and the Society, by the aid of its Negro Instruction Fund* [*see* p. 195], established (between 1836 and 1840) seven schools, including a model school at Port Louis. The superintendence of the whole was undertaken by the Rev. A. DENNY, the Civil Chaplain. In January 1848 it was agreed to let to Government, at a rental of £280 per annum, the schools at Mahebourg, Souillac, Belle Isle, Poudre d'Or, Grand Baie, and Plains Wilhelms, the Society retaining the power to resume the use of the buildings after due notice [7].

Up to 1856 the maintenance of the Church of England Clergy in Mauritius was provided entirely by the Government and the voluntary contributions of the people; but when Bishop Chapman of Colombo visited the island in 1850 (the first visit from an Anglican prelate) there were only five clergymen; "whole districts" were "without a residential pastor . . . churches with only occasional services in them—the sick and dying wholly unvisited—the dead all but unburied—and many Churchmen calling on Government for spiritual help—not to spare themselves, but only to aid them in doing what they cannot do alone," their claim being greatly strengthened by the fact of "so large and liberal a support" having been granted to the Church of Rome. The Society had aimed at sending a clergyman to Mauritius in 1841, but was unable to do so until 1856 [8].

During Bishop Chapman's visit (June 15 to August 8) he conse-

* The expenditure from this Fund in Mauritius and the Seychelles amounted to £7,282.

crated three churches,* confirmed 378 persons, formed (August 7) a Church Association, and made such representations as led to the erection of Mauritius into a Bishopric [9]. Towards its endowment the Society gave £3,000 in 1852, and the Rev. V. W. RYAN was consecrated to the See in 1854† [10]. At this time the population of the island numbered 190,000, of whom more than half were "living in a state of heathenism"; and there were "five British Chaplains; and 13 Roman Catholic priests under a Bishop, liberally supported by Government" [11].

Arriving at Mauritius on June 11, 1855, Bishop Ryan "found much to encourage." Openings for the Church existed "on every side." At each extremity of the island the Africans and Malagashes were "eager for scriptural instruction and stated worship." In Port Louis, and all over the interior, Hindu camps presented a promising field for Missions, while "our own scattered members" were "eagerly desirous of . . . stated and regular services." The state of the Hindus was "painfully interesting." Men who had been taught and resisted Christianity in India had met with trouble in Mauritius, and without any seeking out by the Missionaries had come to them "asking to be received into the Church of Christ." Others had brought testimonials from Missionaries, and some had never heard the truth until taught by the catechists. One of the teachers of the Tamils, Mr. A. TAYLOR, from the Society's Mission in Madras, was (with a Mr. BICHARD, who had been working among the sailors) ordained on St. Thomas' Day 1855 by Bishop Ryan [12].

The Society began in 1856 a fresh effort among the Hindu Coolies and the Natives of Madagascar and East Africa, and from that time its operations, with Port Louis as the centre, have been successfully carried on and extended by the Revs. A. TAYLOR (1856–9), A. VAUDIN (1858–62), C. G. FRANKLIN (1859–67), H. C. HUXTABLE (1867–9), R. J. FRENCH (1870–91), and others, with the aid of native pastors and lay agents [13].

During the first eight years of Bishop Ryan's episcopate (1854–62) seven churches and chapels were set apart for public worship in the diocese, and arrangements made with the Society's help for opening four others, and the number of clergy was increased to 14. Of the population of 313,462 in 1862, 75,000 were Christians (65,000 Roman Catholics) and 236,000 Mahommedans and heathens [14]. Mr. Franklin (Port Louis &c.) had in 1863 a regular Tamil congregation of 110, some of whom attended from a distance of fifteen miles, and over 100 received confirmation in this year. His flock were distinguished by liberality and charity to the sick and suffering [15].

"There is something extraordinary in the number of the services here," wrote Bishop Ryan in 1866. "Last Sunday I had eight . . . five alone—the first in the Cathedral which was full of soldiers at seven in the morning; the last in my drawing-room, which was full of negroes, at eight in the evening." There were now 1,200 children under instruction in schools under native (Tamil, &c.) masters, where there was

* St. James', Port Louis (June 26), St. Thomas', Plains Wilhelms, and St. John's, Moka. The site of St John's Church and £1,000 for its endowment came from Governor Sir W. Gomme.

† At Lambeth, on November 30.

not one in 1855. The cost of education in the Mission Schools was one-third of that of the Government Schools [16]. The first "native" ordination in Mauritius took place in 1866, in St. Mary's Church, when John Baptiste, a Tamil who had served for ten years as a lay teacher, was admitted to the diaconate. Although the service was on a week-day (St. Luke's) the church was filled by English, French, Bengali, Telugu, Chinese, and Tamil people, and the Holy Communion was administered in Tamil, Bengali, French, and English [17].

A second Tamil deacon (Mr. J. JOACHIM) was ordained in 1867. After ordination he continued, as before, to work during the week as a clerk, all his spare time and Sundays being devoted to the Mission, without ostentation or pecuniary reward; but in 1868 he died. At this period (1867–71) the Mission work was greatly hindered by calamitous visitations. In 1867–8 a malarious fever swept away one-fifth of the population of Port Louis in six months, and one-tenth of that of the whole island in twelve months. Five of the Society's agents perished, including the Rev. C. G. Franklin. A hurricane followed in 1868, causing commercial prostration from which the colony has never fully recovered [18]. Bishop Ryan's episcopate lasted fourteen years, but two of his successors, Bishop Hatchard* (1869–70) and Bishop Huxtable † (1870–1) died, the one within 13 and the other within 7 months of consecration [19].

Pending the appointment of the fourth Bishop (Dr. P. S. ROYSTON, 1872), Bishop Ryan revisited Mauritius, performed episcopal functions, and assisted in preparing a scheme for a Voluntary Synod to take the place of the Mauritius Church Association, which had been in existence eighteen years. About this time a policy of disendowment was introduced, but so "distasteful to all parties in the Colony" did it prove that the Government abandoned it and substituted a local Church ordinance giving due ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the occupants of the See of Mauritius and vesting Church property in a Board of Commissioners. The proposed Diocesan Synod having also "proved unacceptable to the majority of our Communion," a Diocesan Church Society was organised in 1876 [20].

In spite of Roman Catholic opposition and manifestations of pagan hatred to the Gospel, encouraging progress of the Missions, especially among the Hindu coolies, took place during Bishop Royston's Episcopate (1872–90). In 1883 over 100 services a week were being held for the small and scattered Christian communities of his "multilingual" diocese. These services were (in addition to the French Creole patois) conducted in seven languages—English, French, Tamil, Telugu, Hindi, Bengali, and Chinese [21].

The fact that two-thirds of its present population are Hindus flowing from and returning to India makes Mauritius a Mission field of extraordinary value and interest. The Creole race (of Malagashe and African extraction) are dying out, and the Hindu coolies are likely eventually to be the permanent inhabitants of the island [22].

The difficulties of the Anglican Mission in dealing with the polyglot population are increased by the fact "that the proprietorship, or at least the management, of almost all the estates" is subject to Roman Catholic influence [23].

* Died Feb. 28, 1870. † Died June 18, 1871.

The superintending Missionary of the Society, Canon R. J. FRENCH, has had much to do with the training of Tamil agents both in India and in Mauritius; and in 1879 a Telugu Deacon, Mr. ALPHONSE, was ordained. He had come to the island "steeped in the idolatry of India." On his conversion he volunteered to work as a catechist among his own race, which he did for eight years [24].

As yet, however, it has not been found possible for Mauritius to supply all its needs in regard to native agency [25], and the Church in India is now giving promise of assistance in furnishing well-trained evangelists and pastors. The first ordained *native* Missionary from India to Mauritius—the Rev. G. DAVID DEVAPIRIAM (an old pupil of Mr. French in Tinnevelly)—arrived in 1890, and already under his care the Tamil and Telugu congregations in Port Louis have "greatly increased." Since 1889 the local affairs of the two congregations of St. Mary's Church have been well managed by an "Indian Church Council," under the direction of the Missionary [26].

The present Bishop of Mauritius (Dr. W. Walsh) succeeded Bishop Royston (resigned) in 1891 [27].

On April 29, 1892, Mauritius was visited by one of the most devastating hurricanes ever known in the Indian Seas. A third part of the town of Port Louis was swept away, and among the killed were the Rev. J. Baptiste, and four children of the Rev. G. D. Devapiriam.

MAURITIUS (1892–1900).

Mr. Devapiriam, though seriously injured, managed to crawl from the ruins of his house to the Anglican Cathedral ("St. James") for succour.

The exceptionally thick walls of the Cathedral rendered the building, though damaged, comparatively secure, and six hundred people took refuge in it, of whom thirty died of their injuries before the morning. For three weeks the Cathedral was used as a hospital, and proved of infinite value. It was open to persons of all creeds and races without distinction; and the majority of those brought to it were Roman Catholic Creoles. Since the cyclone there has been a softening of the bitterness of religious animosity, and the history of the disaster and its sequel is an example of good being brought out of evil. Sir H. Jerningham, the Governor, a Roman Catholic, showed liberality and fairness, and attended the re-opening of the Cathedral. The prompt help rendered by the Society (£1,850), and other friends (in England and India) towards the restoration of the Church of England property, encouraged the Government to allot as much as they did (viz. Rs. 20,000) towards the same object. At the Cathedral large gatherings of the different races of Christians in the colony take place. At one time it is a special function attended by the English-speaking people from all parts; at another it is the French-speaking members of the Church who fill its walls. Sometimes the South Indian Christians are assembled, and then the Tamil or Telugu language is used; or it may be the North Indian people, and then the Hindi

tongue prevails. At all such services a special sermon is preached in the language of the congregation gathered together [28, 29].

In all the Anglican Churches services are held in four different languages,* each church being a centre of Missionary effort among the different races. In Church work one race acts upon another for good; and the English people have often been surprised at what Indians do for the requirements of their own Church [30].

In 1894, St. Mary's, Port Louis, the centre of the Society's Mission, was brought into close connection with the Cathedral by the establishment of a combined service monthly in the Cathedral for the Tamil and Telugu congregations, and by the appointment of the Rev. D. G. Devapiriam as "Cathedral Indian Missioner." At the same time work amongst the higher social class of Indian women was begun. Mr. Devapiriam returned to India in 1895, but the staff of Indian clergymen has been maintained and increased by subsequent ordinations [31].

The records of the last eight years (1893-1900) bear evidence of encouraging progress, of quiet and steady growth and expansion in the various branches of the Society's operations in the island, though in the last year work has been hindered by the plague [32].

Many educated Indians who have passed through the Society's Mission are gradually attaching themselves to the Church of England congregations.

The work among the Creoles of Beau Bassin, Rose Hill, Vacoas, and Bambous has been highly appreciated [33].

The distant and lonely station of the Morne, situated at the south-west corner of the island, suffered greatly by the cyclone of 1892. The population of the district (about 400) consists largely of old Malagasy people, originally brought to the island as slaves, and their descendants. It was believed that they had lost all knowledge of their mother tongue until the Rev. H. A. W. Jones, formerly of Madagascar, visited Morne in 1895, and preached to them in Malagasy—"a novel but most interesting experience" [34].

In the Seychelles (islands of surpassing beauty, distant a thousand miles from Mauritius), good work is being done among the Creoles in the island of Praslin by the Rev. H. Pickwood, a coloured clergyman, a native of St. Kitts, West Indies. Praslin is the island that the great General Gordon tried to prove was the original Garden of Eden. Of the population (800) three-fourths belong to the Anglican Church. In the other islands of the group, as in Mauritius itself, the Roman Catholics have an enormous numerical preponderance. The Roman Catholic planters in many cases hinder Mission work on their estates; but in the face of many difficulties the work of the Church of England

* English, French, Tamil, and Telugu.

is progressing hopefully, the whole being under the general superintendence of Archdeacon French. Among the islands visited by Mr. Pickwood is Ile Curieuse, where he ministers to the lepers and paupers [35].

On the resignation of Bishop Walsh (1897) he was succeeded by the Rev. Ruthven Pym, consecrated in Westminster Abbey on St. Michael's Day, 1898 [36].

CHAPTER LVII.

MADAGASCAR.

MADAGASCAR lies about 300 miles off the east coast of Africa and 500 miles west of Mauritius. It is 975 miles in length and 250 in average breadth, and covers an area rather larger than France. The island was known to the Arabs probably 1,000 years ago, and also for a long period to Indian traders. The first Europeans to visit it were the Portuguese, in 1506, but their settlement did not last long. The French, after vainly endeavouring for more than two centuries to take possession, succeeded in doing so in 1894, formal annexation of the island taking place in 1896.

The Malagasy, as a whole, are considered to be of Asiatic (Malay) rather than African descent. They are divided into many tribes, the *principal* groups being (1) the Hovas —who occupy the tableland in the centre of the island; (2) the Sakalavas, on the west coast; and (3) the Betsimisarakas, on the east coast. The ancient religion was a mild form of idolatry (without temples or a priesthood) combined with ancestral worship and a belief in divinations, witchcraft, and sorcery. The Portuguese in the 16th and the French in the 17th century strove, but in vain, to plant Roman Catholic Missions on the east coast. The London Missionary Society entered the field in 1818, and began work at Antananarivo in 1820 by reducing the language to writing, and translating and printing the Scriptures and other books, and teaching. Eleven years passed before any converts were baptized; but the Mission was prospering when Christianity was forbidden by Queen Ranavalona in the eighth year of her reign—1835. During the next 25 years the native Christians were persecuted—many being put to death publicly. On the Queen's death (1861) religious liberty was restored. Hastening to resume work in 1862 the London Society's Missionaries found that they had been forestalled by the Roman Catholics, but that in spite of the persecutions their former converts had increased, and by 1867 there were in connection with the L.M.S. Mission 98 congregations, with 5,000 members and 21,000 professing Christians. The S.P.G. and C.M.S. began work in the island in 1864, the Norwegians (Lutherans) in 1866, and the Society of Friends (Quakers) in 1867; and in 1869 the national idols were destroyed by order of the Government.

IN 1841 the Rev. A. DENNY, Chaplain in Mauritius, brought to the Society's notice the state of Madagascar "as offering a most extensive field for Missionary enterprise and zeal, and the prospect of a rich harvest to be gathered into the Church." Mr. Denny suggested that from the native Malagasy, who with their offspring then formed the bulk of the black population of Mauritius, Missionaries might be raised up to carry "the glad tidings of salvation to the land of their ancestors" [1]. As already stated, Christianity was not permitted in Madagascar at this period, but on the first opportunity the Society, moved by representations from the Bishops of Capetown and Mauritius, requested the latter (in 1862) to visit the Island at its expense, in order to determine on the spot where to establish "the first Mission of the Church." Before deciding on this course the Society had ascertained that the London Missionary Society would gladly see it taking part in the work of evangelising the Malagasy. The Society's request was anticipated by Bishop Ryan, who accompanied the British Embassy commissioned to attend the coronation of Radama II. [2].

The Bishop took with him an S.P.G. Malagasy catechist (SARRADIE) employed in Mauritius; and at Tamatave, where he first landed on July 16, 1862, he received a "beautiful letter" from the native Christians addressed "To the Bishop of Mauritius, the beloved brother, on board the ship." Service was held by the Bishop at Tamatave on

Sunday, July 20, and frequently during the journey to the capital—in places where a year before "it would have been *death* to have attended them." Among the presents sent by Queen Victoria was a Bible, which the Bishop presented to the King on August 11. The next day he gave the King a copy of the Church Services, and of a special prayer which he had used for him since landing in Madagascar, and "in the name of the Church of England" offered him "Missionaries and teachers for his people," stating that as Mr. Ellis (of the London Missionary Society) was in Antananarivo and six (L.M.S.) Missionaries were to be stationed there, that he "thought of commencing operations, in other parts, especially on the eastern and northern coasts." The King replied "that he would gladly welcome all such help for Antananarivo, or any other part." The Christian people too were "very thankful for the prospect of help" from the Church [3]. On this the Society placed two Missionaries at the disposal of the Bishop for the commencement of a Mission in Madagascar, viz. Mr. W. HEY, of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, and Mr. J. HOLDING, a schoolmaster [4].

Tamatave (on the east coast), the principal port of Madagascar, was chosen as the centre of their future work, and thither (after ordination to the diaconate in Mauritius) they proceeded, landing at Foule Point (30 miles north) on September 1, 1864. The Christians at Foule Point expressed joy at their arrival, and spent two hours with them in singing, praying, and reading.

On September 3 the Missionaries reached Tamatave, where they at once began work by establishing services in English, Malagasy, and French, opening a school, and visiting natives and Europeans. At the outset many of the natives, especially the Hovas, attended the services; but when first impressions had worn off the numbers decreased; the Hovas, acting under unfriendly influence, ceased to attend, "and thus" (wrote Mr. Hey) "with Romanists speaking ill of us on one side, and Hovas looking coldly on us on the other, we had to make our way." Gathering together the servants of two Creoles the Missionaries formed the nucleus of a steadfast and growing congregation. Early in November the first baptisms took place—a woman ("Mary Celeste") and two boys--and in the next month DAVID JOHN ANDRIANDO, a Malagash, who had for some time been a resident in Mauritius, was engaged as a catechist and set to labour chiefly among the Betsimisarakas, who up to the time of the arrival of the Society's Missionaries had been "utterly neglected." To his labours much of the subsequent success of the Mission was due. In December also Messrs. Hey and Holding made a tour along the coast to the north of Tamatave, visiting Ifontsy, Foule Point, Fenoarivo, and Mahambo, everywhere meeting with encouragement. The Christians found at those places were the result of the teachings of the agents of the London Missionary Society, whose work was now being carried on almost exclusively in the Antananarivo district. In September 1864 the Church Missionary Society occupied Vohimare, in the north of the island. Within the first twelve months notwithstanding the interruption caused by having to obtain Priest's Orders in Mauritius—the S.P.G. Missionaries baptized 81 persons [5].

For the security and development of the work it soon became

evident to the Bishop of Mauritius and to the S.P.G. Missionaries that not only should the staff be increased but that the Church of England should have a representative at the capital—the seat of the ruling tribe [6]. Against this the L.M.S. protested, as being in its opinion a breach of an agreement between Bishop Ryan and Mr. Ellis in 1862, and as an intrusion tending to religious division and conflict [7]. But these objections were met in letters from Bishop Ryan to the S.P.G. (January 17 and May 30, 1866) showing that in 1862 the Anglican Church had been distinctly invited to the capital both by the King and nobles, that that province (Imerina) "is to the Hova very much what Jerusalem was to the Jew," that nothing could be "so ungenerous, unfriendly, and unjust . . . as the permanent exclusion of the Church . . . for those who have been converted . . . by her devoted Missionaries," who had "often been tauntingly asked, why have you not been to the capital?" that the use of the Prayer Book had been dropped by the Governor of Vohimare "because a Hovah from the capital came and spoke against it, inasmuch as it was not in use at Antananarivo"; finally, that whereas since the Bishop's visit in 1862 the Church services had not been performed in Antananarivo, all its Missionaries (on the coast) had been opposed by the L.M.S. converts, and at Tamatave a former Missionary of the L.M.S. had taken public charge of a Hova congregation there [8].

The S.P.G. (July 20, 1866) felt now "perfectly at liberty to send a Missionary to Antananarivo" and entertained "the hope, where the field is so large, and the labourers so few, that no conflict or collision will take place between the Missionaries of the two Societies" [9]. During the next eighteen months Mr. Holding—who had been residing at Foule Point—and Mr. Hey were invalided to England; the latter died at sea on November 27, 1867; but the work was taken up in July 1867 and well sustained by a new arrival, the Rev. A. CHISWELL [10]. The results of the Missionaries' labours at this time (1867) were to be seen in five churches or chapels at Tamatave, Hivondro, Foule Point, Mahambo, and Fenoarivo, with native congregations containing a total of 513 of whom the majority were baptized, and 72 communicants. An industrial school had also been established (at Tamatave) and portions of the Prayer Book had been translated and printed [11].

In 1868 Mr. Holding returned to Madagascar and visited the capital with a view to a Mission being established there. But before this project could be realised his health again failed, and he resigned in 1869. On the coast the Hovas still held aloof, but great progress had been made among the Betsimisaraka slaves, who, when they had received the truth, freely helped to communicate it to others. At Ambakoarivo a slave was recognised as the temporary teacher and head of the congregation, and in 1870 the churches at Ivondrona and Foule Point sent teachers to three other villages. The number of baptisms during the first six years of the Mission was 520, and in the case of one child its mother—the wife of the second Governor of Mahambo—walked fifty-two miles each way in order that it might be admitted into Christ's fold [12].

In 1872 the churches at Tamatave and Ivondrona were destroyed by a hurricane, but the staff was strengthened by the arrival of the

Rev. G. PERCIVAL and the Rev. R. T. BATCHELOR. Early in the year Mr. Chiswell went to the capital for the sake of his health, taking with him seven school boys whom he was training as catechists. He found in the capital sixteen places of Christian worship, eight of them connected with the L.M.S. As a matter of duty he held a short service for his own people in his house every Sunday. A few members of the Tamatave congregation were allowed to join; but by degrees, without invitation, others entered or stood at the open doors, so that in February 169 persons were in attendance. On December 7 a wooden church, much of the material of which was given by the people, was opened. In following the custom of the country at the opening of the church, by offering the *hasina*, or a dollar, to the Queen "as a sign of friendship and as an acknowledgment that she is the Sovereign of the country," a new step was taken on this occasion in the direction of making the church more thoroughly recognised as God's house. Mr. Chiswell having explained that it was the practice of the Anglican Church to keep all worldly affairs outside the church doors, the Prime Minister readily consented to the custom, hitherto invariably adhered to, being changed so as to allow the *hasina* to be presented at the church door, or outside [13].

In each year of its existence the Anglican Mission in the island had felt more and more the need of a resident Bishop, but as yet it had not been favoured with even a single episcopal visit. The Malagasy themselves frequently asked, "When are you going to have a Bishop?" and in April 1873 the Prime Minister inquired of Mr. Chiswell as to the truth of a report that "Queen Victoria would not allow a Bishop to come to Madagascar." On the difficulty being explained he replied, "We have given you proof that the way is open to you. With us there is nothing but liberty. It is your affair whether you make use of that liberty or not" [14].

The cause of the delay did not lie with the English Church. When the Mission was contemplated in 1862 a Committee was formed (independent of the Society) with the object of sending it forth under an episcopal head. In 1869 the Society formally took the matter up, and set aside a stipend* for a Bishop [15]. The movement was successfully opposed by the London Missionary Society, through whose influence Lord Granville, as Foreign Secretary, refused in 1872 and 1873 to issue the Royal Licence for consecration (under the Jerusalem Bishopric Act, 5 Vict. Ch. vi.); whereupon, by the advice of its President (Archbishop Tait), the S.P.G. applied to the Scottish Church, with the result that the Rev. R. K. KESTELL-CORNISH was consecrated at Edinburgh on February 2, 1874, as Bishop for Madagascar. The principles which the Society sought to apply in this case were (as defined by it on June 30, 1871) "the same as those under which all the Missions of the Society ought to be conducted, viz. that the Church of our Lord and Saviour should be presented to the heathen, and opened to them in its integrity of doctrine and discipline, and that under no circumstance whatever of opposition from the heathen, or from bodies not belonging to the Church, should this integrity be compromised or invaded."

* Which has been continued to the present time.

For some time during the struggle for the Episcopate the C.M.S. also opposed the appointment of a resident Bishop, but subsequently it ceased its opposition, and a few months after his consecration decided to withdraw its Missionaries from the island [16].

On June 14 Bishop Cornish and a band of workers* left England. During the voyage to Mauritius the party made considerable progress in the Malagasy language, and took such an interest in the ship's crew that six of them were confirmed on the last Sunday spent on board, and one of them offered and was accepted as a catechist.

On October 2 the party landed at Tamatave, and were received with much enthusiasm by the native congregation. Hitherto there had been no provision for confirmation, but on October 14 eighty-six natives were confirmed, the majority being from Tamatave. The station of Andovoranto, which had been abandoned by the C.M.S., was at once occupied by Mr. Little, and on October 28 the capital was reached. The Rev. R. T. Batchelor, the Missionary left in charge there, led out his congregation to meet their Bishop, and the rejoicings on both sides were great. While the Bishop was at Andovoranto, two Malagasy arrived late at night. They had left Vohimaro some weeks before, having been sent by their fellow Christians with instructions "to find the Bishop wherever he might be" and to make known to him their desire to have a Missionary. Vohimaro was another station formerly occupied by the C.M.S., and the messengers had travelled on foot more than 500 miles to prefer their petition.

On November 23 the Queen welcomed the Bishop, and at the interview he presented *hasina* in token of homage, and two Bibles and Prayer Books from the Society—one to the Queen and one to the Prime Minister [17].

The presence of the Bishop at the capital did not lead to any unpleasant complications either with the Madagascar Government or people or with the agents of the various religious bodies at work there. From the Government the Church received a friendly recognition, and was thankfully accepted by not a few of the people; and both at Antananarivo and in other parts of the island it found and still finds work to do beyond its strength, without interfering with "other men's labours." The record of 1875 told of the death of Dr. Percival, and of the establishment of a hospital, a printing press, a girls' boarding school, and twelve country stations in connection with the central station, also of the foundation of a native Ministry by the ordination of ABEDNEGO on Trinity Sunday and David John on September 14, and the confirmation of a large number of persons. A Missionary was stationed at Sambava in the Vohimaro district in 1876. The adherents of the Church throughout the island could now be reckoned by thousands [18].

In 1878 a first edition of the Malagasy Prayer Book was published, and at Ambatoharanana the Rev. F. A. Gregory opened a training college (*see* p. 787) which has done much towards securing the permanence and development of the native Church. For lack of means the Society was, however, unable to accede to a request made by 1,700 Malagasy for a Mission in the south-east of the island [19].

* Rev. A. Chiswell, Rev. F. A. Gregory, Rev. H. W. Little, Mr. E. Crotty, Mr. J. Coles, and two lady workers. At Mauritius Miss Lawrence, who had for some years been working among the Malagasy in Port Louis, joined the party.

On the east coast the Missions have been generally undermanned, and only two new centres have been occupied by European Missionaries of the Society, viz.:—Mahonoro in 1884 [20], and Mananjara in 1889 [20*a*]. By the French attack on Madagascar in 1883–5 Missionary work was checked at every point. But, notwithstanding a period of disturbance which would most unfavourably affect the growth of religion in any country, the Mission work of the Church grew "very considerably," 12 new centres having been formed in Imerina in 1884. The Christians began also to take a pride in their churches—in desiring that they should be decent and comely buildings—and in the direction of self-support a Society—called by the natives a "Church Wife"—was established in Imerina, the object of which is to provide endowments for the native Church [21]. When the French attack began (1883) Bishop Cornish was elected permanent chairman of a Committee of Safety by the Foreign residents, and was enabled to use his influence with the Malagasy authorities to prevent the Jesuit Missionaries being murdered. The blockade at Tamatave practically dispersed the flock of the Rev. J. COLES there, but throughout the troubles he remained at his post, maintaining the daily services in his church as in the times of profound peace. At Harte Point the French soldiers took the roof of the church in order to make shelters near the fort, but on learning from Mr. Coles that the property belonged to the Society their Captain apologised and repaired the damage [22].

On August 10, 1889, the Cathedral of St. Lawrence, Antananarivo, was consecrated. The building is (the Bishop says) "stately and beautiful . . . and impresses those who worship in it with the reverence which is sadly wanting in the Malagasy character, owing to their having been trained for the most part under a system which attaches no reverence to a house of prayer" [23]. In the same year work was begun by the Rev. A. SMITH at Mananjara, a district embracing an area of 4,500 square miles [24]. On the west coast the Rev. E. O. MCMAHON in 1888 prepared the way for a Mission among the Betsiriry by visiting them in their country—a feat which no white man had ever before accomplished. He did this "at the imminent risk of his life," and on their return from the second journey "several of his men were waylaid" "and were either killed or taken as slaves." The Sakalava race is divided into several tribes, each having its king and different chiefs, and they are frequently at war with each other. Some of these tribes have acknowledged the supremacy of the Hova Government. The strongest of the tribes is the Betsiriry, whose king, Toera, is an independent prince, calling himself the "brother of Ranavolo," Queen of Madagascar, not her subject [25].

In a spirit of self-sacrifice worthy of any age Mr. MCMAHON and the Rev. G. H. SMITH undertook in 1891 the perilous task of attempting to establish a Mission among these people. They were well received by the king Toera, in whose chief town—Androngono—they spent seventeen days, and although they were obliged to leave him on account of political troubles, there was reason to believe that they would be allowed to settle in the country [26].* In Sept. 1892, however, it was deemed advisable to abandon the attempt for the present. The main cause of the failure was the opposition of the European and Arab traders [26*a*].

* One night Mr. McMahon overheard a leading man of the Betsiriry (who thought he was alone) saying, "God of the Christians, have mercy on me, an ignorant man" [M.F. 1893, p. 475].

The east coast also is engaging the special attention of the Society. The Rev. A. Smith in December 1890 drew attention to the fact that while the Antananarivo district was occupied by 47 Missionaries,* there were on the 975 miles of east coast only 16, of whom 7 were at Tamatave. That the former is comparatively a healthy and the latter a fever-stricken field is not a sufficient cause for such neglect, and the Society's efforts are being directed to strengthen and extend its coast Missions [27].

1892–1900.

The native endowment fund system, which in Imerina had been making satisfactory progress, was in 1892 extended to the coast. There were now sixteen native clergy in the diocese (one a priest), and increasing care had been exercised in the choice of candidates, the standard also being raised, so as to check the tide which had begun to flow rather too rapidly, perhaps under the attraction of the increased salary given to a deacon [28].

The years 1892-3 witnessed the opening of a Mission to the Indian coolies at Tamatave, and of a hospital at Mahonoro. In December, 1894, began the eventful period of French occupancy. During the siege the missionaries were enabled to remain at their posts, but after it was over and the country was supposed to be conquered, they were subjected to great peril, in which they showed high courage. The people who had suffered from the tyranny of the dominant Hovas, seeing that the French had conquered them, seized the opportunity to retaliate, hoping for easy victories. In Imerina, where the movement was anti-Christian as well as anti-Hova, Europeans were also objects of hatred, and Mr. Johnson (of the "Friends' Mission") and his family were murdered, while others,† including the Rev. E. O. MacMahon, the steadfastness of whose flock was remarkable, had a marvellous escape [p. 380*e*].

On the east coast the feeling was anti-Hova rather than anti-Christian, and though one catechist was murdered [*see* p. 380*j*], some of the churches were spared. The excesses committed showed, however, how superficial the Christianity of the coast tribes was, and that even cannibalism still existed [p. 380*h*] [29].

In the Society's Missions the many churches and schools which were destroyed or damaged in the rebellion were rapidly restored by the native Church, assisted by a grant of £4,600 from the Society's Marriott Bequest; but the coast Missions had suffered a shock, the effects of which were likely to be felt for some time [30].

In November 1895, Bishop Kestell-Cornish arrived in England, but left again in January 1896, for his post of duty and of danger. Having set things in order, he resigned the Bishopric at Michaelmas in that year. He had given nearly twenty-three years of service as Bishop in Madagascar, and he left ten thousand Church members, a

* 12 London Missionary Society, 4 S.P.G., 11 Quaker, 6 Norwegian, 14 Roman Catholic.

† The Lutheran station of Tsirabé, which had a small French guard, was besieged for three days. Ammunition and food being then exhausted, the French sergeant took up his colours with a song, and was about to go out with them and die, when he saw succour approaching. The rescuers arrived just as the Mission house was about to be blown up and fired, and the rioters were shouting, "Where is now your Saviour? Where is now your Christ?"

beautiful Cathedral, many other churches, 102 schools, a training College, eighteen native clergy, and a network of organization ready for his successor. The office was offered to the Rev. F. A. Gregory, who went out with the Bishop in 1874, and whose work at the College, of which he himself was the founder and head, had been the strongest feature in the Mission. Mr. Gregory declined the offer, and urged strongly that the second Bishop should be one who had had no previous connection with the Mission. To this opinion all the English missionaries gave their approval. The prolonged delay in filling the appointment was so injurious to the work that in November 1898 the missionaries expressed their unanimous feeling that, unless a Bishop were sent from England in the course of a few months, "*the Church of England Mission to Madagascar had better be abandoned*" [31].

Soon after this the Rev. G. L. King, Vicar of St. Mary's, Tyne Docks, accepted the call of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishopric, and his consecration took place in St. Paul's Cathedral on St. Peter's Day, 1899. The Bishop took with him a clergyman and a layman, who formed the beginning of a small brotherhood [32].

Some persons had apprehended that the Anglican Missions in Madagascar would, on the French annexation of the island, be abandoned, and perhaps suppressed. But there was no such thought in the mind of any responsible person. Archbishop Benson saw, in the changed conditions, only a reason for strengthening the Mission, and the Society could not contemplate the handing over of thousands of converts, with their clergy, to the Church of Rome, and subjecting them to the sacrilege of re-baptism, and the clergy to re-ordination.* Scarcely any of the converts (it was reported in 1896) had made shipwreck of their faith, though some through fear had yielded to the persuasions and bribes of the Jesuits. But in the conduct of the French authorities (except in the early days) there had been on the whole little to suggest hostility. Local governors and petty officials from time to time hindered a particular school, or ordered a congregation away from its home to render service in other parts of the island. The Jesuits, too, were guilty of many acts of aggression on the other Missions. Still a representation to higher authorities generally ensured redress. The properties of the Church in various parts were secured by a sounder and firmer title than could have been obtained during the supremacy of the Hovas. The teaching of the French language in the schools was made obligatory, and the minute enforcement of French tariffs is irritating, but these are things which have to be endured [33].

How the French occupation has completely altered the state of the country, both from the ecclesiastical and the political points of view, may be gathered from the following summary of a report by the Rev. F. A. Gregory,† written in 1900, on the eve of his resignation after more than twenty-five years' work in Madagascar:—

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* The frightful increase of immorality which has resulted from the French occupation [*see* pp. 380*h* and 380*j*], and the complacency with which it is regarded by the Roman Catholic Church, makes the need of an English Mission still greater.

† *See also* Mr. Gregory's forecast in his Report of June 30, 1897, wherein he also advocated the separation of Imerina from the Coast Missions, and the formation of it into six divisions under a separate Bishop.

The abolition of the native Government "was regretted by few even of the Malagasy," and, although the French did not realise it, their arrival in the island as masters "was welcomed by most of the Europeans." Hence, "more than everything that was gained by a somewhat brutal treatment of missionaries and a high-handed acquisition of Mission property" might have been attained by a conciliatory line of conduct and a disposition to utilise every civilizing agency available. In the early days of the occupation there were ample materials for political trouble had the English Government been disposed to seek cause for quarrel. (In commenting on this subject, and with special reference to recent events in China, Mr. Gregory advises that missionaries, on seeking work abroad, should be asked to sign an agreement engaging themselves not to appeal to their Government under any circumstance. Indemnity, compensation, punitive expeditions, would then be altogether outside the Mission point of view, and as soldiers take their lives in their hands when going into battle, so missionaries would accept whatever might befall them on volunteering for foreign service.)

Under Hova rule the Government body was in favour of recognition of Christianity after the Independent form of worship; under French rule, toleration is accorded to all without a suggestion that a person is either better or worse for being a Christian. The change resulted in a notable falling-off in the number of professed Christians. Mr. Gregory regards this as a gain, considering the weakness of the Malagasy and their tendency to follow sensibly any wish, or even the appearance of a wish, expressed by their superiors. When the profession of Roman Catholicism was considered to be a proof of willingness to accept the new order of things, a large number of professing Christians joined the Jesuits. But the efforts of the Jesuits were, in this instance, so clumsily directed that they did their cause harm. Disgraceful scenes took place; churches and chapels, which did not belong to them, were claimed by the Jesuits, and at one time the country was within an ace of an outbreak, not against the Government, but similar to that in Uganda a few years ago. Fortunately, the danger was averted; the Jesuits were forbidden to "take over" churches, and in course of time those which they had "purloined" were restored to their rightful owners. Notwithstanding this check, the French occupation has been a gain to the Roman Catholic Mission. To the London Missionary Society it proved such a danger that the L.M.S. secured the co-operation of their co-religionists in France and placed their schools in Imerina under the direction of a French Protestant Mission sent out for the purpose; their College and normal schools being, as a second step towards conciliation, sold to the Government. Later on, as the whole burden proved too great for the French Protestants, the L.M.S. were enabled to resume a portion of their work. With the exception of the compulsory cession of some property of the value of £1,000, the Anglican Mission had no grievance against the new administration, and its missionaries, personally, have been kindly treated. Indeed, its position is, in some respects, improved, and Mr. Gregory sees no reason why it should not pursue its task of evangelizing and of extending its religious influence. Unhappily, "all the missions in Madagascar, with their varied efforts, are producing but small effect upon the life of the people. . . . The work of the missionary now is more with individuals than with masses." . . . "In the direction of conduct the Christian Malagasy are mostly heathen," and for a long while efforts will have to be directed towards inculcating greater respect for the moral law. From this point of view the Anglican Mission is favourably circumstanced, being better able to look after its people than Missions with a large following.

Upon the educational side, the changes under French rule have been little less than a revolution. In some respects, a deterioration has taken place, owing to the inordinate time absorbed in teaching French, a subject compulsory in all schools [34].

The rising of the coast tribes against the Hovas there having rendered re-employment of Hova teachers among them impossible, it became necessary to establish a training school for teachers on the coast [*see* p. 380*k*] [35].

Bishop King arrived at Tamatave on August 7, 1899. In October

he held a conference of the missionaries at Antananarivo, when (among other business) steps were taken with a view to (1) increasing the number of native priests, (2) and the efficiency of the native agents, lay and clerical; (3) opening a boarding-house at Antananarivo for others than Hova boys; (4) throwing the maintenance of the church fabrics entirely on the congregations and otherwise developing self-support*; (5) re-organising and strengthening the coast Missions. In 1900 the Bishop ordained five native priests and six native deacons [36].

In his first impressions of Madagascar, the Bishop described the three main types of Missionary work—pastoral, educational, and directly evangelistic—citing Antananarivo as a typical instance of the first, and the Theological College [*see* p. 380*d*] as a specimen of the second. Regarding the third, he showed that each central Church, under an English missionary, has attached to it a group of daughter churches and schools, varying from ten to thirty-six in number, and at distances from half an hour to a three days' journey [37].

The chief centres of the Society's work in Madagascar in 1900 were: Antananarivo, Ambatoharanana, and Ramainandro (all in the district of Imerina in the interior); and Tamatave, Andovoranto, Mahonoro, Mananjara, and Vatomandry on the east coast. A special notice of each for the period of 1892–1900 now follows.

Antananarivo (the Capital).

The Cathedral and the churches of Antananarivo are mainly a pastoral charge, but with a strong evangelistic element. Some natives attend the services who are not yet baptized; many more who are in touch with the Mission have not risen to their high calling in Christ. Still the pastoral side of Missionary work necessarily predominates. There is the daily service of matins and evensong, the regular and frequent celebration of Holy Communion; there are confirmation classes, communicant classes, religious teaching in the schools; choir practices (the choir with bare feet showing beneath the cassock); district visitors' meetings, and all that belongs to a well-worked parish. Sunday work is over by 4.30 P.M., evening work being out of the question. The congregation presents a mass of white "lambas," draped gracefully over the shoulder, and the women wear a sort of white confirmation veil, instead of hats, bonnets, &c.

Up to the time of his resignation the work at Antananarivo was the special care of the first Bishop and his son, the Rev. G. K. Kestell-Cornish, the latter continuing it until his transfer to Mahonoro in 1900. During the most critical period of the French invasion† the Cathedral services were not suspended for even twenty-four hours.

* The present rule is that one-fifth of the stipend of native workers be paid from local sources. The Malagasy are now much impoverished and are taxed heavily both in money and forced labour.

† Probably in the history of the world's wars few towns have been taken with such wonderful order and quiet as Antananarivo was. There was no looting, no slaughter, no disorder of any sort. The dreaded French black troops were kept under the strictest discipline. General Duchesne asked Mr. Cornish to make this known in England, and Mr. Cornish testified to the General's clemency as commander-in-chief of the expedition, and to the excellent order which he maintained. It is said that the French expedition

When the native rising began in 1895 Mr. and Mrs. Kestell-Cornish were at Tsinjoarivo, without a thought of danger; but on their return they were greeted almost as if they had risen from the dead, as it had been reported that they had been shot in a church [39].

The High School at Antananarivo has maintained its reputation. In 1900 some Betsimisaraka boys were received for training as teachers for Beforona and the coast* [40].

In 1899 a small brotherhood was formed by Bishop King (consisting of the Rev. H. H. Blair, M.A., and Mr. A. N. Webster, who was ordained in 1900). The intention was that the members should live together in the Bishop's house for a certain time, and then scatter to work wherever most needed for a time, keeping up close touch with Antananarivo and returning there to work. No stipend was offered, but the members were to share in the Bishop's income and a special grant, both of which are provided by the Society [41].

Ambatoharanana.

The object of the College founded here by the Rev. F. A. Gregory in 1878 is to turn out a regular supply of well-taught religious men, who will make village schoolmasters and catechists, and some of whom may in due course become deacons and priests of the Church. In reviewing the work in 1893, Mr. Gregory stated that the value of the native clergy and lay agents trained at the College varied much. Some were fit to take rank by the side of many an English clergyman, and would persevere in their calling even if their salary were only such as to enable them to keep body and soul together. Others were not so worthy; they performed their work in somewhat perfunctory manner, and regarded it from a worldly point of view. Of the sixteen who had been admitted to the diaconate, only one had been advanced to the priesthood.† As yet the natives had not sufficient backbone to stand by themselves. More or less they must be classed among the invertebratæ, and it would be a work both of time and labour to develop or to harden to its proper consistency their moral spines. This want of character was due to the institutions of the country, and to the fact that advancement does not depend upon intelligence, energy, or competence, but upon craft, favour, or the "almighty dollar." In one year ten students were expelled for lying and slander, but two on repentance were readmitted. On the whole, however, there was no cause for discouragement in the way in which the native Mission agents were bearing themselves. Failures there had been, but the blame for this was due more to the English missionaries than to the native

lost 6,000 men from sickness in their advance, and when they came in sight of the capital there was but a feeble remnant, whose ammunition was all but exhausted, for the final assault, and who might have been annihilated by the resolute resistance of a few thousand men; but the resolution was wanting because the heart was sick, and so after a few hours' cannonade the Malagasy flag was hauled down, and the French occupation of the city was completed [38].

* Beforona is a very unhealthy forest station, midway between the capital and the coast, with six subordinate stations. A Betsimisaraka deacon is stationed there and the work is progressing [40].

† The latest returns show that of 151 students admitted since 1878 sixty-four are now in the employ of the Church Missions, including three Priests and eleven Deacons.

agents themselves. Connected with the College is a school which has had a large influence on the well-being of the place and the advancement of the work, both at the centre and in the country districts. From the first the school has been under the charge of Mrs. Gregory, who has worked as hard as any trained schoolmistress would have done. This devoted lady was severely wounded by robbers during an attack made on the Sanatorium in January 1892, and has never fully recovered the use of her right hand.

In connection with the College Mr. Gregory (1878–1900) has established thirty-four daughter Churches in the surrounding country. The supervision of these Churches involves much labour, but of the agencies for promoting their progress none has been so valuable as the monthly meetings of catechists at the central station [42].

In the native insurrection of 1896 some 200 churches and chapels (about 13 S.P.G.) in the neighbourhood were burnt or otherwise destroyed, and until the arrival of a guard of French troops the College was in an isolated and dangerous position. Mission work was suspended for a time, the whole country being in a fearful state [43].

By the resignation of Mr. Gregory in 1900 the diocese lost the services of one who (in the words of Bishop King) had been "the main pillar of the work in Imerina."

"The College at Ambatoharanana" (with its schools and other buildings) "forms a Christian settlement of first importance to our work, which any man may be proud to have created, or any Diocese be proud to possess. All this is no mean achievement even for twenty-six years' work. Added to this we owe much of our present tranquillity to the hold which he had gained upon the higher officials of the French Colonial administration."

In recognition of his services to the native population, and to the French troops, the Cross of the Legion of Honour was conferred on Mr. Gregory by the French Government in 1900. From the Society he received the equally rare distinction of being elected a Vice-President. The Rev. J. F. Radley succeeded Mr. Gregory as Principal of the College [43*a*].

Ramainandro.

Ramainandro is situated in the Isaha district fifty-five miles west of Antananarivo. The place took its name from the local idol, and as a result of a Mission begun there about 1880 five thousand persons were attending the churches in the district in 1894, and the descendants of the idol keepers were the most earnest of the Christians. They had lost none of their prestige, but now used it for promoting Christianity instead of idolatry. The earnestness of the Christians was shown by liberal offerings (including the building of churches), and a desire—as yet rare in Madagascar—to evangelise their neighbours [44].

In the Malagasy revolt which followed the French invasion the full force of the outbreak, so far as the Society was concerned, fell on Ramainandro. In November 1895, after wrecking the "Friends' Mission" station at Arivonimamo, and killing and mutilating Mr. and Mrs. Johnson and child, the rebels attacked and destroyed the Ramainandro Mission buildings. The Rev. E. O. MacMahon, his wife and children fled, but "why they were not all murdered passes human knowledge," for they were overtaken and surrounded by a

howling mob. At Vakinankaratra the Norwegian missionaries, themselves in peril, received the refugees, and after (in all) five weeks of wandering they reached Antananarivo. The attack on Mission stations was not the primary object of the rebels, but finding their chance of success against the French troops hopeless, they turned against the first Europeans they could reach. Their rising, too, was the last gasp of heathenism struggling for the ascendency, and it showed that the Malagasy were "mostly still heathen, and Christianity only in its infancy" there. It is, however, remarkable that not one of the numerous Churchpeople had anything to do with the rising in the first place, though a few followed out of fear, being unable to get away; while many of the communicants suffered severe persecution from the rebel leaders and the fanatics because they would not attend the idol worship or join in the sacrificing.

Radaniela, the Governor of Isaha, a Church catechist, who assisted the MacMahons to escape, was hunted like a fox for three days because he would not join the rebels. Two other men left their own things and families and aided the refugees—carrying the young children, and helping Mrs. MacMahon when she was tired—at the risk of their lives, as the rebels gave out that they would kill any natives found with the missionaries.

In all, twenty-two of the Mission churches were destroyed, including the central church ("All Saints"), which had been erected as a memorial to Bishop Kestell-Cornish's wife, who was the first Christian lady to visit Ramainandro. On Mr. MacMahon's return to the Mission in 1896 he was welcomed. The natives had already restored the Church services. All, including some of the former rebels, were sorry for the damage done to church property, and every congregation sent word that they were making preparation for rebuilding their churches.

In this they were assisted by the Society, but everywhere the people did a considerable share of the work, and the new buildings were superior to the old ones [45].

In 1897 two French Protestant missionaries, while on the way to Betsileo, were murdered by some rebels at Ambatondradama, about four hours to the south of Ramainandro. Mr. MacMahon recovered the bodies, which he buried at Ramainandro [46].

After the troubles which the Christians had suffered it was expected that some time would elapse before many would be found ready to embrace Christianity, especially as there was no advantage to be gained—as was considered to be the case under the old order of things—by professing to be a Christian. But within a year a number of adults—mostly old people, many whose conversion had been despaired of—came forward and sought baptism. Among a large number of persons admitted to Communion before confirmation (during the vacancy of the bishopric) were fifty of the former destroyers of the churches. They had been possessed of an idea that our Lord was worshipped by Christians as an ancestor, and they did not want an ancestor of foreigners to be preferred to their own. Now they had been brought to know the Truth* [47]. Of the last year (1900) there

* Referring in 1898 to the effect of the French occupation of the country, Mr. MacMahon said that while at first the French thought that missionaries must be

is one disappointment to record: a valued native deacon named Denny *returned* to the Roman Catholics, whom he left as a boy. In other respects the Mission continues to make solid progress and to give the other Missions "a strong lead in the matter of increasing self-support" [47*a*].

TAMATAVE.

In 1892 a Mission was organised for the coolies from India, who of late years had been gathering at Tamatave in increasing numbers. The presence of Christians among them asking for the ministrations of the Church in their own tongue led to the offer of a Tamil student of the Society's College in Madras, Mr. M. Israel, for this work—another instance of the growth of the Missionary spirit in the native Church of South India. Mr. Israel entered on his duties in 1892, and was ordained at Tamatave on September 25 of that year. Unfortunately the majority of the East Indians did not know Tamil, and his work among them was limited, but he rendered able help both in the Malagasy and the English departments until 1895, when, owing to the war, he returned to India [48].

Among the Malagasy confirmed in 1892 were the father and mother of the first convert of the Society's Missions. In the next year many of the churches were damaged by a cyclone, and two of the staff were carried off by fever—the Rev. A. M. Hewlett,* of Tamatave, and the Rev. L. James,* who had been stationed at Fenoarivo, which after his death was again superintended from Tamatave.

The year 1894 brought the French again—this time to stay—but all through the trying period of occupancy and settlement, and the insurrection of the coast tribes, the Rev. J. Coles (as in 1883) remained at his post and patiently and bravely did what he could, both at Tamatave and up and down the coast. On December 7, 1894, a number of his congregation at Tamatave visited him to say good-bye. All had joined in the Holy Communion for the last time, and were now starting for the forest villages where they hoped to be safe. Mr. Coles did what he could to comfort them. Five days later, while morning service was being held, the French occupation took place, the town being in the hands of the French before the people knew it. Mr. Coles was treated with courtesy and kindness, the church was respected, and only the Mission-school and two dwelling-houses were taken for the use of the gensdarmes, among whom were several old friends of his [50].

The coast tribes, having seen the Hova beaten by the French, now took the opportunity of paying off old scores against their former

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political agents, they now own that this was not the case with the missionaries of the Church of England, and that the latter are not biassed against the French. The French authorities now praised the S.P.G. schools as the best (French, of course, being taught therein). Courtesies of many kinds passed between the officers and the missionaries; several of the former attended the services, while the General gave to Mr. MacMahon's medical work official sanction by a formal permission to practise [47].

* Fenoarivo is very unhealthy, and Mr. James was a vegetarian; during his illness no one was near him, till just before his death but a drunken servant, whom he had been trying to reclaim. Mr. Hewlett's illness was induced by overwork. His work, which was most regular and of the best kind, and his influence had produced a great effect, notably among the young men of the mercantile community in Tamatave, and a memorial erected in Tamatave Church by the inhabitants, "of all religions and nations," and a church built at Ifontsy testified to the general esteem in which he was held [49].

oppressors, and began robbing and burning the villages. Numbers were murdered, including members of Mr. Coles' flock, and for some time, day by day, dead bodies were seen floating down the river. At Ifontsy the teacher had to flee for his life, but though his house was wrecked, the "Fahavolo" did not ruin the church, because, as they said, "the Bishop's church is for the Betsimisaraka and not for the Hova." In another village a Betsimisaraka teacher narrowly escaped being killed because he had so got into the habit of speaking Hova that he found it difficult to speak his own dialect. He was watched, seven men sleeping in his house, but was let off with a fine. At a third place (near Ifontsy) a rich Hova, after being bound and robbed, was burnt alive in a church. Many churches were destroyed and the coast work received a serious check. While these troubles were going on there was a man in the Hova camp in the north who, every morning at four o'clock, when the drum sounded, would go outside and publicly pray for his enemies, and at evening would hold public prayers. He was jeered at and taunted, but continued his work, and made himself respected by all who knew him. Many years previously he had been baptized in the C.M.S. Mission at Vohimaro, and he had continued faithful ever since [51].

The French occupancy led to an appalling increase of immorality, and the Anglican Mission has had to contend with opposition, not only from the Roman Church, but also (in 1898) from the French Protestants, to whom the London Missionary Society transferred their Missions [52].

As nearly all the S.P.G. stations around Tamatave had been dropped, though through no fault of Mr. Coles, it was decided by the Diocesan Missionary Conference in 1899, to transfer Mr. Coles to Andovoranto in 1900 and to place a native deacon at Tamatave, which Mission is still under the charge of Mr. Coles [53].

ANDOVORANTO.

Andovoranto is the old capital of the Betsimisaraka tribe. It stands at the mouth of a fine river, and is likely to become the port for Antananarivo. The river, which is the highway into the interior for several miles, can be entered by small ships.

The work in this large district, including Mission stations on each side of the river, suffered from the withdrawal of the English missionary in 1892, and from the rebellion in 1896, when the "Fahovolo" destroyed Mission property and tied up one of the native lay agents (Henry) preparatory to killing him. At the request of the villagers the Fahovolo spared his life "for all he had, 1*s.* 4½*d.*," but they destroyed his church and house. Some of the Church members were killed, "and, horrible to say, the enemy cut out their livers and ate them." This was done throughout the district, "another proof that these tribes are of kin to the South Sea Islanders." For a time the work was at a standstill, but the native clergyman-in-charge persevered, and in 1900 the Rev. J. Coles was transferred from Tamatave, from which place, some sixty miles distant, the European supervision of Andovoranto had (1892-1899) been supplied.

The people on the coast differ from those of the interior, being more ignorant and superstitious, and, from having been slaves so long,

slavish in their ideas. They thought, because the French had conquered the country, that it would please them if they joined the Roman Catholic religion, which they cannot separate from the Government. In several of the villages Mr. Coles was met by the answer, "We belong to the Roman Catholics now, because the French are our masters."

The Society possesses a splendid piece of land in Andovoranto. The dwelling-house was taken by the French in 1893 and turned into a hospital for the sick on the road to the capital, but they have paid rent for its use [54].

MAHONORO.

After the failure of his attempt, in 1891-2, to establish a Mission among the Betsiriry on the west coast of Madagascar, the Rev. G. H. Smith returned to Mahonoro. He had commenced work there in 1884 with the assistance of John Shirley, a Betsimisaraka, who had been redeemed from slavery by Bishop Kestell-Cornish and friends for £150, and educated at the Diocesan College (St. Paul's). Mr. Shirley, who was ordained deacon in 1888 and priest in 1895, proved a valuable helper in the Mission, having considerable influence over young men [55].

The district of Mahonoro, which is in the Vorimo country, was formerly a well-known market for slave-dealers, and one result of the Mission was to close the market.*

There were now (1893) churches in twenty-four villages, and it was among these outlying stations that the principal work of the Mission lay. In the town of Mahonoro the population was a shifting one, and evil European example and other influences rendered work difficult. Many of the country congregations, with a little assistance from the Mission, were zealous in rebuilding their churches destroyed by the cyclone in 1893, and in each case the new building was in stability and comeliness a distinct advance upon their previous efforts in church building. At one station, where the church had been destroyed, a number of children were baptized in a stream. Gathered on a small flat island between two branches of the stream, while the adults looked on from the rising ground above, the little ones stepped down into the stream one by one and were baptized as they stood in the water. It was a striking scene, and made a great impression in the place.

At Anosiarivo—a station under an excellent Betsimisaraka catechist named Abel—a similar ceremony moved the chief of the place, who had been hesitating, to plead for immediate baptism. "I am an old man," he said, "and not strong; I may not live till the *vazaha* comes again; don't refuse me. I went home last night and threw all my charms into the fire, and I have bathed this morning." He was accepted.

In some parts of the district Mr. Smith was (1893) the first white man that had been seen, and appeals were received for teachers for

* A striking instance of this occurred in 1893. A pupil of one of the Norwegian schools in Betsileo, who had been captured by the men-stealers, was being conveyed through the Mahonoro district when his attention was attracted by a funeral, and to his joy he found himself in a Christian village, or, as he expressed it, where there was "the Bishop's worship." He soon made his case known, and his captors fled.

seven new centres. The progress of the work was further exemplified two years later by the confirmation of over fifty candidates, nearly all of whom were children of heathen parents who had hindered them with very real persecution, while the girls had been "urged by their own mothers to degrade themselves. All these were firm under persecution, and resisted the temptation to immorality." Among the heathen Betsimisaraka tribes there could not be said to be any morality. Invaluable work had been done by a Girls' Boarding School, under Miss Lawrence, especially in training girls fit to become wives of the Mission teachers. Though the wages of the people were only fourpence a day, they had built up part of an endowment for the Mission and provided a portion of the stipends of the teachers [56].

During the French invasion of 1894-5 the Vorimo and Betsimisaraka rose against the Hova Government, who retaliated with horrible cruelty; pregnant women being "tortured with red-hot knives," and other persons being killed by "having ears, nostrils, and mouths filled with venomous insects." The rising at Mahonoro, which was not so much anti-Christian as a retaliation on the Hova for the oppression and injustice of years. was actively fomented and guided by French agents. The catechists were driven from their out-stations to seek refuge in Mahonoro itself, and one, named Abel, though a pure Betsimisaraka, was murdered at Ambodinivato because he spoke Hova.* Through the interposition of the Rev. F. J. Fuller, who had succeeded Mr. Smith (in 1896), many lives were saved; indeed, but for his and Mrs. Fuller's bravery, the whole of the people who had taken refuge in the Mission Compound would have been killed.†

At Christmas it seemed as if this branch of the Mission had ceased to exist, but in spite of fever Mr. and Mrs. Fuller remained at their post and revived the work. Within about a year some twenty stations had been reoccupied, but the sudden manumission of slaves, which in Imerina had a most beneficial effect, resulted in denuding the already crippled schools of Mahonoro. A year later the work in the country districts had again become hopeful, while in the town the Jesuits had established a school, and by their usual methods succeeded in drawing off many of Mr. Fuller's scholars [57].

In 1898 Mr. Fuller urged a large increase in the European staff, and a separate Bishop for the coast district, otherwise the Society was likely to be crowded out. Not only had the Roman Catholics and the Independents sent their agents to Mahonoro, but the heads of the Mohammedan mosque in Liverpool had been urged to send missionaries among the Antaimoro [*see* p. 380*l*].

Regarding the evil effects of the French occupation on Missions, Mr. Fuller said that morality "is likely to cease altogether." "As to religion," said a young French administrateur, "that is nothing to me.

* The exact date of Abel's death is unknown. His remains were recovered and given Christian burial at Mahonoro, and his wife and children were rescued by Mr. Fuller.

† Throughout December 1895 Mr. Fuller had to be on the alert night and day guarding the refugees, the Hovas, soldiers included, showing the most abject cowardice. The suspense was horrible, and the plight of the people pitiful. A famine was imminent, when, as if by a special providence, a schooner laden with rice, on the way to Tamatave, put in at Mahonoro through stress of weather, and the cargo was disposed of.

I don't care a scrap whether the Gasy worship God or devil. Perhaps it would be as well for them to believe in a devil."* Another and much more highly placed official dismissed the native question in a word, "Beasts" [58].

Medical Department.—The need of a hospital was emphasized during a visit of Bishop Kestell-Cornish in 1892. A man while fishing had been seized by a crocodile. With his right arm he clung to a tree, but his left arm was "pulled clean out of its socket." He was brought to Miss Lawrence without much hope that his life would be saved, but by her skill, under God's Providence, he recovered. In March 1893 a hospital was opened, and singular to say the first in-patient was a man whose legs had been seized by a crocodile, and had to be amputated. Happily the operation was successful, otherwise the people would have been prejudiced against the hospital. The lives of many natives were saved during an epidemic of influenza in 1894. In November 1897 the German barque *Elise* stranded opposite the Mission-house, and her crew of fourteen, comprising five European nationalities, were all attacked by malaria, and all were received at the hospital and nursed back to life by Mr. and Mrs. Fuller. For this "most unusual succour" the captain sent a letter of thanks to the Society. By 1898 the whole community in the district were looking to the hospital for aid and advice. The chief authorities in the island had expressed their gratitude for services rendered to French officers. At least eight nationalities were represented among the patients—Malagasy (who formed the majority), French, English, German, Creoles, Chinese, East Indians, and Arabs [59].

Under the Rev. G. K. Kestell-Cornish, who succeeded to the charge of Mahonoro in 1900, the Mission work is being revived and steps are being taken for the erection of a Central Training School for teachers on the coast, the site finally chosen being at Ambinandrona, which is sufficiently removed from "the shocking drunkenness and vice which now mark all" the "coast towns" [59*a*].

MANANJARA.

A resident English missionary was placed here in 1892. The opposition of the Governor of Mahela having caused the withdrawal of the teacher from that station, it seemed advisable to pay the Governor a visit and "admonish him." This Bishop Kestell-Cornish did in 1893, with satisfactory results. During the insurrection of the Vorimo tribe (in 1896), which was directed against the Hovas, the intervention of the Rev. Alfred Smith saved many lives. In the idea of the ignorant population of the district the Gospel was "an engine of Hova rule." An L.M.S. missionary wrote to Mr. Smith that all work in his Mission had nearly come to an end, and the school children in many places had "*torn up their Testaments and smashed their slates* in the joy of being freed from *this form of Government service.*" When the L.M.S. chapel at Mananjara was taken for housing French soldiers, the L.M.S. intimated to Mr. Smith that they did not propose to

* Contrast this with the good example of English administrators generally in all parts of the world in encouraging and promoting the efforts of the missionaries among native races. [*See* the references under "Native Races" in the index.]

resume work in the district, and would do their best to transfer these people (Hova) to his Mission. The ordinary ancestral worship of the people all along the coast at that time (1896) had not "the slightest reverence, solemnity, or earnestness in it," but it offered "an excellent occasion for getting drunk." One tribe, however, was discovered in that year whose morality was of a far higher type than that of the Hova, or of the Betsimisaraka, viz. the Antaimoro, among whom it was an absolute rule that "no woman shall drink any intoxicating drink." In the "winnowing process" consequent on the French occupation, most of what the missionaries hoped had been grain "turned out to be but chaff." The people had "never valued in their hearts either Christianity or education: it had never become part of their lives" [60]. Though the present fruit of the Mission is small the possibilities of work there are enormous; except in the town itself, the Anglican Mission is without competitors [60*a*].

VATOMANDRY.

A "really admirable work" is being done here by a native priest—the Rev. I. Andrianjakoto, who has "the best adult congregation on the coast." The school, which had been unjustly closed some years ago by an Anglophobe administrator, has recently (1900) been reopened, the present Governor, who was at first opposed to it, having changed his opinion [61].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 884.)

CHAPTER LVIII.

NORTH AND NORTH-EAST AFRICA.

THE work in which the Society has engaged in these parts has been slight, and pastoral rather than Missionary. In 1819 copies of the Bible in Arabic were sent to Mr. Henry Salte, Consul-General for Alexandria, for distribution, and he reported that the Copts "expressed great eagerness even to buy a copy." A fresh supply was forwarded in 1820 [1]. In 1840 the Society assisted the British residents at Alexandria (with £100) in building a church in that city [2], and in 1861 it began to contribute towards the maintenance of an English chaplain at Cairo. Previously to this the English residents in the latter district had for many years been entirely dependent for religious instruction upon such help as the Missionaries in the country could spare; but on the withdrawal of the C.M.S. Mission the British Government established a Consular Chaplaincy at Cairo. The Society's aid (£50 a year) was granted to the holders thereof for six years (Rev. G. WASHINGTON, 1861–4, and Rev. B. WRIGHT, 1865–6), in order to secure ministrations for the English labourers at Cairo and Boulac. It was represented to the Society by the secretary of the Cairo Church Committee that "no place in the world" had "more need of a resident Clergyman or greater claims upon the sympathy

of their religious fellow-countrymen than the residents of those places," and that it was "impossible to over-estimate the good effects to those communities of the presence of a permanent Minister of the Gospel" [3].

During the vacancy of the chaplaincy in 1867 the Society renewed its offer of assistance, but it was declined by the Foreign Office on the ground that the British residents should provide not less than one half of the Chaplain's support [4].

In 1879 the Society's attention was drawn by the Bishop of Carlisle [L., 25 March] to the need of Missions in the Nile Valley, especially among the Nubians [5]; and in 1882 it acknowledged its duty "to extend its efforts and resources in assisting the propagation of Christ's Gospel in that ancient country," Egypt [6]. Accordingly in 1883 £200 was reserved in case of a Mission being opened in Egypt which should be approved by the Standing Committee, but failing any immediate prospect of such an undertaking the grant was withdrawn in 1884 and a special fund of £39. 2*s*., which had been raised in England for that purpose, was in 1886 appropriated to the Gordon College at Cairo [7].

In connection with the British expedition to Abyssinia the Society offered in 1867 to select and contribute to the support of four chaplains to accompany the troops; but the whole duty was undertaken by Government [8].

1888–1900.

Applications were made to the Society in 1888 for aid in forming a Chaplaincy at Suez, and in 1897 for the establishment of a Bishopric at Khartoum.* In neither instance could help be spared, and, moreover, the Soudan was already regarded as a C.M.S. field [9].

In 1899–1900, however, the Society gave £200 towards the erection of a church at Assouan on the proposal to place the Chaplaincy on a sound Church basis and to vest it in the Society, and in 1900 £50 was granted towards the maintenance of a Chaplain (the Rev. W. J. Oldfield) for eight months, in order that he might be enabled to report fully to the Society on the work there. In connection with the church a girls' school for natives (Copts and Mohammedans) has been opened and is attracting many pupils. The church, which is for the English visitors, is also a witness for Christ to the Mohammedan population. While nothing will be done in the way of proselytism among the Copts, the friendly relations which exist between them and the English Church must tend to their benefit and enlightenment [10]. Lectures on Holy Scripture given by the Chaplain, in the Coptic Church, have been well attended and much appreciated, and the leading members of the Coptic Church at Assouan (including their two priests), were present at the consecration of the English Church by Bishop Blyth of Jerusalem on Sunday, January 27, 1901, the building being dedicated to St. Mark.

In North Africa the Society's operations have been limited to the support of English chaplaincies at Tangier, Hammam R'Irha, Biskra and Oran [11].

* At present the Nile Valley is under the jurisdiction of the Anglican Bishop in "Jerusalem and the East" (Dr. Blyth), but steps are being taken (independently of the Society) for the formation of a separate Bishopric for Egypt, the "active Episcopal functions" of the new Bishop to be confined for the present to Lower and Upper Egypt, excluding the Soudan.

(1) The Field and Period	(2) Races and Tribes ministered to	(3) Languages used by the Missionaries	(4) No. of Ordained Missionaries employed	
			European & Colonial	Native
WEST AFRICA **1752-6, 1766-1824, 1855-1900**	Negroes (Susus, Mandingoes, Fanti, Temne, Limbahs, Mendis, &c.) (Heathen, Mahommedan, and Christian)	Fanti, Susu, and English	12	10
	Fulahs	English		
	Mulattoes (Heathen and Christian)	English		
	Colonists (Christian and non-Christian)			
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE: (1) **THE WESTERN DIVISION 1821-1900**	Colonists (Christian)	English and Dutch	112	—
	Mixed or "Coloured" races and Negroes (Heathen, Mahommedan, and Christian)			
	Kaffirs, Fingoes, Hottentots (Heathen and Christian) ..	Dutch		
	Bushmen			
	Malays (Mahommedan and Christian)	Dutch		
(2) **THE EASTERN DIVISION 1830-1900**	Kaffirs (Amaxosa), Fingoes, Hottentots, Basutos (Heathen and Christian)	Xosa-Kaffir, Dutch, Sesutu	95	10
	Colonists (Christian and non-Christian) ..	English, Dutch, and German		
	Half-Castes (Heathen and Christian)			
(3) **KAFFRARIA** **1855-1900**	Amaxosa Kaffirs: Bacas, Gaikas, Gcalekas, Pondos, Fondomisi, Tambookies, Tembus, Xesibe (Heathen and Christian)	Xosa-Kaffir	52	19
	Fingoes (Heathen and Christian) ..	Xosa-Kaffir		
	Hottentots (Heathen and Christian)	Dutch		
	Basutos (Heathen and Christian)	Sesutu		
	Zulus (Heathen and Christian)	Zulu-Kaffir		
	Half-Castes (Christian and Heathen): Griquas, Cape Malay, Eurafrican	Dutch, &c.		
	Colonists (Christian)	English		
(4) **GRIQUALAND WEST 1870-1900**	Colonists (Christian and non-Christian	English	21	—
	Kaffirs (Amaxosa, Mapondo, &c.), Basutos, Bechuana, Machaka, Fingoes, Zulus, Matabele, Nyambans, &c. (Heathen and Christian)	Xosa-Kaffir, Zulu-Kaffir, ~~Bechuana~~, Sesutu, Dutch, &c.		
	Half-Castes (Heathen and Christian) ..	English and Dutch, &c.		
ST. HELENA .. .. .. **1847-1900** **AND TRISTAN D'ACUNHA 1850-6, 1881 9**	Colonists (mixed races) (Christian and Heathen)	English	23	—
	Negroes (Heathen and Christian)	English		
	Colonists (mixed races) (Christians)	English		
NATAL **1849-1900**	Colonists (Christian)	English and Dutch	85	9
	Kaffirs (Heathen and Christian)	Zulu-Kaffir and Dutch		
	Basutos, Zulus, Tongas (Heathen and Christian)			
	East Indians: Tamils, Telugus, &c. (Heathen, Mahommedans, and Christian)	Tamil, &c.		
ZULULAND **1859-1900**	Zulus (Heathen and Christian)	Zulu-Kaffir	13	1
	Colonists (Christian)	English		
	Basutos (Heathen and Christian)			
SWAZILAND **1871-1900**	Amaswazi (Heathen and Christian)	Swazi	4	—
	Colonists (Christian and non-Christian)	English, Dutch		
TONGALAND, 1895-1900	Amatonga (Heathen)	Zulu-Kaffir	2	—

(5) No. of Central Stations	(6) Society's Expenditure	(7) Comparative Statement of the Anglican Church generally							
		1701				1900			
		Church Members	Clergy	Dioceses	Local Missionary effort	Church Members	Clergy	Dioceses	Local Missionary effort
9	See p 385	Only a few Europeans	?a Chaplain of Royal African Co	—		33,000 †	108 (3 S.P.G.) †	3 †	Domestic Missions to Colonists and to African and mixed coloured races, work among the East Indian Coolies in Natal, and support of the S.P.G. Foreign Missions generally.
57		—	—	—			94 (21 S P.G.)	1	
56		—	—	—			84 (19 S.P.G.)	1	
30		—	—	—		139,058 (Census 1891)	44 (39 S.P.G.)	1	
6		—	—	—			7 (4 S.P.G.)	—	
6		—	1	—		3,820	3 (all S.P.G.)	1	
38		—	—	—		14,650	48 (19 S P.G.)	1	
9		—	—	—		5,500	23 (7 S.P.G.)	1	
1		—	—	—		170			
—		—	—	—		—			

† Includes the American Missions.

(1) The Field and Period	(2) Races and Tribes ministered to	(3) Languages used by the Missionaries	(4) No. of Ordained Missionaries employed	
			European & Colonial	Native
PORTUGUESE S.E. AFRICA (DELAGOA BAY, &c.) 1894-1900	Colonists (British, Dutch, Norwegians, Swedes) (Christian and non-Christian)	English	6	—
	BaLenge or Machopis (Heathen and Christian)	Chopi		
	BaRonga and BaPutyu " "	SiPutyn and Zulu		
	BaMakwakwa " "	XiTswa		
	BaTonga " "	GiTonga		
	Zulus and Swazis and Tshangana " "	Zulu		
THE TRANSVAAL 1864-1900	Colonists, &c. (Christian)	English, Dutch	49	—
	Bechuana, Basutos, Kaffirs, Zulus, Swazis, BaPedi, Tshangana, Mixed Native Races (Heathen and Christian)	Sechuana with many varieties		
	East Indians (Heathen)	Kaffir & Dutch		
		Tamil		
ORANGE RIVER COLONY 1850-4, 1858, 1863-1900	Colonists (Christian)	Dutch and English	23	1
	Bechuana (Barolong, &c.) Fingoes, Kaffirs, Hottentots, Griquas (Half-castes) (Heathen and Christian)	Serolong		
		Dutch		
		Kaffir		
	Basuto (Heathen and Christian)	Sesuto		
BASUTOLAND 1875-1900	Basutos (Heathen and Christian)	Sesutu	16	—
	Fingoes (Heathen and Christian)			
	Barolong (Bechuana) (Heathen and Christian)	Serolong		
	Zulus (Heathen and Christian)			
	Colonists (Christian)	English		
BECHUANALAND 1873-1900	Bechuana, Batsatsing, Zulus, Amaxosa, Half-castes, Basutos (Heathen and Christian)	Sechuana	5	—
	Colonists (Christian)	Kaffir, Dutch		
		English		
MATABELELAND 1893-1900	Colonists (Christian)	English	24	1
	Matabele or Amandabele (Heathen and Christian)	Zulu (Tebele dialect)		
	Fingoes " " ..	Xosa		
	Pondos " " ..			
	Bechuana " " ..			
	Cape Coloured (Half-castes) " " ..	English and Dutch		
MASHONALAND 1890-1900	Colonists (Christian)	English		
	Mashona (Heathen and Christian)	Chino		
	Zulus " "			
CENTRAL AFRICA, 1879-81	Swahili (Heathen and Christian)	Swahili	1	1
MAURITIUS AND THE SEYCHELLES 1832-1900	Creoles (of various races) (Heathen & Christian)	French and French Creole	11	11
	Colonists (Christian)	English		
	Malagasy (Heathen and Christian)	French Creole		
	East Africans (Heathen and Christian)	Creole		
	East Indians: Tamils, Telugus, Hindustanis, Mahrathis, Bengalis, &c. (Heathen Mahommedan, and Christian)	Tamil, Telugu, Hindi, Mahrathi, Bengali		
	Chinese (Heathen and Christian)	Creole		
MADAGASCAR 1864-1900	Hovas, Betsimisaraka, Sakalava (Betsiriry, &c.) (Heathen and Christian)	Malagasy	29	35
	Creoles (French) (Christian and non-Christian)	French		
	Colonists (Christian and non-Christian) ..	English and French		
	East Indians (Heathen and Christian)	Tamil		
NORTHERN AFRICA .. 1861-6, 1887-1900	Colonists (Christian)	English	5	—
TOTAL § (for pp. 382-5)	Over 6 European-Colonial races, 40 African families, many varieties of mixed coloured races, also 5 East Indian races, and Chinese.	26	505§	93§

§ After allowing for repetitions and transfers.

(5) No. of Central Stations	(6) Society's Expenditure	(7) Comparative Statement of the Anglican Church generally							
		1701				1900			
		Church Members	Clergy	Dioceses	Local Missionary effort	Church Members	Clergy	Dioceses	Local Missionary effort
6	£874,955 (includes p. 383)	—	—	—		200	8 (6 S.P.G.)	1	Domestic Missions to Colonists, and to African and mixed coloured races, and work among the East Indian Coolies in Mauritius and Madagascar.
32		—	—	—		20,000	31 (9 S.P.G.)	1	
6		—	—	—		15,000	29 (2 S.P.G.)	1	
5		—	—	—			8 (all S.P.G.)		
5		—	—	—			1 (S.P.G.)		
6		—	—	—		3,200	14 (all S.P.G.)	1	
10		—	—	—					
1		—	—	—		11,000	45	2	
10		—	—	—		7,000	22 (8 S.P.G.)	1	
34		—	—	—		10,000	32 (all S.P.G.)	1	
4		—	—	—		?	14 (1 S.P.G.)	—	
331	£874,955	Only a few Europeans Approximate.	1 or 2 Chaplains	—		262,598	615 (196 S.P.G.)	† 17	† *See* pp. 764-5.
Add Eastern Equatorial Africa (an entirely C.M.S. field)						23,757	59	2	
Grand Total						286,355	674 (196 S.P.G.)	19	

CHAPTER LIX.

AUSTRALASIA—(INTRODUCTION)

THE Society's connection with this field began in 1793 by the employment of schoolmasters in Australia. Extensions were made to Norfolk Island in 1796; Tasmania, 1835; New Zealand, 1840; Melanesia, 1849; Pitcairn Island, 1853; Hawaiian Islands, 1862; Fiji, 1880; and New Guinea, 1890.

Australia was discovered by the Portuguese and Dutch in the 17th century, but its settlement (which dates from 1788) has been entirely due to the British, under whom the continent has been divided into the Colonies of New South Wales (1788), Victoria (separated from New South Wales in 1851), Queensland (separated from New South Wales in 1859), Western Australia (1829), and South Australia (1836). On the 1st of January 1901 these five Colonies, with Tasmania, were formally united in a Federal Commonwealth under the name of the Commonwealth of Australia. The late Sir Henry Parkes, one of the originators of the movement thus consummated, told Bishop Kennion of Adelaide that the organisation of the Australian Church into the General and Diocesan Synods, where each Diocese preserves its own integrity and yet takes its part in the whole, suggested to him the lines upon which the Federation could best be carried out.

From the notices which follow it will be seen that the Churches planted by the Society in Australia and New Zealand are now, for the most part, self-supporting.

CHAPTER LX.

NEW SOUTH WALES (WITH NORFOLK ISLAND).*

THE coast of New South Wales, the south-east division of Australia, was explored by Captain Cook in 1770, and Botany Bay received its name from Sir Joseph Banks, the naturalist of the expedition. No attempt at settlement was made until 1787, when Botany Bay was selected as a field for locating British criminals in place of the lost American Colonies. The first body of convicts—consisting of 565 men and 192 women—left England on May 13, 1787, under a guard of 200 soldiers. Just two days before the departure, the philanthropist William Wilberforce† discovered that no care had been taken for their souls. Moved by his representation the Bishop of London interceded with the Government, and the Rev. R. Johnson, having offered his services, was appointed chaplain. The voyage occupied over eight months, and on January 26, 1788, a settlement was formed on the banks of Sydney Cove, Botany Bay having proved unsuitable for the purpose. The early history of the colony was marked by sickness, famine, and crime. Desertions were frequent, and often ended in miserable deaths among the natives, who had been turned into enemies instead of friends. So general was the discontent that in 1788 some of the worst of the convicts were transferred to Norfolk Island. About 1791 Mr. Johnson sought them out and ministered to them, although he could ill spare the time from Sydney, where for the most part of seven years he was left to labour single-handed among both the bondmen and free, and without any church until 1793, when a rude construction of wattles and plaster, with a thatched roof, was erected—at his own expense.

IN January 1790 the Society (having in the previous month received books from the S.P.C.K. "for the use of the Corps about to embark

* *Norfolk* Island is further noticed in Chapter LXIX., pp. 454–6.

† *See* Address of Bishop Nixon of Tasmania to the S.P.G. Association at Leeds, *November 28, 1842*, p. 5.

for New South Wales"), complied with an "application made by the said corps to allow £40 a year for four Schoolmasters" [1].

The Journal for March 15, 1793, records a letter

"from Mr. Johnson, Chaplain at Port Jackson &c. March 21st 1792 in which he excuses himself for not having written before, that for a considerable time after their arrival, they were in so confused a state that no Schools could be established for the instruction of children. That Mr. Bain, Chaplain to the New South Wales Corps, who is now at New York left with him 2 letters which he had received from the Secretary of the Society. That some time ago the Governor had told him he expected two Schoolmasters from England; but none have arrived. He therefore proposed to the Governor to have a person appointed at different places to instruct the children in reading, to which he acceded, and Mr. Johnson was to superintend them. They have now one School at Sydney and another at Panamatto [? Paramatta], a School-Mistress to each, and they teach the children of the convicts gratis, the military officers making them some little acknowledgment for their trouble. He had also been for 3 weeks in the summer at Norfolk [Island], where are a number of children. There he met with a man convict, who came out in the Fleet in the summer, who had taught School for a series of years in London, and from several conversations he had with him he thought him a suitable person and the Governor has accordingly appointed him a Schoolmaster at Norfolk [Island]. That thro' the favour of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, he had been enabled to furnish these Schools with books and he hopes the success will, in time, be answerable to their wishes and of our Society. That the day of the date of his letter he put the Secretary's letter to Mr. Bain into the hands of the Governor, offering, if he thought proper, to answer it. And the Governor authorizes him to say that should any of those four mentioned in that letter, or any other free person come out under the denomination of a Schoolmaster, he would in addition to the Society's kind offer of £10 a year, give them an allotment of ground, and some assistance to cultivate it. Or should the Society think it right to adopt the present three (and he will in the meantime look out and appoint a fourth) and allow them the said salary, the Governor will continue them. And further that if the Society will take the trouble of laying out the £40 a year in articles the most useful, as wearing apparel, a little soap, tea sugar &c. and direct them to him, or the Principal Commanding Officer, he will see that it be properly distributed among the School teachers. The names of the present persons employed are two women, Richardson and Johnson and a man of the name of McQueen now at Norfolk [Island].

"That he has long wished that some method could be hit upon for such of the convicts as wished and wanted to be instructed in reading; as great numbers, both men and women, know not a letter in the alphabet.

"He thinks that Sunday Schools, upon a similar plan with those in England, would tend much to the reformation of those unhappy wretches, and bring some of them to a better way of thinking. . . .

"That a number of the Natives, both men and women and especially children, are now every day in the camp, and he has two Native girls under his own roof. He hopes in time that these ignorant and benighted heathens will be capable of receiving instruction, but that this must be a work of time and much labour. It would be advisable and is much to be wished, that some suitable Missionary (two would be better) was sent out for that purpose."

It was decided by the Society to "give an annual allowance of £10 each to any number of school masters and mistresses not exceeding four, as signified to Major Grose, who very humanely made the first application to the Society"; but as it might be "difficult to find persons here fit to send out for that employment," they relied upon the Governor "to appoint such from time to time" as he might "judge to be most proper" [2].

Accordingly four were selected by the local authorities, two for Sydney and two for Norfolk Island. In the case of Sydney (with Paramatta from 1797), the actual payments by the Society for school

teachers extended from 1793 to 1834, and in the case of Norfolk Island from 1796 to 1824. The names of the first two, as certified by the Rev. R. JOHNSON and the Rev. Mr. BAINS in December 1794, were William Richardson and William Webster, but the latter, having "turned out an infamous character" and treated his scholars "too severely," was soon superseded [3].

One of the schools established by Governor King in Norfolk Island was "for the protection and education of such female children" as were "deserted by their parents." In supporting the Governor's appeal for assistance for the same, the Rev. SAMUEL MARSDEN [the *third* clergyman to visit Australia—having been appointed Assistant Chaplain to New South Wales in 1794] wrote from Paramatta on January 2, 1796, "that he conceived the highest opinion of Governor King and of his goodness and humanity from the apparent order and regularity among the inhabitants of that island. His whole attention seems occupied in promoting the real interest of those he has the honour to command" [4].

The first teachers in Norfolk Island to receive aid from the Society were Thomas Macqueen and Susannah Hunt [5]. Both "appeared to be well qualified" for the work; the former had been a schoolmaster in England, and his "good conduct" as a prisoner was duly rewarded, as the following letter (addressed to Mr. Johnson) will show:—

"Sydney, Norfolk Island, 21 Oct. 1796.

"REV. SIR,—I have taken it upon me to write you a few lines and hope you will excuse the liberty. I have been in the capacity of Schoolmaster for upwards of 3 years on this Island. I flatter myself my assiduity and labour in that respect has merited the approbation of Lt.-Govr. King, otherwise, he would not have situated me in so comfortable a manner. I am to be allowed one guinea a year for each child. I have a small lot of ground and a man to work it. My term of transportation will expire on the 13th of January. I have agreed to reside on the island for 12 months. I should have no objection to remain on the Colony for a few years for the good of the rising generation, provided I could meet with due encouragement. I am greatly at a loss for want of books to instruct the children in the first elements of the English tongue. I sincerely request you if possible to favour me with a few books and I trust always to merit your countenance and favour. If I could obtain the favour of a few lines from you it would be conferring upon me a singular mark of your friendship.

"I am Rev. Sir, your most obedient servant,

"THOS. MACQUEEN" [6].

The desertion of their children by the convicts was one of the best things that could happen—for the children. "The miserable wretches" sent from England were "lost to all sense of virtue and religion," and as long as their offspring continued with them Mr. Johnson feared "every means used for their instruction" would "be ineffectual" [7]. "The only hope" he had was "from the rising generation." An attempt was made in 1799 "to unite several small schools into one" at Sydney, for the instruction of the children of the soldiers and settlers as well as of the prisoners. "About 150 scholars were collected, and the church appropriated on week-days for that purpose. But the scheme was very soon frustrated by some evil-minded person or persons setting fire to the building." Governor Hunter therefore "lent the Court House but by the frequency of holding courts" the arrangement proved so inconvenient that the children were removed to "a building used

for a church," which, being "an old storehouse . . . very damp and cold," the teachers laboured here also under "great disadvantages." They were however "assiduous in their duty," and deserving of and grateful for the Society's allowance [8].

On Governor King's transfer to Sydney in 1800 he and Mr. Johnson "discoursed relative to the humane attention of the Society to the schools established in that country," and Mr. Johnson brought with him on his return to England in that year a letter from the Governor to the Society (Sept. 15, 1800). In it he stated that there was "a church nearly finished at Paramatta,"* and the foundations of one had "been laid at Sydney but being in a bad situation on account of the ground, another must be fixed," and he hoped "to see one completed in eighteen months." An Orphan School had also been established there, and was "under the direction of a Committee for the education of the children about 400 in number between the ages of 5 and 16 who must be ruined without it." The Orphan School at Norfolk Island was "going on very well," those who had the charge of it having "acquitted themselves much to his satisfaction" [9].

While at Norfolk Island Governor King appealed to the Society for a clergyman, engaging that he should "have £73 from the salary of the Rev. Mr. Marsden, and such advantages arising from the education of youth" as would "make his situation equal to Mr. Marsden's full pay of £146 exclusive of ground and other advantages" [10].

Accordingly the Rev. Cookson Haddock of Bury St. Edmunds was appointed in October 1798, with an allowance of £50 per annum from the Society [11]. The appearance of his name in the S.P.G. Reports for two years [12] has been accepted as proof that he went there; but the fact is that after waiting more than two years the Society struck his name off the list of Missionaries because he had "failed in his engagement . . . and omitted several opportunities of going to New South Wales contrary to his own promise" [13].

It was not till 1841 that Norfolk Island received a *clergyman* from the Society. [*See* p. 394.] In Australia itself the expenditure of the Society up to 1835 was limited to the support of schools, and to the occasional supply of books [14].

The good accomplished by these schools may never be fully known; but it has been shown that they contributed much to the reformation of the colony in which the criminal classes were so largely represented [15].

For seven years (1801–7) after Mr. Johnson's departure Mr. Marsden was mainly responsible for the spiritual oversight of the ever-increasing colony. No special provision for the Roman Catholic convicts was made until 1808, when from among their number a priest (the Rev. James Dixon) was set free in order that he might "exercise his clerical functions." It does not appear what became of him or how long he officiated; but for one period of two years the sole consolation afforded them according to their own mode of worship was a consecrated wafer left in the house of a Roman Catholic at Sydney.

In 1808 the Rev. William Cowper arrived as Assistant Chaplain to Mr. Marsden. Nine years later the number of Chaplains had risen to

* A stone building to supersede a temporary chapel erected in 1790 [9*a*].

five, but the population had increased to 17,000, of whom 7,000 were convicts [16].

About 1823 some efforts appear to have been made to instruct the natives, for in April the Society signified to the Rev. Mr. Hill, a Chaplain at Sydney, its willingness "to assist the establishment for the instruction of the Aboriginal Natives of New South Wales" provided the nature and objects of the Institution were conformable to the Society's principles [17].

In 1824 the Archdeaconry of New South Wales (embracing the whole of Australia and Van Diemen's Land) was constituted and added to the See of Calcutta [18].

Obviously, connection with Calcutta could be merely nominal; but the appointment of the Rev. WILLIAM BROUGHTON to the office of Archdeacon in 1829 led to important results. It was mainly by his representations, based on five years' experience, and those of Mr. Justice Burton, of the Supreme Court of New South Wales, that the enormous moral evils which threatened the ruin of the colony were mitigated. Addressing the grand jury in November 1835 the latter drew attention to the fact that in the three years 1833–4–5 the number of criminals *capitally convicted* in the colony had been 399, and the number of actual executions 228. "It would seem," he said, "as if the main business of all the community were the commission of crime and the punishment of it—as if the whole colony were continually in motion towards the several courts of justice. And the most painful reflection of all is that so many capital sentences and the execution of them, have not had the effect of preventing crime by way of example." "One grand cause of such a state of things" was "an overwhelming defect of religious principle in the community." There was not sufficient religious teachers "to admit of any being spared for the penal settlements." "At the end of 1833 the number of free males in the colony above twelve years of age was 17,578, while that of *convict* males was 21,845." Moreover, the ranks of the former were largely recruited from the latter, and this passing daily from one class to another without moral improvement tended to "the total corruption of all." Still worse was the state of Norfolk Island, where "evil men with men more evil, rotting and festering together, a seething mass of corruption . . . helped each other to make a hell of that which else might be a heaven." Visiting the island in 1834, he found 130 prisoners charged with conspiring to disarm and if necessary murder their guard in order to escape. The picture presented to his mind upon that occasion was that of "a cage of unclean birds, full of crimes against God and Man, of Murders, Blasphemies, and all Uncleanness." One of the prisoners represented the place to be "a Hell upon Earth," adding: "Let a man's heart be what it will, when he comes here, his man's heart is taken from him and there is given to him the heart of a Beast." Another said: "I do not want to be spared, on condition of remaining here. Life is not worth having on such terms." A third, a Roman Catholic, passionately entreated that he might "not die without the benefit of confession," and when removed to his cell "he employed his time in embracing and beating himself upon a rude wooden figure of the Cross, which a fellow prisoner had made for him." By another the Judge was thus addressed: "What is done your

honour, to make us better? Once a week we are drawn up in the square, opposite the Military Barracks, and the soldiers are drawn up in front of us with loaded muskets and fixed bayonets; and a young officer then comes to the fence and reads part of the Service . . . about a quarter of an hour, and that is all the Religion we see."

Thirty of the prisoners were sentenced to death, but moved by their appeals the Judge went beyond his powers and suspended execution in order to lay their case before the Colonial Government and at least obtain for the condemned the consolations of religion. As a result of his action only eleven were executed, and two clergymen—one a Roman Catholic—were sent from Sydney to minister to them in their last hours [19].

Already, in 1821, the Society had endeavoured to move the Government to reserve lands for Church purposes in New South Wales, where the growing population required the "care of an ecclesiastical establishment," and offered, if this were done, "to extend the same superintendence to those distant settlements" which had "been found productive of such essential benefits to the colonies in North America" [20].

The policy of retrenchment rather than extension was, however, favoured by those in authority, and it was reserved for the Society to do much of what should have been done by the Government. The "condition and wants of the Church of England in the Australian Colonies, and more particularly in New South Wales," led Archdeacon BROUGHTON to visit England in 1834, "in the hope of being able by . . . personal exertions to assist in bringing about a happier state of things." In an appeal to the Society at the end of the year he stated that since the establishment of the Colony of New South Wales (1788) more than 100,000 convicts had been transported, of whom it was estimated 25,000 were now resident in the colony. In the last three years (1832–4) the numbers transported to New South Wales had been about 2,500 annually, and to Van Diemen's Land 2,100, in all 13,700. "During the earlier stages of the colony . . . considerable expense was incurred by the British Government in providing the means of religious worship and instruction for these banished offenders. But since the middle of 1826 the entire charge of such provision" had been "thrown upon the colonies." At the conclusion of the administration of General Macquarie, in 1821, there were in use in New South Wales "six substantial churches,* chiefly the work of that Governor." Subsequently two other churches had been erected, "by the labour of the convicts at Newcastle, and at Port Macquarie, while those stations were occupied as penal settlements." With these exceptions "no addition, worthy of notice," had been made to the number of places of worship belonging to the Established Churches. In the interior there were a few buildings, provided at the expense of the colony, in which Divine service was performed. They were "mostly of a temporary description, generally used as schoolrooms during the week, and some as police offices, military barracks, or even as places of confinement for criminals." Others, though of less objectionable character, were "small, inconvenient, and mean . . . some . . . unfurnished with doors and windows." And universally the buildings were "so deficient in all that is requisite for the decent celebration of the worship of God

* At Sydney 2, Paramatta 1, Liverpool 1, Campbelltown 1, Windsor 1.

as to excite in the clergy who officiate a sense of shame and degradation, and any impressions but those of devotion in the congregations who assemble in them." The county of Cumberland was "the only part . . . in anything like a sufficient degree furnished with the necessary buildings devoted to religion and education. The remaining eighteen counties" were "almost entirely destitute of churches, parsonages, and school houses."

In the opinion of the Archdeacon,

"as surely and undeniably as we are under an obligation to supply food and light to prisoners in a state of confinement by land or sea, we are also bound, as far as we are able, to furnish them with the bread of life, and with the light of the Gospel in that foreign country to which for our security, they are banished." "This" (said he) "is not done . . . no effort whatever is made on their behalf . . . so far as the inhabitants of this country [the United Kingdom] are concerned, the thousands of convicts who are annually transported and cast forth upon the shores of those colonies, without any precaution being taken, or effort made, to prevent their instantly becoming pagans and heathens. Such, in reality, without some immediate interposition to establish a better system, the greater number of them will and must become; . . . the question . . . which the people of this nation have to consider, is, whether they are prepared to lay the foundation of a vast community of infidels; and whether, collectively or individually, they can answer to Almighty God for conniving at such an execution of the transportation laws as will infallibly lead on to this result. [L., London, Dec. 9, 1834 [21].]

In relying on the Society "to exert all the resources in their power for the removal of the great and threatening evils . . . described," Archdeacon Broughton was not disappointed. From January 1835 commenced a series of bounties sufficient to meet the more pressing wants, and this aid was not withdrawn until the Church had taken root in the land and could stand alone. The object first promoted was the erection of churches,* but in 1837 the Society began to send out clergymen, and within little more than a year 30 had been provided for New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land† [22].

In the meantime (in 1836) Australia‡ had been formed into a diocese, and Archdeacon BROUGHTON, consecrated its first Bishop, was warmly welcomed as such "by the colonists in general" in the summer§ of that year [23].

"Compared with what prevailed" when he left for England in 1834 the Bishop found in his diocese "a very improved disposition" to provide "the essentials of public worship." This was due in a great measure to the liberality shown by the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K. in providing for the spiritual wants of the colony, which was "hailed by all classes . . . as affording most gratifying proof" of the interest

* Of a sum of £1,000 voted in January 1835, £600 was thus applied in New South Wales, to which was added £1,100 in 1840. The first building assisted was St. Andrew's, Sydney (£800), which has been extended into the present cathedral. The inhabitants of Bathurst, Bungonia, and Cornelia were mentioned by the Archdeacon in 1834 as being "most creditably distinguished by their zeal in contributing to the erection of Churches" [22*a*].

† The first seven appointed to New South Wales were the Revs. G. N. Woodd (Sydney), J. K. Walpole (Bathurst), W. Sowerby (Goulburn), T. Steele (Cook's River), W. Stack (West Maitland), E. Rogers (Brisbane Water), and T. C. Makinson (Mulgoa), all in the year 1837.

‡ As constituted by Letters Patent, January 18, 1836, the Diocese of "Australia" comprehended "the territories and Islands comprised within or dependent upon New South Wales, Van Dieman's Land, and Western Australia" [23*a*].

§ The Bishop arrived at Sydney on June 2, 1836, and was installed in St. James' Church on Sunday, June 5.

taken in their welfare by the mother Church. The colonists readily united in forming a joint Diocesan Committee of the two Societies. Within 12 months local contributions of over £3,000 were raised by this Committee [24].

To the S.P.G. the Bishop wrote in 1838: "The truest gratification I have experienced during many years has been in the arrival of the additional clergymen engaged by the Society. . . . The first four have arrived in safety and each of them may, I think, have the effect of adding a year to my life, or of preventing its being shortened by that interval through overwhelming anxiety and distractions" [25].

An insight into some of those anxieties is afforded by a Report of the House of Commons on Transportation, in 1838, which showed that in 1836

"Sydney contained about 20,000 inhabitants, of whom 3,500 were convicts, mostly assigned servants, and about 7,000 had been prisoners of the Crown. These together with their associates among the free population, were persons of violent and uncontrollable passions, incorrigibly bad characters, preferring a life of idleness and debauchery, by means of plunder, to one of honest industry. More immorality prevailed in Sydney than in any other town of the same size in the British dominions. There the vice of drunkenness had attained its highest pitch. . . . Even throughout the whole of N.S. Wales the annual average, for every human being in the colony, had reached four gallons."

In the year that this report was made (1838) some 28 natives of Australia—men, women, children, babes hanging at their mothers' breasts—"poor, defenceless human beings" were murdered in cold blood by a gang of convicts and ex-convicts. In passing sentence of death on seven of the criminals Judge Burton said:—

"I cannot but look at you with commiseration. You were all transported to this colony, although some of you have since become free. You were taken out of a Christian country and placed in a dangerous and tempting situation. You were entirely removed from the benefit of the ordinances of religion. I cannot but deplore that you should have been placed in such a situation—that such circumstances should have existed, and above all that you should have committed such a crime" [26].

The "transportation of felons" to New South Wales was discontinued about 1839 [27], but in 1840 Mr. Justice Burton called the attention of the Society "to the religious wants of the settlers in the more remote parts of the Province of New South Wales and to the deplorable state of spiritual destitution among the prisoners and iron-gangs in that country"; and acting on his advice the Society promptly made provision for two travelling Missionaries, and towards the establishment of a College at Sydney* for the training of Clergy, and advanced £3,000 to the Bishop and the trustees of St. Andrew's Church in that city. It also prayed the Imperial Government to provide "from the public funds of the mother country for the maintenance of clergymen appointed to minister" to the prisoners "as chaplains to the gaols and Ironed-gangs"† [28]. Renewed application

* *See* p. 397.

† In describing a visit to one of these chain-gangs for the purpose of ministering to them on a Sunday, a witness before the Transportation Committee said: "When I came to the place I found there a series of boxes, and when the men were turned out I was astonished to see the number that came out from each of these boxes. I could not have supposed it possible that they could have held such a number. I found that they were locked up there usually during the whole of Sunday—likewise during the whole of the time from sunset to sunrise. On looking into one of these boxes I saw there was a ledge on each side and that the men were piled upon the ledges while others lay below upon the floor" [28a].

was made to Government in 1841, the Society at the same time offering allowances for eight additional clergymen, as well as contributing to the maintenance of a Chaplain (the Rev. T. B. Naylor) at Norfolk Island, where a great proportion of the transported convicts were being sent direct from the mother country.

The provision for Norfolk Island was not continued beyond 1843 as it was a duty which properly belonged to Government, who were frequently awakened to a sense of their responsibilities by the action of the Society [29].

During a suspension of grants for Church purposes from the Colonial Treasury the Bishop stated his conviction that to the Society's exertions "we shall under God, be principally indebted for the maintenance of a sense of religion in a very considerable portion of this territory, and the preservation of the inhabitants from a state of almost total darkness." Aid from the Society's funds had been recently advanced or promised to forty places towards the erection of church or parsonage buildings. The need of this form of help will be seen from what one clergyman wrote to the Bishop in 1840:—

"I see around me on every side infidelity, drunkenness, and the grossest profanation of the Lord's Day. I have no means of checking the spread of these crimes; for there is no place whither I can direct men to go, and pray to God to pardon them. . . . Whenever a family wish me to officiate, I readily comply, and have often urged it. But many Sundays I have celebrated the Service of the Church at home with no other persons present but the members of my own family. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper has never been administered. The lower orders were struck with some dread by the address delivered by your Lordship . . . but in a few weeks their conscience was again lulled. I was told they knew the warnings against drunkenness were in the 'Book' because the Bishop said so; but they say the Clergy have put into the 'Book' what was not there, to serve their own purposes. . . . There is not money now perhaps sufficient to complete the building; and many are boasting that there will never be another stone laid upon the foundation."

"Perhaps my expression may be strong" (added the Bishop), "but in my reply I have said that if every stone in his church were to cost a pound, I feel perfect confidence in the disposition of the Society and of its supporters to pay the charge rather than that an undertaking so called for should be interrupted or abandoned" [30].

It was of course only necessary for the Society to provide a small portion of the cost of each building. Continuous assistance in this form was rendered up to 1847* [31]. These seven years (1840–7) wit-

* In several instances the plans for the churches in the country were furnished by Bishop Broughton. Thus at "Coomer" [? Cooma] in 1845 he "drew out a rough sketch of a small church, in the Early English style of architecture, which although a mere plagiarism and compilation from other examples, would have sufficient character about it to form a striking and respectable object in the wild and little-frequented neighbourhood." He then "entered into an engagement with a stonemason to build the walls of rubble-work, with . . . granite"; and two days later (February 17) the foundation stone was laid "in the presence of so large an assemblage that it appeared incredible so many persons could have been collected in a country . . . so thinly inhabited." Among those present was a Presbyterian who had been brought up "in the belief that all the observances of the Church of England were flagrant relics of popery. Convinced by what he had seen and heard on this occasion, of the utter injustice of the charge," he requested permission to have the Bishop's address printed in order "that by circulating it among his friends in Scotland he might satisfy them . . . how far we were from any approach to the errors with which we are so commonly charged." The design for the church building at Muswell Brook in 1843 was taken from an engraving of Codrington Chapel, *Barbados*, which appeared in one of the S.P.G. publications [31*a*].

nessed a remarkable growth of the material and spiritual fabric of the Church in Australasia by the formation of five new Bishoprics: New Zealand, 1841; Tasmania, 1842; Newcastle, Melbourne, and Adelaide, 1847.

The erection of the "city of Sydney," within "the already existing Diocese" into an Episcopal See by the Roman Catholic Church appeared to Bishop Broughton in 1843 to amount "to a denial that there is a lawful bishop of Australia according to the canons and usages of the Church." These were consequences which he "could not witness in silence," hence the following protest issued in March "against the establishment of any archiepiscopal see within this diocese, except it be with the consent first obtained of the Church of England at large in Convocation assembled":—

"In the name of God. Amen. We William Grant by Divine permission Bishop and Pastor of Australia, do Protest publicly and explicitly, on behalf of ourselves and our successors Bishops of Australia, and on behalf of the Clergy and all the faithful of the same Church and Diocese, and also on behalf of William by Divine providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of All England and Metropolitan, and his successors, that the Bishop of Rome has not any right or authority according to the laws of God, and the canonical order of the Church, to institute any Episcopal or archiepiscopal See or Sees within the limits of the Diocese of Australia and Province of Canterbury aforesaid. And We do hereby publicly, explicitly and deliberately protest against, dissent from, and contradict, any and every act of episcopal or metropolitan authority done, or to be done, at any time, or by any person whatever, by virtue of any right or title derived from any assumed jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority of the said Bishop of Rome enabling him to institute any episcopal See or Sees within the Diocese and Province hereinbefore named" [32].

"In the necessity and far seeing wisdom" of this action the Society entirely concurred, and although this opinion was not formally expressed until some years later [33], the meeting at which the protest was first read strengthened the hands of Bishop Broughton by a vote of £1,000* [34].

Owing to losses and privations of the settlers in the previous year (1842) "it would have been necessary to put a stop to every operation" of the Church but for the "continued benevolence of the Society . . . the most effective human agent in supplying the means of grace to a country in which, not many years" before, "they threatened entirely to fail."

At this period the population of the colony was over 120,000, of which number from 70,000 to 75,000 belonged to the Church of England, 30,000 were Roman Catholics, about 11,000 Presbyterians; the remainder being Dissenters, Jews, Mahommedans, and pagans.

There appeared to be "not a single district of the Colony in which the Church of England" did not "take the lead of every other persuasion," and in some instances its adherents outnumbered "the members of all

* The views of the Society on the subject generally may be gathered from a Memorial to the Queen in 1850. Sydney, Hobart Town, Adelaide (with Newfoundland and Nova Scotia), are therein cited as particular instances of intrusion by the Bishop of Rome into sees "occupied by rightful Bishops of the Church of England"; "regret and indignation" are expressed at "the last wanton and insolent aggression," viz. the pretending to parcel out England into dioceses, and to force upon the people "a spurious and schismatical hierarchy"; and Her Majesty is prayed to discountenance by every constitutional means the claims and usurpations of the Church of Rome, by which religious divisions are fostered and the progress of the Gospel impeded" [34*a*].

other religious denominations combined." Every year the Church was "strengthening and extending her influence, and . . . by the most legitimate of means . . . through the blameless lives, active zeal, and incorrupt teaching of her Clergy . . . who in point of private worth, professional ability and correct principle would maintain the credit of any Church upon earth" [L., Bishop Broughton, June 16, 1842, and Feb. 3, 1843 [35].]

If such could be said of the Clergy, more could be said of their Bishop, who was always ready to lead the way. During the sickness of the Priest in charge of St. Philip's, Sydney, in 1842, Bishop Broughton undertook his duty to prevent the closing of the Church, and in this parish, containing over 5,000 Church members, he read prayers, preached, administered the Sacraments, "without any assistance whatever." Although this prevented his attending to duties more properly within the province of a Bishop, "the impression produced by the existence of such necessity" was "of a good tendency" [36].

Similarly in 1848 he took charge of St. Andrew's, Sydney. The vacancy on this occasion was caused by the secession of two clergymen to the Church of Rome, for which act the Bishop, "after careful consultation for two successive days" with the other Clergy, deposed the offenders "from the orders of Deacon and Priest to which they had been admitted." Of the two—the Revs. T. C. MAKINSON and R. K. SCONCE—only the first had been sent out by the Society, which had "the consolation of reflecting" that this was "*the only case of the kind* which *during a century and a half*" it had been "called upon to record" * [37].

Visiting the Hunter's River and Bathurst districts in 1843 the Bishop reported that in five counties, forming a fourth part of the area of New South Wales, there were but one church and two clergymen [38].

An emigrant from a Sussex village, who had settled on the Clarence River, wrote home in 1842:—

"I am here in a barren land, void of all good, but full of all manner of evil; no worship to go to; no friend to converse with. . . . The most of this people are belonging to Government, and are assigned out to masters, so that Sunday is all the time they get to themselves, and then they either go to work or to the public house and get drunk, and then from place to place, revelling about till night" [39].

All that the Bishop could do for such places at this time was to send a clergyman occasionally to visit the people. Thus in 1843 the Rev. W. LISLE made a Missionary tour in the districts along the River Murray, between the central and southern divisions of the colony, where the people "appeared to be in a state of perfect ungodliness." To another remote district, Maneroo, the Rev. E. G. PRYCE was sent, literally to "search out the people amidst their flocks and herds" [40].

In 1844 the Bishop enumerated eighteen districts, comprising together "immense tracts of country" and a population of 14,000,

* On the other hand the Society can reckon on its list in various parts of the world *several ex-Roman* Catholic clergymen, as well as a large number of Dissenters, who *have joined the Anglican* Church [*see* p. 847].

which "but for the exertions of the Society would be altogether destitute of the very name and offices of religion," except that the Roman Catholics or Presbyterians might "occasionally traverse some portions of them." "It is impossible to estimate too highly" (he added) "the services which our Clergy are here placed in a position to confer; inasmuch as they may in reality be said, so far as their restricted efforts can accomplish it, to be resisting the establishment of the dominion of Atheism" [41].

As the result of fifteen years' labours in Australia the Bishop was persuaded that, although the Church of England would "have severe trials to undergo in establishing itself in the land," it was unquestionably, whether numbers or intelligence be reckoned, "the Church of the people's preference. Where it is duly administered" he knew of "no instance of its failing." But unless more clergymen were provided the ground could not be maintained [42].

By the liberality of several active and generous members of the Church at home—in particular the Rev. E. Coleridge—the Society was enabled in 1844 to place between £3,000 and £4,000 additional funds at the Bishop's disposal, which was chiefly applied to the increase of church buildings [43]. In 1846 St. James' College, for the training of candidates for Holy Orders, was opened at Sydney, to which the Society in 1847 appropriated over £1,000 from a bequest of the Rev. Dr. Warneford [44]. The bequest was in 1871 [45] transferred for the benefit of Moore College, a superior Theological Training Institution, founded in 1856 by the munificence of Mr. Moore, who bequeathed to the Diocese "about £20,000 in money and a considerable extent of land . . . the latter to endow a college, to be built on the site of his house and garden at Liverpool, to be called "Moore College" [*see* p. 787*a*]. The money, also to be invested in land, was divided into four equal parts—one "to augment clergymen's stipends," another "to maintain their widows and orphans," a third "to the Diocesan Committee," and the fourth "to make provision for a certain number of alms-men and women, poor and old and members of the Church of England." The Bishop took his last leave of Mr. Moore a few days before his death on Christmas Eve 1840, at which time he was "tranquil and happy, and evidently viewing with satisfaction the disposal he had made of his property." Referring to the will the Bishop added: "It really is a noble document, worthy of better times; and shows how much good sense and sound principles may be manifested under circumstances apparently the least likely to encourage or draw them forth; for he was bred, and came originally to this colony, as a carpenter of a ship." [L., Jan. 9, 1841] [46].

The formation of three new sees in 1847 relieved Bishop Broughton of a diocesan jurisdiction of 880,000 square miles—viz. Newcastle, 500,000; Melbourne, 80,000; Adelaide, 300,000. But for the surrender of one fourth of his income the first two Bishoprics could not have been endowed at the time, and the Society recorded "its high sense of the noble sacrifice" [47]. As the remaining 100,000 square miles could not be properly entitled Diocese of "Australia," Bishop Broughton's charge was reconstituted (by Letters Patent June 25, 1847) and designated "Sydney." Induction to this Metropolitical See took place on January 25, 1848, the sixtieth anniversary of the foundation of the

colony [48]. In October 1850 Bishop Broughton, with the several Suffragan Bishops of his Province, held a memorable conference at Sydney, and published their decisions and opinions on various doctrinal and ecclesiastical matters, laid the foundation of Synods, and organised

"an Australasian Board of Missions, to be supported by voluntary contributions from the six dioceses of Sydney, New Zealand, Tasmania, Adelaide, Melbourne, and Newcastle; and having for its object the Propagation of the Gospel among the heathen races, in the province of Australasia, New Caledonia, the Loyalty Islands, the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands, New Hanover, New Britain, and the other Islands in the Western Pacific."

With reference to the aborigines of Australia the Metropolitan stated that in 1829 he had put before the Clergy in his Archdeaconry the "appalling consideration that after an intercourse of nearly half a century with a Christian people, these hapless human beings continue . . . in their original benighted and degraded state," and his fears that European settlement in their country had "deteriorated a condition of existence than which before . . . nothing more miserable could easily be conceived." Since that period (1829) "the time which had elapsed had not passed without effort in the holy cause, but it had passed without fruit," although he believed that their exertions were now to be rewarded [49].

[The actual work which has been undertaken by the Australasian Board of Missions (which must be regarded as an off-shoot of the Society) comprises the support of Missions to the natives of Australia, Melanesia, China (immigrants), and New Guinea [50].

The disfavour with which the Chinese are regarded by the colonists has in some parts of Australia been a great stumbling-block to their conversion, but in Sydney a special Mission-Church exists with an ordained Chinese clergyman and catechists. In New South Wales the Missions to the heathen have been carried on without assistance from the Society, whose resources were strained to the utmost to preserve Christianity among the colonists.]

In 1850 Bishop Broughton reported that, after passing the boundaries of the more settled districts, upon which his exertions, "upheld by the Society's munificence," had been employed since his return in 1836, the state and prospects of everything connected with religion were such as to fill him "with alarm, if not with dismay." "Wherever I go," he said, "it is but to witness a scanty population, scattered over tracts of country hundreds of miles in extent, without churches, or ordinances, . . . clergy or instructors of any kind, and without any means of Christian education for their children" [51]. To meet these wants the Bishop made a large sacrifice of his own income, and the Society provided funds for several additional clergymen [52].

On the gold discoveries the Society anticipated the Bishop's wishes by sending out more Missionaries to minister to the multitudes engaged in the search for earthly treasure [53]. During the gold-fever the schools in some parts of New South Wales were deserted by the teachers, and "the Clergy . . . took upon themselves the whole burden of teaching" [54]. The contributions of the colonists for Church purposes showed that they were not altogether unmindful of those who had sown unto them spiritual things—the offerings in the *Diocese of* Sydney in 1853 amounting to £17,000 [55].

In this year (February 1853) Bishop Broughton died while in England on a visit. To quote the words of Sir Alfred Stephen, Chief Justice of New South Wales, "no man ever went down to his grave full of years and honours carrying with him more deservedly the respect and veneration of his fellow colonists. . . . I believe that by all classes and by all sects no man in the colony was more universally respected than Bishop Broughton" [56].

His successor, the Rev. FREDERIC BARKER, found the diocese already to a great extent independent of foreign aid. In the year of his consecration the Rev. W. H. WALSH (since 1838 one of the most meritorious of the Sydney clergy) wrote in 1854: "I wish to give notice of my intention of not drawing for the Society's kind grant of £50 annually for the future. I will not say I do not need it, but I cannot reconcile it to my conscience to receive from England what ought to be provided by the colonists" [57].

For the outlying districts the Society's assistance was still indispensable. Writing after his first visit into the interior Bishop Barker said (November 6, 1855):—

"Everywhere beyond the Blue Mountains and beyond the settled districts, I find the same cry, 'Send us an active zealous Clergyman' and everywhere the same willingness expressed to maintain him. . . . The Society has for many years been the great and sole channel for diffusing the bounty of England through this dry and thirsty land. New South Wales owes you much; I trust . . . you will be still able to uphold us in our endeavour to overtake the daily increasing necessities of this immense country" [58].

By means of a grant of £300 per annum from the Society the Bishop was enabled to employ his chaplain, the Rev. E. SYNGE, as a travelling and organising Missionary "beyond the boundaries." During his first journey, made in 1855 and covering 3,500 miles, Mr. Synge took with him no horse, but only as much luggage as he could carry in his hand, and for the rest trusted to the resources of the country, which were abundant. Remaining a week or so in a district, he held "services everywhere and generally twice a day." A meeting of the principal residents was then held, a committee formed, and subscriptions were raised. In this way guarantees of over £1,000 a year were obtained from four districts alone for the maintenance of as many clergymen.

A companion on one of his tours wrote in 1860: "I know of no man to whom the Church in New South Wales is more indebted than Mr. Synge, for he has ably vindicated her claim to be the most zealous and persevering communion in supplying the spiritual needs of this colony" [59]. Mr. Synge's work in this capacity, which continued up to 1865, was carried on entirely in that part of the colony now included in the Diocese of Goulburn, which was formed in 1863. Writing soon after that event the Bishop of Sydney said:—

"Most of that which has been done is due to the efforts of Mr. Synge, who by his unwearied patience and zeal has planted, and by his prayerful and repeated visits has watered, the seed of Divine life in every part of that vast region, which from the Darling to the coast, requires the traveller to pass over upwards of 1,000 miles. The Society, by the continuance of its grants to Mr. Synge, has conferred a great and lasting benefit on the colony, in addition to the many others received from the same source for many years" [60].

Included in these benefits was a grant of £1,000 from the Jubilee

Fund (in 1858), the first encouragement given to the proposal to found the new diocese. The raising of the remainder of the endowment, about £12,000, in the colony marked an important advance in the history of the Church in Australia [61]. Since then, mainly by local efforts, three new sees have been founded in New South Wales: Grafton and Armidale, 1867; Bathurst, 1869; and Riverina,* 1884 [62]. In these districts the Society had long laboured, and their organisation into distinct dioceses showed the fruit of its work. Armidale was visited by Bishop Broughton in 1845. It then consisted of "twelve or fourteen scattered cottages, principally composed of timber and roofs of bark," also a court house, and the inhabitants numbered only 76. Of these 46 were members of the Church of England. During a stay of ten days the Bishop twice officiated in the court house (Sundays, October 12 and 19), performing the offices of matrimony, baptism, Churching of women, and Confirmation, and made preparations for the erection of a church, to be named St. Peter's, and in the following March he arranged to place a clergyman there (the Rev. J. TINGCOMB) "to follow up the good work" he himself "had begun" [63].

Bathurst was one of the places for which Archdeacon Broughton appealed for aid in church building in 1834, the inhabitants having been "most creditably distinguished by their zeal in contributing." They had been accustomed to assemble for public worship "in the barn of the parsonage," but in 1833 they subscribed £500, the Colonial Government gave a like sum, the first stone of the church was laid by the Archdeacon in February 1834, and a grant of £100 from the Society in the following year enabled the building to be completed [64].

When the first Bishop of Bathurst, a grandson of the Rev. Samuel Marsden [*see* p. 388], took charge of his diocese, he was "appalled by the magnitude of the work" before him. The city of Bathurst contained 6,500 inhabitants, but to reach the remaining population some clergymen had to travel 8,000 miles a year in the exercise of their ministry [65]. The foundation of the See of Riverina* (1884) was a welcome measure of relief to the Bishop of Bathurst, and still more so to the Bishop of Goulburn, whose clergy as recently as 1878 were burdened with parishes averaging in size 1,000 square miles [66].

The story of the Society's work in the districts comprising the four last-mentioned dioceses is mainly comprehended in the preceding notices of the parent See of Australia or Sydney, and in that of Newcastle which follows. At the time of its formation in 1847 the Diocese of Newcastle contained some 40,000 settlers, scattered over one-fourth of its surface—that fourth equalling in extent the whole of Great Britain and Ireland. For this vast area there were only seventeen clergymen, and many districts were "entirely destitute of religious instruction and religious ordinances" [67]. Through the instrumentality of the Society provision was at once forthcoming for the employment of additional clergymen [68], and writing in 1851 Dr. TYRRELL, the first Bishop, thus described the condition of the diocese as he found it and the progress that had been made:—

"The state of universal bankruptcy; the heavy debt hanging over every finished Church; the number of Churches just begun, and then, in anger or

* *£10,000* of the endowment of Riverina was given by the Hon. John Campbell, one *of the most liberal* and constant supporters of the Church in New South Wales. (*See also p. 459.*)

despair, left a monument of past folly; the vast districts of my diocese left without the ministrations of the Church, or the sound of the Gospel; and the confirmed habit in the members of our Church of depending for everything they want, on the Government or the Bishop, after the Government fund had been long appropriated and exhausted, and the resources of the Bishop had almost entirely failed: these things were indeed sufficient to fill the most resolute mind with anxiety and alarm. My first work was to find out the extent of existing evils, and probe them to the bottom. For this purpose I have visited every part of my extensive diocese, journied and preached where no minister of the Gospel has ever been heard or seen before: and my visitation rides on horseback have been very frequently 200, 300, and 500 miles; once 1,000, at another time 1,200. . . . Having thus gained an accurate knowledge of the existing evils, and the most pressing wants, I began to act on the principle which, both as Presbyter and Bishop, I have ever laid down for my guidance in ministerial duties, the aiming at real and sound and lasting, though distant good, however unnoticed my labours might be. Thus in three years, instead of building a College, or commencing a Cathedral, I have by encouragement and assistance freedevery church from debt. I have turned feelings of disappointment and anger into delight and gratitude by the completion of works which had been given up in despair and above all throughout the whole peopled portion of my diocese extending about 500 miles in length and from 200 to 300 miles in breadth, the Gospel is now preached and the Sacraments administered" [69].

During three weeks spent in the New England district in 1848 the Bishop persuaded "almost every settler, or squatter, (1) to "have family prayers in the evening," "(2) to have service on the Sunday, and read a Sermon out of a book" approved and provided by the Bishop, "(3) to superintend a Lending Library for all the men and shepherds on his station," and "(4) to unite with all the other settlers in this vast district for some common Church purpose, which this year is to be for the definite object of building a nice Church in the township of the district, Armidale" [70]. Relying on the aid of the Society, the Bishop was "enabled to provide a most earnest, efficient body of Clergy"—ready to "do anything or go anywhere" that he desired—and to secure the hearty co-operation of the laity in building up the Church [71]. The unwearied labours of the Bishop attracted the notice of a section of the Presbyterians, who in their Synod resolved that inasmuch as the visitations of the Bishop of Newcastle were evidently attended with the most beneficial results to his own Communion, some similar mode of visitation should as soon as possible be carried out in their own body [72].

On assuming charge of the diocese he "found that the Church owed its existence and its progress, mainly, under the Lord's blessing," to the Society; and from the first he aimed at using its aid "really for the propagation of the Gospel, *i.e.* for supporting Missionaries in new districts, which were destitute of all means of grace' [73]. The Report for 1852 stated that "it would not be possible to name any portion of the Colonial Church in which the Society's grants appear to be more effectually or more economically applied," and it was Bishop Tyrrell's opinion that no grant of the Society had "produced more real good" than that to his diocese [74].

In 1859 he was relieved of the care of Moreton Bay* district (Diocese of Brisbane [*see* p. 411]), and in 1867 of that of Grafton and Armidale [75].

From an early period of his episcopate he strove to secure stability of the Church by providing an endowment fund. His ef

* The southern division of Queensland.

were warmly supported by the laity, but he himself in temporal as well as spiritual things has been the greatest benefactor to the diocese [76]. Living a frugal and self-denying life, he was enabled to acquire sixteen valuable stations in New South Wales and Queensland, and in 1878 he bequeathed the whole of this property to the diocese. The bequest—then *estimated* as worth a quarter of a million sterling—was designed to provide an endowment for all the main diocesan institutions [77]; but as yet the estimate has not been realised.

For some time previous to 1882 the Society's aid to New South Wales had been gradually diminishing, and in that year it wholly ceased, excepting some slight payments of the nature of pensions to certain covenanted* clergymen in the Diocese of Sydney [78]. The good effected by this aid will be best realised by taking the case of a single district. One of the first Missionaries sent to the colony by the Society was the Rev. W. Stack, who in 1867 thus recorded the progress which he had witnessed :—

"I went to the colony of New South Wales thirty years ago in company with two other clergymen, all three Missionaries of the S.P.G. On our arrival we were separated far apart, at distances varying from above a hundred to above two hundred miles, and were placed in the three most important inland settlements of the colony, Goulburn, Bathurst, and Maitland. I took charge of West Maitland, then already a large, populous, and rapidly increasing town, and of a tract of country which extended a hundred miles beyond. In all that vast district I was at that time the only clergyman of our Church.

"New South Wales was then almost a prison, although we had already a few free emigrants. Our population was in a great measure composed of the felony of Great Britain, and was in a state of the grossest demoralization. Throughout my district drunkenness and every vileness prevailed. Crimes of violence and even murder were of fearful frequency. I can remember as many as four attempts to rob my house at night, in two of which the plunderers were actually in the house. The Government of the colony had become alive to the necessity of making some provision for the spiritual instruction of the scattered population; and to aid in this goodwork the S.P.G. had placed large sums at the disposal of the Bishop.

"The Colonial Government offered assistance on condition of fixed sums being raised to meet their grants. The effort to raise the required sum among the colonists would have been hopeless, as but a small minority had any fear of God or any love of truth. But I had in every case the Bishop's sanction for promising large and liberal aid from the funds of the Society. The result is that in that large district where I was once the only clergyman, and a clergyman without a church, there are now at least ten clergymen, and for every clergyman a church and house, and, I think, a school or schools; and those clergymen are for the most part now maintained by the voluntary contributions of their people. And for,—yes, hundreds, if not thousands of miles beyond—to the north and west, our Church is now labouring to spread forth and send her ministers into the remotest pasture-land, and mountains, and forests, and wherever there is a soul to receive their ministrations; although the aid granted by the Colonial Government has been withdrawn, and although but little, if any, assistance is now given to that district by the S.P.G. That Society helped us well over our first and greatest difficulties; and now, through God's blessing, the seed she there sowed has increased a hundred-fold while she is engaged in doing her Master's work elsewhere" [79].

In carrying on its work in other parts the Society has at times received substantial assistance from New South Wales. Bishop Tyrrell in 1860 "undertook to head a list of subscriptions for the general purposes" of the Society, "to be remitted . . . at the close of each year; so that many of our clergy, and I trust of our laity also, may thus show the gratitude which I know they feel towards the Society

* The last of these, the Rev. G. N. Woodd, died on Sept. 7, 1893.

which has conferred such inestimable benefits on the Church in this colony " [80].

1892–1900.

Since the year 1897 the Society has temporarily renewed its aid to New South Wales in order to meet some pressing needs which have arisen. The help thus given has been in the form of grants for (*a*) additional clergy in the dioceses of Riverina (1898–1900), and Grafton and Armidale (1899–1900); (*b*) the erection or enlargement of churches* and educational buildings* in those two dioceses, and in that of Goulburn, and (*c*) £1,000 for the Bishopric Endowment Fund of Goulburn, which, owing to the mismanagement and dishonesty of the agent to whom it had been entrusted by the late Bishop,† had been reduced by over £4,300 [81].

In the case of Riverina there were, in 1896, only fifteen clergymen for a diocese larger than the whole of Great Britain, and in consequence hundreds of our own kith and kin were "lapsing into practical heathenism," and not through any fault of their own, but simply because their spiritual needs were never attended to. One man wrote thus to Bishop Anderson :—"If we were negroes in South Africa or South Sea Islanders, if we were the vilest heathen races, then we might hope for some attention ; but because we are white men, forced out into the wild bush, no one cares for us. We may lead the life of animals, and die the death of dogs."

Besides the settlers, the Mission to the aborigines and the Chinese in the diocese needed strengthening, and the Society's response, which enabled five additional clergymen to be employed, greatly cheered and encouraged the Bishop [82].

The Jubilee of the Australian Board of Missions, held in Sydney in 1900, was attended by twenty Bishops, including the Bishops of Nova Scotia, South Tokyo, New Guinea, and Melanesia ; and at the consecration of the first Bishop of Carpentaria, in Sydney Cathedral, on St. Bartholomew's Day [*see* p. 424], the Jubilee offerings presented amounted to £8,400—a sum subsequently increased by the week's Missionary meetings in the city. The Bishop of Tasmania, who took a leading part in the movement, attributed its success mainly to the past work of the Society [83].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 466.)

* From the Marriott bequest. For St. John's College, Armidale, *see* p. 787*b*.

† Bishop Thomas, whose successor, Bishop Chalmers (consecrated 1892), was formerly a Missionary of the Society in Borneo, and in Melbourne Diocese.

CHAPTER LXI.

VICTORIA.

VICTORIA, the south-eastern corner of Australia, was discovered by Captain Cook in 1770; and between 1798 and 1802 its shores were explored by Bass, Flinders, Grant, and Murray. Unsuccessful attempts were made to found penal settlements in 1803 (at Port Phillip) and 1826 (at Western Port). The first permanent and free settlement was formed in 1834 at Portland Bay by the Henty family, which had arrived in Van Diemen's Land shortly before, from England. Other adventurers followed in 1835 from Van Diemen's Land and from Sydney. Regular government, subordinate to that of Sydney, was established in 1836; and in 1851 the district—which from 1839 had borne the name of "Port Phillip"—was separated from New South Wales and created the distinct Colony of "Victoria."

IN April 1838 Bishop BROUGHTON of Australia visited Port Phillip. From "its favourable position and the good quality of the surrounding country" the settlement bade fair "to become very speedily an opulent and important scene of business and consequently to advance a correspondingly strong claim upon our attention to its religious interests." The "town of Melbourne," established on the river *Yarra Yarra*, already contained "600 resident inhabitants." They had "no church as yet erected; but morning and evening prayers, with printed sermons" were "read every Sunday in a small wooden building (used also as a school-house) by Mr. James Smith, a worthy and much respected settler." On Easter Day the Bishop "officiated twice . . . and administered the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper for the first time in that part of the territory." The weather was "most unfavourable." Yet "the building was completely filled by the congregations and the number of communicants exceeded twenty." An address signed by Captain Lonsdale (the police magistrate) and by "a very considerable proportion of the principal settlers" was presented to the Bishop "expressive of their confirmed and zealous attachment to the Church of England, and of their anxious desire to enjoy again the administration of its ordinances by a resident Clergyman." During his week's stay the Bishop "concerted" with the District Committees of the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. which had been established there, "the means of erecting a church, and also consecrated a burial ground." £100 "from the Societies' joint bounty" was promised towards the building of the church and parsonage; and to this "ample and . . . promising field" was appointed a few months later the Rev. J. C. GRYLLS. [L., Bishop Broughton, May 22, 1838 [1].]

Mr. Grylls' health "sank under the burden of duty" at Melbourne, and he was replaced by the Rev. J. Y. WILSON (1841 &c.), and other clergymen* were soon stationed in the Port Phillip district at the express desire of many of the people [2].

This desire could not always be gratified, and hence during a later

* Revs. R. Allwood, R. Forest (1840), R. Styles, W. G. Nott, F. Vidal (1841), Port Phillip; A. C. Thompson(1841), Melbourne. Transferred:—J. C. Grylls (1842) and J. Y. Wilson (1844), to Portland.

visit Bishop Broughton himself remained at Geelong in 1843 to minister to the settlers. Service was held in the Court House daily, morning and evening: the attendance was "very good . . . and it was continued throughout by the parishioners with unabated seriousness and regularity." Confirmation candidates also came every day for instruction, "and thus engaged" the Bishop "passed a fortnight quietly and happily in the oversight of the flock of God committed to" his "charge." The foundation-stone of a church was also laid, help being promised from the Society. The principal settlers had previously "made an arrangement among themselves to attend public worship every Sunday, one of their number reading the service, and another an approved discourse by some divine of our Church." To this the episcopal sanction was given, and the District Surgeon, Mr. Clarke, was also "requested to . . . read the burial Service over the dead." After leaving Geelong the Bishop proceeded to Melbourne, where for two months he regularly assisted Mr. THOMPSON, the only clergyman in the County of Bourke. Melbourne, which in 1838 "contained but three houses deserving the name," and only "a few hundred souls," was "now a large metropolis . . . with a population approaching to 8,000, more than one half of whom" were "members of our Church." "The wooden building" had been superseded by "St. James's Church . . . a large structure, substantially built of a dark coloured stone." To this church the Society had also contributed, but it was still incomplete. In it eighty-seven persons were confirmed on October 27, and the Bishop ended his work by officiating twice on Sunday, December 10, in a store at "William's Town . . . the port of Melbourne, six miles down the River Yarra." Here "the attendance was very numerous and very respectable."

The Bishop left the colony with "a profound impression of the difficulties" under which he laboured "in providing the means of grace" where needed, but still persuaded that the Church of England, whether reckoned "according to numbers or intelligence," was "the Church of the people's preference" [3].

The District Committee of Port Phillip seconded the efforts of their Bishop by representing to the Society (in 1843) the neglected state of the population in the interior. Of at least 9,000 of these they could say: "Their condition holds out to the Society . . . such a scene of spiritual destitution as called that noble institution into existence, when thousands of our Christian brethren were similarly situated in the North American Colonies, nearly a century and a half ago. Worse, . . . than *they were then* in the plantations, *are our bush population at the present day* in this wide tract of country without the observance of the Lord's Day . . . the celebration of public worship," or "even the occasional visits of a Clergyman, either to counsel or comfort, rebuke or exhort." To add to "the evils," there were living amongst them "1,300 of the most degraded heathen" and nearly 3,000 more at no great distance. There being no "prospect of a better state of things" arising out of the efforts of the bush population itself, the Committee turned "to the Venerable Society," which had "already done so much to supply the religious wants of this country."

This representation was signed by the Administrator* of the

* Mr. C. J. Latrobe, then designated Superintendent, afterwards Lieut.-Governo

Province, but little more could be done at that time than to endeavour to enlist the support of the Imperial Government and Churchmen at home [4].

In 1847 the colony was erected into the Bishopric of Melbourne, and the Society provided funds for sending out several additional clergymen [5].

The new Bishop, Dr. PERRY, was consecrated in Westminster Abbey on St. Peter's Day (June 29) 1847, and on his arrival in January 1848 there were in the diocese only three clergymen (one each at Melbourne, Geelong, and Portland), four churches (two unfinished), three schoolrooms, and two parsonages [6].

In some places much had been done by the faithful laity to keep alive a sense of religion and a spirit of devotion. Thus at Portland the Messrs. Henty in 1841 had been accustomed to assemble the people every Sunday to read to them Morning Prayers and occasionally a sermon [7]. At Belfast the Bishop found Dr. BRAIM performing a similar office, and although the people comprised "a great variety of religious denominations," there was "no bitterness of feeling amongst them"; "a neat little weather-board church" had been erected "by the united contributions of all the Protestant inhabitants," and all attended the service. At their request Dr. Braim was ordained as their pastor. Everywhere the Bishop was well received, "especially among the Presbyterians"; and in many instances the people "willingly came forward to contribute to the support of an Episcopalian Clergyman among them." At Gippsland, chiefly Presbyterian, where there had never been a resident minister of any denomination, all appeared "ready to unite, without regard to their differences, in order to obtain in some way or other the ministry of the Word" [8].

The Bishop was appalled by "the total indifference manifested to the spiritual welfare of those . . . sent out to this country from the British islands." Emigrants and exiles were continually arriving, unaccompanied by a single minister of any denomination. The greater number of them were "practically excommunicated; deprived of participation in any of the ordinances of Christianity." The "exiles" were convicts who, after punishment for a certain period in England were transported with a full pardon subject to the one condition that they did not return. Their introduction led to such evils that the Bishop, though at first disposed to favour the system, had soon to confess that he "should regard the arrival of a ship with convicts as even less mischievous than that of one with pardoned exiles." Another class largely imported, and which proved prejudicial to the young colony, consisted of "expirees"—that is, convicts whose term of transportation had expired. These came chiefly from Van Diemen's Land, and the injury done to Victoria thereby had much to do in stopping the transportation to the former country. [*See* p. 432.] Unless the ministry of the Gospel were "effectually supplied within the next few years," either "Popery" would become "predominant or the truths of Christianity . . . be almost altogether forgotten, and the land . . . overspread with infidelity" [9].

By means of its Emigrants' Spiritual Aid Fund the Society at once secured the services of religious instructors for emigrants on the voyage [10]. "The liberal and effective aid" rendered by the

Society "in diffusing the great blessings of the Gospel through the Diocese," drew forth due expressions of gratitude from the Church there [11].

Within three months of the constitution of the Colony of "Victoria," began "the discovery of the most extensive and most abundant gold fields hitherto known in the history of the world," producing "a complete revolution in the state of Society, bringing . . . a large proportion of the labouring population of the neighbouring Colonies, and at the same time raising the price of labour to an exorbitant amount, making the common workman . . . a rich man," and reducing those who possessed fixed incomes to "a comparative state of poverty." More than a million sterling was "produced by digging within a few months" [12].

The first goldfield, that of Ballarat, was discovered in September 1851; that of Mount Alexander a few weeks later. Bendigo and others soon followed.

The excitement produced by these discoveries extended throughout and beyond the colony. The bulk of the male population were eager to obtain a share of the treasure. Every kind of ordinary business was abandoned, good appointments and situations were given up, and household property was sold for a mere trifle to provide the necessary equipment. For a short time the towns were so deserted by the men that on one occasion there was scarcely a man to be seen in Melbourne who was not engaged in preparing for the conveyance of himself or others to the goldfields, and on the last night of the year the police had only two agents left in the city. During the three years 1851–4 the population of the colony increased from about 77,000 to over 232,000 [13].

To meet the religious wants of the people the Society came forward in 1852 with increased aid [14], and in 1853 the local Legislature passed an Act appropriating £30,000 a year to the general maintenance of religion in the colony. This sum was divided among all the existing Christian denominations, according to numbers, rather more than one half falling to the share of the Church of England. In addition to this £30,000, provision was made from the same source for chaplains to the gaol and penal establishments, and for ministers on the goldfields [15]. To the Bishop "the time of the gold discovery, both in respect to the Colony and to the Church, seemed particularly to indicate a gracious providence," coming as it did after the colony had been provided with a resident responsible head, and after the Church had become to a certain sense established in the land, and a representative body of the laity had distinctly recognised the duty of maintaining religion among the people. Added to this was the advantage of having for ruler "at the first formation of the Colony and during . . . many years, a man not only of the strictest integrity and purest morals, but of sound religious principles," which were manifested on all occasions both in his public and private life. "It is impossible to estimate too highly the benefit conferred upon Victoria by the personal character of Mr. La Trobe, whose influence and example were uniformly upon the side of religion and virtue." The laity generally appeared to have "a much stronger sense of their responsibility towards the Church than their brethren in England" [16].

In 1851 the laity joined with the Clergy in conference in acknowledging

"that while it is lawful for the Church of England in this Colony to receive aid from the State, as well as contributions from friends of the Church in Great Britain, it is nevertheless the duty of all Christian communities to provide for the promulgation of the Gospel and for the maintenance of their Ministers, if they possess the necessary means; and also that by God's blessing on the Colony, the members of the Church in this diocese do possess such means."

From 1853 the provision derived from all local sources—amounting to £81,500 in the year 1869—proved sufficient for the main support of the Church in Victoria [17]. The State aid to it, which gradually increased to about £21,000 a year, was withdrawn in 1875, and from that date the main dependence has been on the voluntary contributions of the people, which were stimulated by a gift of £1,000 from the Society in 1876 towards the endowment of the clergy [18].

During the fifteen years 1848-63 the clergy in the diocese increased from 8 to 90, the churches from 4 to 77, and the schools from 3 to 196 [19]. But while the progress of the Church had "perhaps been more rapid, the spiritual destitution" in 1863 was still "greater than in almost any other English colony," and for such places as could not be provided for otherwise the Society's aid was continued as long as needed.

"The assistance thus afforded . . . has been of the greatest benefit in promoting the progress of the Church." "The benefit arising from your grant" (continued the Bishop) "is very much greater than could be inferred from its actual amount* . . . it is to be estimated by comparison, not with the aggregate amounts of the stipends of the Clergy, but with the amounts dispensable by the Church for the supply of the most urgent wants of the Diocese in the year—of this it contributes a very large proportion" [20].

The progress of the Church in Victoria and the openings before her had called for a second Bishop as early as 1866, and on the withdrawal of State aid the Melbourne Diocesan Assembly were enabled (from capitalised savings) to set aside £8,000 towards the endowment of a new diocese, which was formed in 1875 under the name of Ballarat [21].

On the arrival of the first Bishop, Dr. THORNTON, there were 33 clergy, assisted by lay helpers, at work in a country half the size of England, among a scattered population of 250,000. Within six years the number of clergy was raised to 50, and that of the readers doubled. Reviewing the progress made, the Bishop stated, in 1881, that the "considerate, generous, and judicious support" of the Society had been of the "greatest assistance . . . in organising and developing the Church in face of singular and unexpected difficulties." The support consisted of an annual grant towards the maintenance of Missions, and £1,000 (in 1875) towards clergy endowment; the latter sum elicited £4,000 from other sources [22].

The work of the Church in Victoria has been mainly among the European Colonists, who form the chief part of the population. Although much has not been accomplished among the aborigines and the Chinese, those races have not been wholly neglected.

* [At that time £650 per annum. In 1865 "nineteen large and important districts" *were being assisted* from a grant of £600 [20*a*].]

In regard to the former Bishop Perry reported in 1849 that he could not see "any opening for a Mission among them." Almost every attempt which had been made for their instruction and conversion had been abandoned. One, which had been carried on by the Wesleyans for a time with some hopes of success, had just been "given up in despair," and the remnant of the various surviving tribes were "as ignorant of the one living and true God as any generation of their forefathers." "It is a melancholy thought" (he added) "that such should be the result of our occupation of their country; but if those who were born and brought up in Christian England are suffered to fall into a state of ignorance and ungodliness scarcely better than heathenism, how can we wonder that the native heathen should continue still in their former darkness?" [23]. In the following year was constituted the Australasian Board of Missions, and at the meeting for the purpose in Sydney [*see* p. 398] Bishop Perry stated that he could not discover that more than three natives had ever been Christianised in the colony which he represented. Encouraged, however, by what had been accomplished in South and West Australia, he promoted the formation of a Mission on the Murray River, undertaken by the Moravian Brethren in 1850, and which was "supported in a great measure by members of the Church of England" [24].

At a later date the Church engaged directly in work among the Natives, and from the Portland district the Society's Missionary (Rev. C. P. ALLNUTT) in 1873 and 1875 reported good progress in the Lake Gudah Aborigines Mission, which had been under his superintendence [25].

Among the Chinese immigrants in the Colony a Mission was begun about 1856. It was then "maintained by the combined exertions of all the several Protestant branches of the Church," and was progressing favourably [26].

With the exception of the employment of a Chinese catechist in the Yackandandah district in 1860 [27] little more is recorded on this subject until 1869, when the Rev. J. B. STAIR of St. Arnaud reported that two Chinese had been baptized by him. One of these, James Lee Wah, was in the same year confirmed and placed at Sandhurst as a teacher, and in a few months he brought four of his countrymen to confirmation. Several other Chinese catechists were the result of Mr. Stair's work, which by 1874 had extended to New Bendigo, Daylesford, and Blackwood [28].

In the St. Arnaud district the Mission "proceeded steadily and with many tokens of blessing on it." Mr. Stair in 1875 had 17 candidates for baptism, and there was abundant proof that the Gospel was "quietly spreading amongst the Chinese" [29].

Referring to the "long, diligent, self-denying services" of Mr. Stair, the Bishop of Melbourne said in this year "We are indebted to him for the re-establishment of our Chinese Missions, he having been the instrument in God's hand of converting the first Chinaman, whom we were able after an interval of several years to employ as a Missionary to his fellow countrymen" [30].

In 1881 the Society withdrew its aid to the Church in Victoria, leaving this and other good works to be carried on by local effort [31].

1881–1900.

Since 1881 the Society has given no further assistance to Victoria beyond a sum of £200 voted in 1897 for the benefit of the Clergy in the poor bush districts of the Diocese of Ballarat [32].

Bishop Thornton resigned that bishopric in 1900, and was succeeded by Bishop Green, translated from Grafton and Armidale [32*a*].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 466.)

CHAPTER LXII.

QUEENSLAND.

QUEENSLAND forms the north-eastern division of Australia. The Gulf of Carpentaria was visited by the Dutch in 1606, and the eastern coast by Cook in 1770; but it was not until 1823 that the River Brisbane was discovered. In the next year began the first settlement—Moreton Bay, which was a penal one formed from the more incorrigible of the convicts in New South Wales. The rich pasturage of Darling Downs attracted squatters in 1828; but the country was not thrown open to colonisation before 1842, nor was it separated from New South Wales until 1859, when it became a distinct colony under the name of Queensland. The progress of Queensland was marvellous. In two years it rose to be tenth in point of revenue and importance among the 48 British Colonies of 1862.

Two years before the opening of the colony to free immigration a Missionary of the Society, the Rev. J. MORSE, was placed at Brisbane, and in 1843 his successor, the Rev. J. GREGOR, extended his labours to distant parts of the Moreton Bay district. The need of the restraining influences of religion was all the more urgent here because the treatment of the natives by the earlier settlers (mostly convicts) had led to frequent conflicts between the two races, in which the white man may be said to have justly earned the title of savage.

In his first tour Mr. Gregor "saw a number of the aborigines." They were "all armed with shields, spears, waddies, and boomerangs," and were "very vociferous in their calls of 'Name you,'" but did not molest him. From the squatters the Missionary met with a reception which "could not well be surpassed in point of courtesy and kindness." Everyone was anxious to afford him "every facility in meeting with the servants on the stations (shepherds &c.) for the purposes of devotion and religious instruction," all set a good example to those under them by attending prayers &c., and promises of substantial help for

the maintenance of religion were forthcoming. Scotch Presbyterians "united with pleasure and interest in the service of the Church of England," and generally his ministrations were acceptable to servant and master alike. Many who had "not heard the sound of the glad tidings of great joy for years, were visibly and deeply affected with what was spoken to them; and not a few expressed their gratitude . . . for the exertions . . . made . . . to preach to them in the wilderness the Gospel of Jesus Christ." Some exceptions there were, and one man whom Mr. Gregor sought to influence was "the most hardened creature in iniquity" that had ever come under his observation, being "totally insensible to every . . . good impression"; "he stated that he had quite made up his mind to go to hell provided he could accomplish his desires of this world's grossest pleasures" [1].

While Moreton Bay remained a part of New South Wales the Society's connection with it was limited to the support of two Missionaries (Rev. J. GREGOR 1843–50 and Rev. H. O. IRWIN 1851–9). Of the state of the Church Missions there during this period few particulars exist except what may be gathered from the reports of the Bishops of Australia and Newcastle already quoted. [*See* pp. 394–402.] Simultaneously with the formation of the Colony of Queensland (1859) the Moreton Bay district (*i.e.* Southern and Central Queensland), which in 1847 had been included in the See of Newcastle, became (with the Mackay* district) the Diocese of Brisbane, Northern Queensland (excepting Mackay* district) still remaining under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Sydney. The Society contributed £1,000 towards the endowment of the new bishopric and provided for additional Missionaries, and within three years of the consecration of Dr. TUFNELL (its first Bishop) the number of clergymen had risen from 3 to 16, and the local contributions had increased five-fold [2]. The work of the Clergy was exceedingly trying and laborious, for not only were "many of the people careless of religion" but frequently the Missions were as extensive as the largest of our English counties. Had it not been for the Society's aid numbers of the settlers must have been left "as ignorant as the natives around them, as far as religion is concerned" [3]. One of the Missionaries wrote of "a young man of ordinary intelligence," attending Divine Service for the first time in his life:—"he thought the Service would not have been over till midnight (commencing at 7 P.M.) and must have had the idea that it would be something like a ball or theatrical performance" [4].

Under the administration of Bishop HALE, who succeeded to the diocese in 1875, a great advance was made towards supplying the religious wants of the Colonists from local voluntary contributions [5], and in 1881 the Society's aid to the Diocese of Brisbane was withdrawn [5*a*]. Since that date the Society's official cognizance of the work of the Diocese has been intermittent; but in the opinion of Bishop W. T. THORNHILL WEBBER, who succeeded Bishop HALE in 1885, the withdrawal of support was premature, and conduced to large numbers of colonists being left without Church ministrations, and consequently, in many cases, "lapsing into practical paganism" [5*b*]. Many will agree with Bishop WEBBER that "the prevention of white

* Remained a part of Brisbane Diocese until the formation of the Diocese of North Queensland [p. 414].

heathenism is as important as the cure of black heathenism" [5c]. Mainly through his unwearied exertions the number of clergy rose from 33 to 64, and the number of churches and school churches from 39 to about 97 during the first six years of his episcopate; the services of an Assistant-Bishop (Dr. N. DAWES, consecrated in 1889) were secured, and in 1892 the huge Diocese of Brisbane—seven times as large as England and Wales—was reduced to an area of 210,000 square miles by the formation of the central portion of Queensland (about 208,000 square miles) into a new diocese, with Rockhampton as its See, of which Dr. DAWES was elected Bishop [5d]. Towards the endowment of this Bishopric the Society (in 1890–1) contributed £1,000 [5e].

Among the South Sea or Polynesian Islanders and the Chinese in Queensland some good work was begun during Bishop HALE'S episcopate. The "Islanders," like the Chinese, have been imported to labour on the plantations; at one time the supply was a forced one, and it became necessary for the Legislature to prohibit what was little removed from a slave trade, and to allow of voluntary immigration only. Bishop Hale proved a sturdy champion of the native races. His labours in South and Western Australia in evangelising the aborigines are well known. In Queensland he succeeded in doing much in the face of great discouragement and opposition. As the outcome of the Day of Intercession of 1876 he baptized at Maryborough in 1877 twenty-three Polynesians who had been instructed through the medium of the English language by the clergyman (Mr. Holme) and a lay volunteer (Mr. McConkey) [6]. This Mission has met with much encouragement; many of the islanders have carried back to their homes grateful recollections of what has been done for them, and the work has won the commendation of Bishop J. R. Selwyn of Melanesia [7].

It had been the hope of Bishop Hale to devote the Society's grant to the Diocese of Brisbane "entirely to . . . work among the Islanders, Chinese and Aborigines" [8], but, as already stated, the grant ceased in 1881 [9]. On the representation of Bishop Webber that with the heavy demands on its local resources for work among "the white heathen" the diocese could not manage "to keep the Mission to black heathen without aid" [10], the Society came forward in 1891 to assist in establishing a Mission among the Polynesians employed in the plantations at Bundaberg [10a].

This Mission has been a "wonderful success." In 1891 over 10,000 men were brought under instruction, and as they came from fifty different islands the teaching must influence a yet larger number of people [10b].

The feelings of hostility and hatred prevailing in the colony against the Chinese made it a matter of more difficulty to attempt anything on their behalf. Nevertheless about 1879 a Mission was set on foot for these despised people [11]. Left to local resources this work also languished, but renewed assistance from the Society in 1888 enabled a new Mission to be opened among the Chinese in Brisbane, the progress of which has been encouraging* [12].

* The Society's aid to the Chinese Mission was continued to the end of 1895.

Turning now to NORTHERN QUEENSLAND, we find Sir George Bowen, during his Governorship of Queensland, pressing upon the Society the importance of establishing a Missionary Industrial School with a view to the education of the children of the aborigines, a work which could not well be undertaken by the Government itself, but "the Colonial Government and Legislature would . . . grant assistance to it, in both land and money, if it were undertaken zealously by one of the great Societies." Owing to the greater warmth and healthiness of the climate and better facility in procuring edible plants, fish, and game, there were, he estimated, "probably more natives in this Colony than in all the rest of Australia put together." The only systematic attempt hitherto to Christianise them had been made by the Berlin Society, but "from some cause or other" it had not succeeded [13]. The Society signified its willingness to co-operate as soon as local provision had been made at some defined spot; and this having been done at Somerset, a new settlement at the extreme north of Australia, the Rev. F. C. JAGG and Mr. KENNETT were sent there by the Society in 1866 [14]. Soon after their arrival in 1867 Mr. Jagg left the Mission and the Government withdrew the European soldiers and police which had been stationed there. This led to a suspension of the Mission, but Mr. Kennett, the schoolmaster and catechist, remained at his post till March 1869, exhibiting the Christian spirit to a degree which won the confidence of the natives, and proving that if properly treated they were capable of much more good than was generally thought possible [15].*

While the attempt to establish a Mission at Somerset was being made the Bishop of Sydney drew the Society's attention to the state of "the northern part of Queensland," then "almost entirely destitute of clergymen" and needing also a Bishop [16]. Thereupon the Society appointed the Rev. J. K. BLACK to Bowen, from which centre he itinerated far and wide. In one of his earlier tours (1869) he stayed at seven hotels, the proprietors of which "in many cases bemoaned the few visits they had from clergymen"; most of them said he was the first one they had seen in the district, "and all, as if by common consent," furthered him on his journey "free of expense." At Clermont and Copperfield, containing together about 1,500 people, many parents "had kept their children unbaptized," and others desired re-baptism for those who had been admitted by dissenting ministers. The bulk of the population of this district were Church people, but so

* The neighbourhood of the settlement at Somerset was occupied by six different tribes, speaking five different languages, but presenting little difference in physical appearance. The men were tall and well made. At the repeated request of the natives of Prince of Wales Island Mr. Kennett visited that island in June 1867. His stay there extended to a fortnight, and he gained considerable insight into the manners and customs of the natives. At a grand corrobboree he was adopted by one of the Korraregas tribe as his son and made a member of the Koolkalegas. This was done by presenting him with a grass belt and instructing him in the use of fire signals, and by his exchanging names with the chief of the tribe, an old man named Genetcha. By this name Mr. Kennett was known during the remainder of his stay at Somerset, and he was assured that as long as his name was Genetcha he would receive the assistance and protection of the Koolkalegas tribe. Such was Mr. Kennett's influence, that he effected a reconciliation between tribes of Mulgrave Island and Prince of Wales Island, between whom a feud had for years. [M.F. 1869, pp. 126–30, 158–62.]

completely had they been neglected that "the Roman priest, the Primitive Methodist and Wesleyan, the Congregationalists and the Scotch ministers" had all in turn been supported, and it was the boast of the Roman priest at Clermont "that he could not have built his chapel but for the assistance of the Protestants." There was "a craving for religion . . . rarely met with in these districts, which for want of guidance had gone into a wrong channel and taken an unhealthy tone."

While ministering in the wilderness in this year (1869) reports were circulated that Mr. Black had been "murdered by the aborigines." Had they done so it would have been in ignorance, Mr. Black being one of their best friends. A short time before he had exposed (in the *Port Denison Times*) "the abominable atrocities" perpetrated upon the natives of North Queensland. The evils pointed out were acknowledged and deplored, and "great good resulted from these articles" [17]. The work of planting the Church in North Queensland was carried on by the Rev. J. K. BLACK and the Rev. E. TANNER, and other faithful men, and, in 1878, the Rev. G. H. STANTON was consecrated first Bishop of North Queensland. Before leaving England he was enabled to send out twenty fellow-labourers [18]. On his arrival in 1879 he described the colony as bristling "with splendid opportunities." The people, "intelligent, large-hearted, and responsive," had "done wonders." Instead of "log-huts and wigwams" he found "well-built houses and large towns." Where he expected "only rough irreligion and even insult" he was "received with enthusiasm and warmest welcome" [19]. Nothing, however, existed worthy of Church organisation—seven isolated congregations with clergy, under the direction of the Bishop of Sydney, 1,500 miles away. The churches were unsightly structures—"something between a barn and a log-house." Under the resident Bishop, who for five years was supported by the Society, a wonderful improvement and development was effected. One of his objects was to "anticipate the advance of population by erecting some Mission Church wherever people began to settle," and before twelve years had elapsed endowments had been provided, and both Bishop and Clergy were independent of the Society's aid.

The laity "acted very nobly" in contributing to the endowment of the bishopric—"scarcely any troublesome collecting" being experienced [20].

The Diocesan Synod ascribed "much of the local liberality shown . . . to the inducements offered by the Society's conditional offers of help," and the Bishop himself stated in 1884 that the diocese owes "its existence" to the Society's provision and protection [21]. The grant for the Bishop ceased in 1882, and that for the Clergy (to an Endowment Fund for whom the Society also gave £500) in 1889 [22]; but fresh needs having arisen which local effort could not fully supply, the Society came forward again in 1892 to assist for a limited time in the support of two travelling clergymen [23].

The diocese is now under the care of Bishop Barlow, who succeeded Bishop Stanton on his translation to Newcastle, N.S.W., in 1891 [24].

The growth of the Church in Queensland as a whole is re-

markable. Out of the nine Christian bodies represented in the Colony the Anglican Church has increased in the five years 1888–91, 1·18 per cent, the Primitive Methodists ·35 per cent., and the Salvation Army 1 per cent., while the other six show a decrease [25].

QUEENSLAND (1892–1900).

Mission to the South Sea Islanders [*see* p. 412].—With few exceptions the islanders have proved very tractable, attentive, and anxious to learn, but the diversity of languages has rendered their teaching a long and difficult task. English has been adopted as the chief medium, though Gela or Mota is also used, one of the islanders reading the service in church. Gratifying accounts have been received from the islands of "boys," who have returned, and are keeping true to the faith, and trying to influence others. The progress of the work was checked by the death, in December 1895, of the Rev. J. E. Clayton, the successor of the Rev. J. Coles in 1892, but in 1894 a close and real connection had been formed with the Melanesian Mission, and in 1897 arrangements were made by the four Bishops concerned that the work among the Melanesian labourers in the sugar plantations in Queensland generally should be a separate and, as far as possible, a self-supporting branch of the Melanesian Mission.* The majority of the labourers come from Melanesia, some from islands which are still heathen, and with proper instruction it is hoped that the converts may be the means of winning those islands for Christ. Already some of the Bundaberg converts have been drafted to Norfolk Island for further instruction before returning to Guadalcanar, their native island, in the Solomon group, and one on which the Melanesian Mission had hitherto not had a footing [26].

The converts as a rule hold fast to their Church principles, and, when they have the opportunity, regularly attend the services of the church, and give liberally to the offertory. The present Bishop of North Queensland is of opinion that there is no race of human beings among whom Mission work is more productive of results. A Judge said in his court recently that he had never known a Christian Kanaka speak untruly in giving evidence. And yet in 1897 there appeared to be not a single church in Queensland set apart for their use, and in some instances members of the white congregation objected to their presence in the church [27].

* The arrangements do not appear to have been carried out to the extent contemplated.

Brisbane and Rockhampton Dioceses.

The progress of the Church in Southern and Central Queensland was checked in 1893 by "terrible floods, unparalleled in the history of Australia." Over seventy-seven inches of rain (*i.e.* more than three years' average rainfall in England) fell in four days, and the losses involved by the visitation were estimated at between one and two millions sterling. Among the Church property destroyed was one building so completely wrecked that the first relic discovered by the clergyman was a seat hanging about 40 feet in the air in a gum tree, eight miles from the site, while a little further on was found the chancel window intact, wedged up between two big trees. As the parochial clergy are unendowed, and dependent on local voluntary offerings, great difficulty was experienced in maintaining them, the calamity having deprived the people to a great extent of the power of contributing.

In the case of Brisbane Diocese the Society encouraged the Bishop's efforts in raising a Clergy Sustentation Fund and an Emergency Fund by a gift of £500 in 1894, and in 1897 it voted £300 towards the erection of a Theological College, but the latter grant lapsed [28]. The withdrawal of its annual grant in December 1896 was followed by appeals for renewed and increased assistance [29].

A few examples are here given as affording an irresistible argument for supporting the Society.

One clergyman in 1897, who had charge of a district (Charleville) as large as the British Isles, with a scattered population of 10,000, illustrated the "abysmal depths of ignorance" he had to contend with by the following description of a bushman :—

"His parents can in very few cases teach him anything. He cannot read or write; he does not know even the name of God—if he does, he probably thinks it a bad but expressive word, an expletive coined especially for anathematising fractious bullocks and horses. He has never heard of cathedrals, churches, sacraments or clergy; he would not know a Bible if he saw one, and has certainly never *seen* the inside of a church.

"Now what difference is there between these people and the blacks? They live in almost as lonely a condition. They are no better provided for spiritually or intellectually. If only people at home would understand this, I believe they would help us. There are Missions to the 'black races,' why not to the white?" (Rev. A. J. Cardew.)

In commenting on the above, Dr. Stretch, then coadjutor Bishop of Brisbane, said :—

"The letter contrasts, as we are so often compelled to do, the zeal and enthusiasm called out by Missions to coloured races with the only too common indifference to the spiritual wants of our own people. . . . Many of our colonists are bravely doing the duty they are sent to do under many difficulties and in trying loneliness, and we are as careless about them as if they were of alien race; indeed, more so. Men are freely sent to coloured races, while our own people are left without the preaching of the Word and the ministration of the Sacraments. Money is cheerfully given for Foreign Missions in heathen lands, when it is very sparingly given for work among our own countrymen, and yet surely they deserve *sympathy*. If we were working among heathen, we should more readily gain

sympathy, and evoke enthusiasm, and obtain helpers, than when working among our own countrymen. And I do not think anyone can say that that is reasonable" [29*a*].

Strong and urgent as these representations were, there have been other and stronger claims to absorb the Society's limited means. For example, the Diocese of Rockhampton had shared the disasters of the whole Colony of Queensland, but its capacity of coping with these was even less than that of Brisbane, for it had relieved that diocese of the poorer portion of the population, and in so doing lost former diocesan help. When the Bishop began work there were only six clergy for a district as large as the German Empire, and there was only one parish able to support its clergyman. Church people constituted about forty per cent. of the population, and some were complaining bitterly that their spiritual needs had not been ministered to; others had become so accustomed to living without religion that advances on the part of a clergyman were received coldly.

Following on the great bank failures came strike troubles, drought, and floods. At times the Bishop felt that he was "really worse off than Hagar when she took her boy into the wilderness," for he (the Bishop) had "not even a piece of bread or a bottle of water." But the Society saved the Church from financial collapse, and "enabled an infant diocese to escape starvation in its cradle." In 1894 it made provision for the support of travelling clergymen in unsettled districts, where the spiritual destitution was appalling, and this was followed by aid, in 1897, towards the erection of churches (£1,260), and of a Community house at Longreach (£500) [30]. The community, consisting in 1899 of three clergymen and a layman, served a field as large as England and Wales. In this district, mingled with much that is healthy and admirable, there is a great deal that is deplorable and wrong. The bulk of the people are unconscious materialists, appreciating only sensual enjoyments, ignorant of anything better. A remark made by a shearer to a member of the Mission, that he didn't see why he should be bothered with religion, expresses the general tone of easy indifference towards spiritual things. The literature most in demand is of the obscene and sensual type, and the marriage tie is lightly regarded. The people spend money freely while they have it, usually in bouts of drunkenness and debauchery. Where horse racing and gambling prevail to the extent that they do in Australia habits of thrift are at a discount. But withal the people are open-minded and free-hearted, readily responsive to sympathy and goodwill, quick to appreciate true friendliness, and to resent a patronising tone or any air of superiority. They are in short what physically robust mankind under such conditions and circumstances is likely to become when without God in the world [31].

North Queensland.

In 1899 a need of renewed help arose in connection with the opening of new areas of settlement and the arrival of a large number of foreign nationalities. The settlements were separated by enormous distances

some of the centres being as far apart in time as St. Petersburg is from London. Children were growing up unbaptized, marriages were being performed by police officers and magistrates, and the dead and the dying—our own people—were absolutely untouched and unattended by any Christian ministry whatever. In addition, representatives of other races were pouring into the diocese—Chinese, Japanese, Melanesians, and Javanese. "Talk about the open door in China!" said the Bishop, "here is the answer of the Great God of nations Who sends these people to our own countries." The Society responded by making provision for the support of Missionaries in new settlements, especially for Missions to the darker races [32].

Some of the Japanese immigrants are already Christians, and at Thursday Island (*see* next page) they have built a church for themselves [32*a*].

Beyond the distribution of simple literature in their own language, little has been done among the Chinese.

The aborigines in Queensland are estimated to number at least 50,000, of whom the majority are in the northern part. In 1890 Baron Von Mueller of Melbourne (the great botanist) drew the attention of the Rev. J. B. Gribble to the Bellenden-Ker district as a most promising field for missionary enterprise. Mr. Gribble, who had formerly been a Missionary of the Society to the natives in Western Australia, visited the district, and as a result of his representations the Queensland Government, about the year 1894, set aside a Mission reserve of 51,200 square acres at Cape Grafton, to be worked under the control and management of the Church of England, and the Australian Board of Missions entrusted him with the establishment of a Mission, which was accordingly begun at Yarrabah, near Cairns, in 1892. On his death in 1893 the work was taken up by his eldest son, Mr. E. R. Gribble (since ordained), by whom it has been carried on with zeal and devotion. School is held regularly every day, and the work would do credit to many a state-school child. Several acres of cleared ground are under cultivation, and rice, coffee, maize, &c., are grown and sold for the benefit of the Mission or consumed on the station. The cottages inhabited by the blacks are patterns of neatness inside and out. A church, erected by the blacks, was dedicated on May 18, 1898, when ten aboriginals were confirmed. No one, after visiting Yarrabah, can doubt the possibility of civilising and Christianising the blacks. Some of the ceremonies and customs of the natives (in particular the Cud-jah) are too horrible for description here.

The heathen belief is that the spirits of the dead inhabit trees, become fish, and exist in the wind and the fire, but the effect of Christian teaching was thus expressed by one of the Barron tribe: "One time blackfellow he think it when he die he finish up. Now he know no finish up: suppose good, he go to better country."

The first burial from among the converts was that of a girl of three years of age, who died "from eating sand, a habit common among children in these parts, and which generally proves fatal." Some of the old heathen women strove to have heathen rites, but the father determined to have Christian burial [33].

The diocese having become unworkable by one Bishop—more time

being required to reach some places than to visit England—the northern part of the diocese was included in the new Bishopric of Carpentaria, to whose endowment the Society contributed £1,500 [*see* page 424] [34]. The seat of the Bishopric is Thursday Island, where a training college* was begun in 1900. His first visitation in 1900 of the Queensland part of this new diocese gave the Bishop (Dr. G. White) the impression that religious life was at a lower ebb in the Gulf towns than in any other part he was ever in, a result due to the isolation of the towns and the paucity and utter isolation of the clergy [34*a*].

* The Society (May 1901) has granted £800 towards the erection of buildings for the College, and £300 for Missionary work among the coloured races in the diocese in the next three years.

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 466.)

CHAPTER LXIII.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

THE northern coast of this, the central division of Australia, was seen by the Portuguese and Dutch between 1600 and 1606; and a portion of the south-west coast was named Cape Leeuwin by a Dutchman in 1622. Like other parts of the island, however, its colonisation was left to the British; and viewed from this point (although the south coast was surveyed by Flinders in 1802) its real discoverer was Sturt, in 1829. As a result of his discoveries a Colonisation Company was formed in England, and founded settlements at Kangaroo Island and Adelaide in 1836. It was expected that by selling instead of granting land to emigrants, the colony would be self-supporting from the first; but so far from this, insolvency resulted, and numbers would have perished from want but for the energetic measures of a new Governor, Captain (afterwards Sir George) Grey, appointed in 1841. Originally the colony was confined within the 132nd and 141st degrees of east longitude and the 26th of south latitude. By the annexation of "No Man's Land" (in 1861) and the "Northern Territory" (in 1863) it was extended 80,000 square miles to the west, and to the Indian Ocean on the north.

IF the founders of the colony were lacking in worldly wisdom, they were truly wise in regard to heavenly things. Their first experiment in settling religion was made in connection with the Society, and proved anything but a failure. In November 1834 a letter was received from Mr. John Taylor stating that "a portion of the settlers about to embark for Southern Australia" were

"desirous of forming a District Committee of the S.P.G. for that Colony under

the Presidency of the Archdeacon of New South Wales, that the first object of the Committee would be to collect subscriptions towards . . . erecting a Church, and taking out a Clergyman, the appointment of such Clergyman being sanctioned by the Bishop of London, and the Ecclesiastical authority existing in the other Australian Colonies being recognised as extending to Southern Australia."

The Society approved the formation of the proposed Committee, and granted £200 towards the erection of a church and the temporary maintenance of the clergyman [1].

A like sum having been contributed by the S.P.C.K. and £300 by individuals, "with this money the framework of a Church capable of containing 750 souls" was purchased and sent out "in one of the first vessels which sailed for the Colony," and the Rev. C. B. HOWARD was "appointed to the Chaplaincy by Lord Glenelg" and received a salary from "the Commissioners of Colonization" [2].

Mr. Howard laboured with his own hands in erecting the church, which was named Trinity, and opened in January 1838. The arrival of the Rev. J. FARRELL (S.P.G.) on February 6, 1840, was a welcome relief to him, and the two divided their time between Adelaide and the neighbouring villages until July 1843, when Mr. Howard "entered into his rest . . . at the early age of thirty-three" [3].

Mr. FARRELL was in turn left to labour single-handed for nearly three years. By his exertions, supported by Colonel Gawler and the Society, Trinity Church was "substantially rebuilt," and a new one, St. John's, partly erected [4].

In the meantime the "South Australian Church Committee" in England having "transferred the whole of their funds and engagements to the Society," arrangements were made for erecting other churches and supplying additional clergymen. The arrival of the Revs. W. J. WOODCOCK, J. POLLITT, and W. H. COOMBS* in 1846 infused "a new and active spirit . . . into the members of our Church," money was "liberally subscribed," and churches were "erected in a most gratifying way" [5].

The new Missionaries were "highly acceptable and prized," and Mr. Woodcock (St. John's, Adelaide) felt convinced that the Church of England was "the Church of the deliberate choice, at least, of a large majority of the colonists."

"Indeed," said he (in 1847), "a great door is opened unto us, if we could only avail ourselves of the opportunity presented, but two Clergymen are quite unequal to the duties even of this town. The members of our Church seem suddenly to have awakened to the consciousness of their need of the ordinances of religion; and, as far at least as the buildings are concerned, they are disposed to make some efforts to secure them. By contributing, as you now are, to establish our Church here upon a broad and solid basis, and thereby preserving this important Colony from ignorance, superstition, irreligion, infidelity, and *multiform* dissent, you will materially aid in promoting the other great object of your Society, the conversion of the heathen" [6].

From Mr. COOMBS' Journal (1846–7) we gain an insight into Mr. FARRELL'S work, as to which he himself had said little:—

"The congregation here" (Trinity, Adelaide) "is large and important, between 500 and 600 in number, amongst them the Governor, the Judge, and principal persons of the colony. Mr. Farrell read prayers; I took the Communion Service,

* A fourth clergyman was added to the Society's list in 1846, viz. Rev. G. C. Newenham, *son of the* Sheriff of the Colony. His salary was wholly provided locally [5a].

and preached. I observed with much interest, sitting round the Communion rails—clinging as it were, to the horns of the altar—a group of native boys and girls from the Aboriginal School. The boys wear a bright red bush shirt, and the girls a sort of grey dress, made in the European fashion. Their sparkling eyes were fixed on me as a stranger; and their attentive demeanour showed that they were well instructed in the elementary knowledge of Christianity . . . their appearance forcibly reminded me that I was in a strange land; and as I looked upon these poor simple children of the wild, it was with a silent prayer that they may be brought to know Him whom to know is life eternal. . . . I visited the Sunday School . . . on entering I was reminded of some of the best Sabbath Schools I had visited in England. There was, however, one feature essentially different—the presence, at the end of the room, of many of the Natives from the Aboriginal School. . . . I addressed the children. I next went to the School of the Aborigines. . . . Governor Robe takes a deep and most praiseworthy interest in endeavouring to improve the condition of the native youth of both sexes. I met Mr. Moorhouse, the worthy protector of the aborigines, a gentleman who has for years made the natives his study, so to speak; he has again and again boldly thrown himself among the wildest tribes, and adapted himself to their habits, that he might acquire a knowledge of their language and manners."

At Gawler, where Mr. Coombs was stationed, the only building at first available for service was a mill, but a suitable structure was soon provided, and he laboured with good effect for eight years among a people who, from long abode in the bush, had "almost forgotten the Church of their fathers"; their children in very many cases were unbaptized, and their dead were buried with the "burial of an ass" [7].

In 1840 the Society accepted from W. Leigh, Esq., of Little Aston Hall, Lichfield, an offer of some land in South Australia and £2,000 in trust for the support of churches and clergymen in that province; and at his request in 1842 it was decided to appropriate the proceeds of two acres in Adelaide to the endowment of a Bishopric or Bishoprics in South Australia. Eighty acres of land were also conveyed to the Society for this purpose by T. Wilson, Esq. Some part of Mr. Leigh's offer appears to have been subsequently withdrawn*; but the two town lots, which he purchased for £150, in time became so valuable as to furnish the "chief source of revenue" of the Church in the colony, although the Episcopate has derived no direct benefit from it. Through Miss Burdett-Coutts' munificence an episcopal endowment was provided, and in 1847 the Rev. A. Short was consecrated the first Bishop of Adelaide.† Special provision for additional Missionaries was made by the Society, and accompanied from England by Archdeacon Hale and two other clergymen, the Bishop landed in his diocese on December 28, 1847, the eleventh anniversary of the foundation of the colony [8].

The character of his reception was "so thoroughly that of an English country town on occasion of some local festival" that he "could hardly realise" that he was at "the antipodes of England." "The progress of the Colony is perfectly wonderful" (he added); "to find so large and refined a society in a spot where eleven years ago a few naked savages hutted themselves under the open forest is a startling proof of the energy of our countrymen, and of the success . . . given to their labours." On December 30 a public thanksgiving service was held in Trinity Church, Adelaide. "To those who had

* The £2,000 was returned to Mr. Leigh at his own request in 1844 on his joining the Church of Rome [*vide* H MSS., V. 4, pp. 159, 367–9, and V. 6, pp. 270, 276].

† As constituted by Letters Patent June 25, 1847, the Diocese of Adelaide, formed out of that of Australia, comprised South Australia and Western Australia (&c.).

seen the 'day of small things,' when one single Clergyman of our Church struggled against the flood of evil, which breaks out in the first planting of a Colony, it was a sight of deep interest to witness a Bishop communicating with nine* Clergymen at the Altar Table. The number of Lay Communicants also was unexpectedly great." [L., Bishop Short, Dec. 31, 1847 [9].]

In 1848 State aid was granted to the ministers of every denomination in the Colony, but after three years this provision ceased, and the support of the ministry became dependent on voluntary effort, supplemented, in the case of the Church of England, by aid from the Society [10].

In the city of Adelaide progress towards self-support was from the first encouraging, and the influence acquired by the Church was such that in 1849 the local races, which had been inadvertently fixed for Passion Week, "were postponed . . . immediately the circumstance was pointed out." The inhabitants had become "more zealous and liberal, more regular in attendance on the services"—the congregations in Lent and at Easter being "very full." On Good Friday the shops were "almost universally shut" and little work was done, and the day was "far better observed" than in some parts of England [11].

As a contrast to Adelaide, the Port Lincoln† settlement, which had been left unsupplied with religious ordinances for the first twelve years of its existence, had become the scene of lawlessness and crime.

Visiting the district in 1849 the Bishop saw the remains of five natives—a mother and an infant, a man and two boys—who had died from the effects of arsenic mixed with flour, which they had stolen from a shepherd's hut. The evidence showed that the mixing had been done by the settlers with the object of destroying the natives, who had been troublesome to them.

"Those who know that the native Australian has been looked upon in the early days of every settlement in Australasia as little better than *vermin to be destroyed*, and who can estimate the force of fear and revenge and cruelty upon the untamed heart of 'the natural man' will not marvel" (said the Bishop) "if security has been obtained in New South Wales, or the Tattiara country, or other districts, by the means here alluded to, or others equally unscrupulous. I mention these things only with the view of impressing upon the minds of Christian Englishmen the need there is of *helping to supply the ordinances of religion in the early stages of a Colony*. . . . This year has seen the settlement there . . . of a Catechist, and I have now personally ministered to this portion of the flock."

During the Bishop's visit to Port Lincoln an investigation took place into charges of murder against some natives. Eventually four of them were condemned to death, while two whites—"gentlemen by birth and education"—who were "undoubtedly guilty" of "the most *deliberate* cold blooded murder" of a native in the Yorke's Peninsula, were acquitted owing to a "technical flaw in the native evidence." The "atrocities . . . committed by some of the Bush settlers upon the natives exceed belief"; and with a view to bringing under the notice of the Government and public how little had been done towards the religious instruction of the aborigines, the Bishop, with several of the

* That being the whole number then employed in the diocese.

† 200 miles west of Adelaide, by sea. European population in 1849 about 800, spread over a large district.

Clergy and members of the Bar, petitioned for a commutation of the sentence on the four men, and two were reprieved. In the course of these proceedings the capacity of the natives to receive instruction was demonstrated by the marriage of a native couple who had been Christianised in the school at Adelaide. The ceremony was performed at Port Lincoln by the Bishop in the presence of the Governor, the court house being "filled on the occasion, and the behaviour of the pair was thoughtful and proper" [12].

In the next year (1850) a training institution for young natives was established at Port Lincoln by Archdeacon HALE, with the assistance of Government and the Society. The object was to withdraw the natives from the savage and demoralising practices of their tribes and to give them a thoroughly Christian education and training.

"The settlement" (wrote the Bishop on Sept. 7, 1850) "will form a sort of industrial school for the young half-trained married natives. They will garden, do farm work, fish, &c., and I see no reason why a Christian village may not grow out of the institution, managed as I believe it will be, with wisdom, kindness, zeal, and a humble prayerful dependence upon God. It starts under better circumstances than any Mission to the natives yet undertaken."

The spot first selected was Boston Island, but as fresh water could not be found there the Mission was removed to Poonindie on the mainland in, or about, 1851.

In 1858 Bishop Short reported that Archdeacon Hale's labours had been

"blessed with a considerable degree of success. Many young adult natives, who would have belonged to the most degraded portion of the human family, are now clothed and in their right minds, sitting at the feet of Jesus, and intelligently worshipping, through Him, their heavenly Father. The Mission now consists of fifty-four natives comprising eleven married couples, the rest children, . . . thirteen being from the Port Lincoln district. The married couples had each their little hut built of the trunks of the Shea-oak . . . the other children in small divisions occupy the remaining ones. They have their meals in common in the general kitchen. . . . Narrung one of the elder young men, assisted by two mates, is steward, butcher and cook. At half past six in the morning, and after sundown, all assemble at the Archdeacon's cottage, for the reading of Scripture and prayer. The schoolmaster, Mr. Huslop, leads the singing of a single hymn, and the low soft voices of the natives make pleasing melody. A plain exposition follows. After breakfast they go to their several employments: the cowherds milk, &c.; some were engaged in putting up posts and rails for a stock yard; the shepherds were with the flocks; two assisted the bricklayer, one preparing mortar, the other laying bricks. At the proper season they plow, reap, shear, make bricks, burn charcoal; do, in fact, under the direction of the overseer, the usual work of a station. Six hours are the limits of the working day; they are unequal to more. Shepherds and first-class labourers receive 8*s*. per week and rations; second-class 5*s*., third 3*s*. 6*d*., fourth 2*s*. 6*d*. The younger children attend school; the married women wash, and learn sewing clothes, making and mending. Such is an outline of the occupation, education, and religious training adopted at Poonindie, which begun with very limited means, and with no previous instance of success to encourage hope, has nevertheless, through a blessing upon the Archdeacon's patient, untiring, quiet zeal, reached a very promising state of maturity. Thus far the Institution is an exception to the list of Australian Missionary failures."

During his visit the Bishop baptized ten native men and one woman.

Under Archdeacon Hale the institution continued to prosper in material and spiritual things. The lives of its inmates often put to

shame those of some of the colonists. In no instance did it happen that any of the former sent into the town on business gave way to drunkenness. With the white labourers the reverse was the case, and on one occasion a Poonindie driver, who had loaded his own dray, was found rendering a similar service to a settler who lay intoxicated on the beach. The reverence and devotion seen in the daily and Sunday services at Poonindie were such as to impress visitors with the sincerity of the worship and the piety of those representatives of the once despised race. "The singing was led by three . . . men playing on flutes, while the low, gentle voices of the others made their 'psalms and hymns and spiritual songs' a delight to themselves and all who heard them."

The removal of Archdeacon Hale to Western Australia as Bishop of the new Diocese of Perth in 1857 proved a gain to the natives there, but the loss to Poonindie was great.

A period of sickness (1856–8), in which twenty-one deaths occurred, was followed by financial troubles, and though health and worldly prosperity returned, the Missionary character of the institution was not restored for some years. By 1863 two of the natives were "able to conduct the Sunday morning service." Under a new system, introduced in 1868, each day was begun and ended by service in the chapel. In their various occupations the natives were now enabled to earn from 10*s*. to £1 a week at farm work; for shearing they were paid at the same rate as the whites—sometimes £14 in a month. When, after sixteen years' absence, Bishop Hale revisited Poonindie, he saw the realisation of his idea—"A Christian village of South Australian natives, reclaimed from barbarism, trained to the duties of social Christian life, and walking in the fear of God, through knowledge and faith in the love of Christ their Saviour, and the power of His Spirit.'

For what had been done for them they were not unmindful. Their former benefactor was presented with a tea service, and their sympathy for those who were even as they had been was shown by an annual contribution of equal value—£10—to the Melanesian Mission.

During his visit Bishop Hale took the Sunday morning service. The first lesson began with the words "Cast thy bread upon the waters: and thou shalt find it after many days." On this subject he preached, and we learn that "there was scarcely a dry eye in the assembly. The natives and half-castes were deeply impressed with the signal fulfilment of this promise to their founder and benefactor, while he himself could not but thankfully recognise the hand of God in all that has been accomplished." Many of the white neighbours were present and joined in the service. In concluding his account of the day's proceedings Bishop Short wrote (in 1872):—

"It may suffice to lower the pride of the white-skinned race to know that the half-caste children between the high Caucasian Englishman and the (supposed) *degraded* Australian type of humanity are a fine powerful, healthy, good looking race—both men and women, not darker than the natives of Southern Europe, and capable in all respects of taking their place even in the first generation beside the Briton or Teuton; driving the plough, or wielding the axe with *equal* precision, or shearing with *greater* care and skill—from 75 to 100 sheep a day—than their *white* competitors. It is well known in the Port Lincoln district that the Poonindie *shearers do their* work most satisfactorily and that Tom Adams is considered the

best shearer in the whole district. Let prejudice then give way before the inexorable logic of facts, and let the 'caviller' if he can, point out a hamlet of equal numbers, composed of natives from different districts of Great Britain and Ireland, so dwelling together in peace and harmony, and equally free from moral offences, or so attentive to their religious duties, as are the natives and half-castes now living in the Institution at Poonindie, enjoying consequently much happiness and walking in the fear of God. To Him be all the glory through Jesus Christ our Lord"* [18].

While the natives were thus being cared for there was much real Mission work being done among the colonists also. In 1856–7 there were 24 clergymen in the diocese, "but without the aid of the Society," said the Bishop, "we could not have planted nor could we maintain even this number." The Society's grant "I have invariably kept for strictly Missionary purposes" [14].

Here is a specimen of the work done among the emigrants in the Bush. Before the Rev. E. P. STRICKLAND was sent to the Kapunda district in 1856 the neighbourhood was "notoriously bad. The settlers disregarded Sunday until they at last lost the day." Some would contend that it was Saturday; others, Monday. Mr. Strickland began by visiting every house and tent that he could hear of. Many had not heard a clergyman's voice since their arrival in the colony. In some instances Mr. Strickland "spent hours in teaching the adult members of a family to write." On one occasion he sought out a fever-stricken family whom no one else but the doctor would go near. In a miserable hut lay a father, mother, and six children– one of them dead. The husband was too ill to talk, but the wife in an ecstasy of joy clasped her hands and sitting up in bed cried out . . . "Look, look, my children! . . . that is one of the Clergymen I have told you about that live in dear Old England—who could have thought that one of them would have sought us out in this wilderness?" All the children hid themselves under the bedclothes, never having before seen a man dressed all in black clothes. So valued and blessed were Mr. Strickland's ministrations that the settlers set to work to build three churches, and in 1858 two were consecrated—at Kapunda and Riverton—confirmations were held in each, the congregations were overflowing, and the collections amounted to £65. "This," said the Bishop, "illustrates the effect of the Society's . . . grant . . . in opening new Missions" [15].

Another Missionary of the Society was once stopped in the street by a gold digger, who said: "Can you tell me where I can find the Bishop? or perhaps, if you are a clergyman, you can do for me what I want. I promised, if God prospered me at the diggings, to do something for the Church." So saying he placed £20 in Mr. Woodcock's hand under a promise that his name should not be disclosed. [L., Rev. J. W. Woodcock, 1853 [16].]

Wherever the Bishop went he found the services of the Church "heartily welcomed," and generally the people were liberal in contributing to their support—in Adelaide in 1861 more than £2,000 a year was being raised for Church purposes [17]. A clergyman landing in that city in 1862 was surprised to see fine churches – "in which the

* It should be added that natives of Poonindie were on several occasions received as guests at the Bishop's house, Adelaide.

singing and chanting were equal to any in England"—also large Day Schools and Sunday Schools [18].

By means of a Diocesan Endowment and Additional Clergy Fund started in 1860 and built up with the Society's assistance, sufficient provision was made for the poorer districts to enable the Society to discontinue its aid to the colony in 1865, and Adelaide thus afforded the first example on the continent of Australia of a diocese complete in its organisation and independent of any State aid or external support of its clergy [19].

In advocating the substitution for annual grants of "one sufficient endowment in land for the future extension of the Church," Bishop Short said in 1856: "Had this been done ten years ago, the Church in this Colony would have been entirely self-supporting, independent alike of the State or contributions of the mother country" [20].

For the southern part it has not been necessary to renew help, but the "Northern Territory" has since claimed and received assistance. Long before its incorporation into "South Australia" the Society's attention had been drawn to this quarter. In 1824 an English settlement was formed at Melville Island. Three years later it was transferred to Raffles Bay, and in 1829 abandoned. In 1838 Bishop BROUGHTON of Australia informed the Society that an expedition was "on the point of sailing from Sydney to establish a colony at Port Essington . . . within a few miles of Raffles Bay . . . under the command of Sir Gordon Bremer who conducted the first establishment." As the settlement from the outset was to contain a great number of persons, including the crews of two ships of war, the Bishop learned with regret that "no provision whatever had been made for the appointment of any Clergyman . . . but that it was intended to proceed with as little attention to secure the administration of the offices of religion as if the settlement had been undertaken by a heathen and not by a Christian nation." The desire of the Bishop to "provide the blessing of a Christian establishment" was increased on learning that in the islands of Wetta, Kissa, &c., to the north of Timor, there existed a native Christian community with whom the British would soon be in frequent intercourse. As the power of the Dutch (to whom these natives owed their conversion) was then declining in that quarter, there appeared to be an opening for extending "an acquaintance with the Gospel over the numerous islands . . . between Timor and the Phillipines." But if a favourable impression was to be made, "we must show them" (said the Bishop) "that we are Christians no less than themselves; and when they visit our settlement they must not be allowed to remark so obvious an inferiority in us as that while they have churches for the public worship of God we have none." The Bishop therefore placed at Sir G. Bremer's disposal £300, £200 being from the funds of the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K., for the erection of a church at Port Essington, promising also to provide a clergyman at the "earliest opportunity" [21].

As no further communication on the subject can be found in the Society's records, it must be assumed that this expedition also failed before either church or clergyman could be provided.

A fresh opportunity occurred in 1872 in connection with the *occupation* of Port Darwin and the establishment of telegraph stations

from Port Essington to Adelaide. Until the completion of the telegraph the English population in the Northern Territory did not exceed 300 souls; but the discovery of goldfields about that time seemed likely to "create a rush and turn the place into a new California." By the aid of the Society the Rev. C. W. HAWKINS was sent to Port Darwin in January 1874, but being unable to endure the trying climate he returned to Adelaide in the following July. At that time the settlement was unprosperous, the congregations were small, and little help was forthcoming from them for his support or for church building. The prospects of the colony were so uncertain that it was not deemed advisable to renew the Mission until 1884, by which time 700 Europeans and some 3,000 Chinese had become established there. In 1885 the Rev. J. FRENCH of Adelaide visited the district. The majority of the Europeans were well affected to the Church, and desired her ministrations. He "was welcomed everywhere and men seemed glad to think that their spiritual wants were not quite forgotten." The Rev. T. WARD, who volunteered for the Mission in 1886, was also welcomed, but he soon "found the work very unsatisfactory and discouraging," the English being indisposed to attend service after being "left churchless so long." Worse than this, his efforts to instruct the Chinese were opposed. It was objected that he was "enabling the Chinese to displace Europeans in stores and other places," and some of the masters said that if the Chinese boys learned English they would dismiss them. Their teaching had therefore to be abandoned, and Mr. Ward resigned in 1888. A successor has not yet been forthcoming, though the need of one has been forcibly demonstrated by the above circumstances and by the conclusion of Mr. Ward's report:—

"One great question, and one of surpassing difficulty, is, how can the Gospel of our Lord be taught to the thousands upon thousands of North Territory aboriginals? Their very low type of humanity, their utter want of morality, which places their outward life lower than that of the beasts which perish, the fact that they are always roving about and appear incapable of settled life,—these and other characteristics render the solution of the question very hard. I have reported respecting this to the Bishop of Adelaide"* [22].

With the example of Poonindie before us, it ought not to be impossible to solve the question.

There are few colonies in which the Church has been planted and become self-supporting in thirty years. With the exception of the Northern Territory, this has been the case with South Australia. Gratitude for what has been accomplished has not been wanting. As early as 1857 an annual collection for the Foreign Missions of the Society was begun in every church, and £65 was received towards the re-establishment of the Delhi Mission after the Indian Mutiny. In addition to the direct contributions to the Society's funds, Missions to the surrounding heathen both in Australia, Melanesia, and New Guinea, are supported [23].

* Dr. G. W. Kennion, who succeeded Bishop Short (on his resignation) in 1882, and was translated to the Bishopric of Bath and Wells in 1894.

1892–1900.

As the result of a meeting of Australian Bishops held at Hobart, Tasmania, in 1894, a new Bishopric was founded in North Australia, for the "Northern Territory" of South Australia and the contiguous portion of North Queensland Diocese bordering on the Gulf of Carpentaria, with Thursday Island as the episcopal residence [*see* p. 415]. This secures episcopal visits for many places on the northern shore of Australia where no Bishop has hitherto been seen. The Society promoted the object by granting £1,500 (in 1897 and 1899) towards the endowment of the Bishopric, which has been designated "Carpentaria," and the first Bishop of which, the Ven. Gilbert White, was consecrated in Sydney Cathedral on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1900 [24].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 466.)

CHAPTER LXIV.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

THE early Portuguese and Dutch navigators were the first Europeans to visit Western Australia, and the Swan River is said to have received its name from William Vlaming, a Dutchman, in 1695. No attempt at settlement was made until 1826, when a party of convicts with a military guard was sent to King George's Sound by the Government of New South Wales. In 1829 the colony was formally proclaimed, the towns of Perth and Freemantle were founded under Governor Stirling, and immigrants began to arrive. Great difficulties and losses were encountered at the outset; but the earlier settlers contained such a proportion of good men and women that up to 1838 there had not been "occasion to execute sentence of death on a single individual," and only "a small number of offences had been committed and these chiefly by immigrants from the neighbouring penal settlements." [Report of Governor Stirling, 1838.] As free immigration did not continue on a scale sufficient to develop the country, the settlers in 1850 petitioned the Imperial Government to make the colony a penal settlement. Nearly 10,000 convicts were introduced during the next 18 years, at the end of which (*i.e.* in 1868) transportation to Western Australia ceased. Most of the original settlers being members of the Church of England, the Rev. J. R. Wittenoom was appointed chaplain on the proclamation of the colony, and for many years he was the only clergyman in it. He was stationed at Perth. Here a structure composed of bullrushes by the soldiers of the 63rd Regiment, and used as barracks, and occasionally as an amateur theatre, in the week, did duty as a church on Sundays until 1836, when, and for the next nine years, service was held in the Court House.

*IN July, 1836, Major Irvine applied to the Society for aid towards the cost of building a church at Perth, whither he was "about to proceed as Commandant of the Forces." A sum of £100 (afterwards increased to £300) was at once voted for this purpose; and in December, 1836, £100 was (on the Major's application) also granted towards

* The reference in the Society's *Journal* for 1834 to a church built by Sir E. Parry, on the "Australian Company's" Estates, is omitted from this edition of the Records as, from information recently received, the church appears to have been situated not in *Western Australia* (as stated in the *Journal*), but in New South Wales [1].

erecting a church at Freemantle. The building at Freemantle was formally "opened" on August 4, 1843.

At Perth, the foundation stone of the church was laid by Governor Hutt on January 1, 1841,* at eight o'clock in the morning, the occasion being marked by the respect of "every man, woman, and child" in the town. The opening of this church (known as "St. George's Cathedral") took place on January 22, 1845, the worship of the day being conducted by "all the six Clergy of the territory," and the congregation numbering nearly 500 (some attending from a distance of 100 miles); and it was consecrated by Bishop Short of Adelaide on November 15, 1848. As enlarged some fifteen years later it continued in use until superseded by the present cathedral, which cost £17,000 and was consecrated on November 15, 1888 [2].

The need of additional clergymen for the colony was brought to the Society's notice by the "Rev. Dr. ELVINGTON" in 1840 and the Rev. J. B. WITTENOOM in 1841, and in the latter year the Rev. G. KING was sent out by the Society and stationed at Freemantle [3]. There for eight years he ministered to both settlers and natives. For the latter a school was opened (with Government aid) in 1842, consisting of children collected from the bush—the girls had all been betrothed to native men, but as their future husbands were already possessed of a wife or two, Mr. King easily purchased their freedom. In December 1842 ten of the children were baptized in Freemantle Church. "This gathering of the first-fruits of the Church of God was an unspeakably interesting occasion; and the solemn attention" of the "crowded congregation bespoke more concern than curiosity" [4]. The advancement of the native children "towards civilization and evangelical knowledge" was "uniformly progressive"; "in moral sentiment, as well as in the attainment of ordinary humble tuition" they were "not one degree inferior to the common average of European children," and quite as "reverential and attentive." [Rev. G. King, Jan. 1, 1846 [5].]

The total white population of the colony in 1846 was about 4,000. As these people were widely scattered, thirteen churches or chapels had been built for them, and "the Church of England" being "the Church of the people," there was not "a dissenting body in the territory" except in the town of Perth, where the Wesleyans and Romanists had secured an entrance. Within three years of the completion of their church the Freemantle congregation sent the Society an offering nearly equal in amount to one-fifth of its grant towards the erection of the building [6].

The stations for 50 miles to the south and 20 miles to the east of Freemantle were also served by Mr. King, whose visits were so arranged "that every settler within the circuit of his work" might "have divine service brought to his door, or to his neighbour's house, once in the month." One early result was the erection of churches by the settlers at Pinjarrah and Mandurah in 1842, and the gift of 500 acres of land from Mr. Thomas Peel as an endowment for the former [7].

In 1848 the Bishop of Adelaide made his first visit to Western

* In this year Governor Hutt reported "We have three additional churches built on the banks of the Swan" [2*a*].

Australia, which was then under his charge. The colony was in a very depressed state as to trade and commerce. The population numbered 4,600, of whom above 2,700 claimed membership with the Church of England. "A Bishop, several Priests with lay brothers and four Sisters of Mercy" had been "sent out to take care of the little flock" of Roman Catholics (306 in number) "and the heathen." Some of these clergy withdrew "on finding their services less needed than supposed." Two who were at King George's Sound left "after trying for a few months to instruct the natives in the bush." For the thirteen English churches there were only five clergymen. The first episcopal act of Bishop Short was the consecration of a newly erected church at Albany in King George's Sound. Confirmation was administered to 10 men and 14 women (all but one of whom remained to communicate), and the Bishop also baptized two half-caste children, "brought up in the nurture of the Lord by the disinterested kindness of persons unconnected with them except by the tie of Christian love." It was "wonderful and consolatory" to find in a place where for 18 years there was no resident minister, so earnest a desire for the ordinances of Divine service." "All Sectarian feeling was thrown aside and within the walls of Zion were seen sitting together, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, Roman Catholic, English, Scotch, Irish, American, worshipping together with brotherly love,"—in all a congregation of 100.

On leaving, the Bishop was presented with "an affectionate address," signed by everybody who could write; and men, women and children followed him to the shore.

At Freemantle, Mr. King's Native School was inspected. "It consisted of 15 children of both sexes, mostly taken in infancy from the bush, as being orphans or otherwise unbefriended." The natives of Western Australia were "superior to the Adelaide tribe, physically and in point of civilisation." But "the faith and love . . . which led . . . Mr. King to treat them as he would an orphan *white child*" was rare. The natives generally being "counted an inferior class" and "sometimes defrauded," naturally preferred their native associations "to being despised and wronged as a Pariah caste among whites, many of whom" were "below themselves in honesty, trustfulness, and self-respect." "The work may be one of time" (continued the Bishop), "but wise and Christian management would reclaim some firstfruits of this neglected race . . . as yet they have not received that management except in isolated instances."

Four native couples* were married by the Bishop. Three of the girls when rescued seven years before were "the most debased in habits and the least happy of all the creatures which the forest sustains." Unfortunately the charge of his extensive Mission impaired Mr. King's health, and in 1849 he had to leave the colony. His ministry had "been much blessed" [8].

In the first-fruits of the Freemantle Native School lay "the pledge of a rich and plentiful harvest" among the aborigines. Mr. King had endeavoured in 1844 to establish a training institution at the Murray, with a view to the evangelisation of the Murray tribe—"the fiercest and most warlike in the country," and that which gave battle to a

* The men were from the Wesleyan Institution at Wonneroo.

strong military party when Sir James Stirling went to mark out the town site of Pinjarrah. The Governor of the Colony confessed himself "deeply sensible of the justice" of Mr. King's representations, "and of the paramount duty incumbent on a Government to provide instruction for the inhabitants of a country," but the public funds at that time could not bear the charge [9].

With the appointment of the Rev. J. WOLLASTON to the newly-formed Archdeaconry of Albany in 1849 arose an opportunity of opening work among the aborigines in that neighbourhood, and the Society placed £50 per annum at his disposal for a Native Mission, in addition to an annual grant of £200 for encouraging the erection of churches and providing catechists for the settlers. Both grants proved of excellent service.

For the natives, a Training Institution was opened in 1852, a benevolent lady, Mrs. Camfield, undertaking the care and instruction of the children without remuneration [10].

By the aid of the Society, which contributed £3,000* in 1852 towards an endowment [11], Western Australia was in 1857 separated from Adelaide and formed into the Diocese of Perth. Its first Bishop, Dr. HALE, reported in 1862 that the Albany Native Institution, which "could scarcely have struggled into existence if it had not been fostered by the Society," was "now in a condition much more flourishing and hopeful than at any former period." People had been backward "in believing that anything can be done towards civilizing and Christianizing the Natives." But the Governor having recently visited and examined the Institution had become "so perfectly satisfied as to the reality, and the value" of the work, that instead of withdrawing support as had been anticipated, he increased it, and instructed the resident magistrates in the different colonies to endeavour to induce the natives to give up children for the purpose of instruction and education at Albany at the public expense [12].

With the exception of the Albany Institution, and the partial support of a few clergymen between 1857 and 1864,† Perth received little assistance from the Society during the first twenty years of its existence as a separate diocese, the Imperial and Colonial Legislatures having made provision for a staff of clergy. Since the disestablishment of the Church and the withdrawal of Government aid in 1876 &c. the Society has again contributed‡ to the maintenance and extension of the Church's ministrations in the colony [13]. A portion of this renewed help has long been available for a new Mission to the aborigines, and in 1885 the Rev. J. B. GRIBBLE endeavoured to establish a station among the natives in the Gascoyne district; but owing to the opposition of the colonists he removed (in 1887) to New South Wales, in which colony he had already (at Warangesda) done excellent work among the aborigines. The lack of a suitable successor prevented a renewed attempt until 1890 [14].

* Increased by £225 in 1882 [11*a*].

† Rev. W. D. Williams, Guildford, 1857-9; Rev. W. S. Meade, King George's Sound, 1860; Rev. H. B. Thornhill, Northam &c., 1860-2; Rev. G. J. Bostock, do., 1862-4; Rev. J. S. Price, Pinjarrah &c., 1862-4.

‡ By voting £1,000 towards a Sustentation and Endowment Fund, besides annual grants for Clergy [13*a*].

1892–1900.

The attempt made in 1890 to revive work among the aborigines proved abortive, and, owing to the stronger calls now arising on behalf of the gold diggers, nothing further could be done for the natives until 1897, when arrangements were made for starting a Mission in the north-west district, where the Government had set apart 100,000 acres of land for the purpose. Scattered over that district, which is larger than Queensland, are tribes of natives (many of them cannibals) who have never been enumerated, though they are estimated at tens of thousands, the majority of whom have never even seen a white man. In physique the "Nor'-Westers" are superior to the average Australian aboriginal, being well-built, stalwart, and picturesque in appearance. Their intelligence is also of a high order for aborigines. They appear to have no religious belief excepting fear of evil spirits ("Jingees" or "Gingies"). But they are not devoid of religious or moral instincts capable of development [15].

The Rev. E. Collick, of Boulder, has obtained considerable influence over the natives, who gather to meet him as he visits the goldfields. On one occasion they invaded Boulder Church while he was celebrating Holy Communion, and would not leave until he left the altar and came and spoke to them [15*a*].

Under Canon Garland the native Institution* (now on the Swan River) has been brought to a high state of efficiency. It contains a separate home for girls and infant boys, whilst the elder boys are brought up in an orphanage for white boys. The plan of educating black and white boys together has answered admirably. There never has been any ill feeling amongst them. No difference of treatment is permitted, and, so far from the white boys despising the black, they look up to them on account of their proficiency and general handiness. In school the native boys hold their own with the whites. In religious knowledge a native boy of fourteen took the highest marks in the diocesan examination on paper, being among twenty who obtained honours in the diocese. Hundreds of aboriginal children have been maintained and educated in the Institution, both sexes also receiving industrial training, and many have become useful citizens instead of idle and loafing blackfellows. The Chief Protector of Aborigines reports that "everything" is "done for the happiness of the inmates," and everything is "satisfactory as regards their health and general treatment."

Like his predecessor, Bishop Hale (translated to Brisbane in 1875), Bishop H. H. Parry took much interest in the aborigines; but ere his plans for their welfare could be accomplished he died at Bunbury on November 15, 1893, while on a Confirmation tour [16].

His successor, Bishop Riley (consecrated 1894), found on his arrival in his diocese a population of 100,000 people cared for by twenty-five clergymen, scattered about from Roebourne in the north-west to Albany in the south, a distance by sea of about 2,000 miles. The parishes or districts were large enough to strike terror into

* The Institution [*see* p. 427] was removed (from Albany) to Perth in 1859 and to the Swan River in 1876.

the heart of a new clergyman. The Government granted a subsidy of £2,000 a year to the Church, as it did smaller amounts, "*pro rata* of Church members," to the Roman Catholics and Wesleyans. In 1896 this grant was withdrawn, but the Government gave to the Church, as compensation for the annual grant, the sum of £20,000, which was invested. With the aid of the Societies in England, the financial difficulties were to a great extent overcome. The next difficulty arose from the influx of people, at one time at the rate of 1,000 a week, so that in about seven years (1890–97) the population of the Colony rose from 50,000 to 160,000. This was due to the discovery of gold. New towns on the goldfields sprang up like magic. Where but a few months before the foot of white man had never trod, a reef would be found and a town of 500 or 1,000 people be formed. Requests without end kept coming in, "Please send us a clergyman."

One miner wrote that if the people in the district in which he lived had been blacks, instead of the pioneers of the empire, no doubt Missionaries would have been sent to them in abundance.

The Bishop made almost superhuman efforts to meet the demands of his diocese—in one part the scene of gold diggings, in others the home of pastoral settlers—and the other Australian Bishops assembled in Synod in 1896, though all conscious of similar needs, took the unusual step of making a joint appeal to the mother Church in his behalf, to seize "as grand an opportunity as the Church has ever had of showing that she does care for the spiritual welfare of her children when they leave their country and form new homes in a new land" [17]. The Society, recognising the diocese as being then "probably the most important portion of the Church abroad," responded by making liberal provision both for the maintenance of clergy and the erection of churches* [18].

At first sight it seems incongruous to send money to a district which was raising gold in fabulous quantities, but few of the miners had money when they came, and from their earnings they had, in most instances, to maintain their families in other Colonies. The profits also of the mines, after paying for labour, go chiefly to shareholders living elsewhere than in West Australia. The aid given by the Society was distributed with a view to drawing out local support, and the response showed that the people valued the ministrations of the Church. At Cue they built in 1895 the first church ever seen in those regions, the pulpit being a huge block of quartz from one of the reefs, the gold sparkling untouched, and the cross over the altar being made of specimens of precious stones from several mines [19].

The work of the Clergy has been carried on bravely and under many privations and discouragements. Frequently they have to live in tents or huts. In no case do they receive large stipends, while some spend private incomes in support of their work. Their name has become "a household word on the goldfields for all that is good and worthy of admiration" [20]. Some of the "parishes" are as large as England. In one Mission (Mourambine, 5,000 square miles) the Church (in 1898) had won the respect of all, and was likely to be

* As much as £2,000 was granted in one year (1897) for church building (from the Marriott bequest), and this enabled 21 churches to be erected.

"the home of all the settlers," and the Wesleyan minister and the Roman Catholic priest had left the district. At Balbinia a homestead was discovered by the Rev. A. Burton in 1899, in which the Church's prayers were said daily, and morning and evening service every Sunday by the mistress of the house, who had not seen a clergyman for twenty-seven years, and who described herself as "the priest of the family."

But for the Society the northern part of the diocese would have been left without clergy. By its grant the Rev. Canon D. G. Garland was enabled to reorganise the great north-west, and travel nearly 5,000 miles, visiting the scattered settlers. The work among them he described in 1894 as being "in most cases missionary.* The name of God is known, and that is about all. Yet they display—so far as I have had to do with them—a willingness to be taught that one finds absent in cities." Local Dissenters and not a few Romanists accepted the ministrations of the Church, whose opportunity was altogether unique [21]. With a view to a division of the diocese (whose area is over a million square miles),† it is proposed to appoint an assistant-Bishop [22, 23]. The need of clergy has at times been more urgent than that of funds, and a proposal has been made for the establishment of a brotherhood Mission at Coolgardie [24]. Besides the white settlers and the aborigines there are Chinese and other "aliens"—Afghans, &c., who attend to the camels—waiting to be taught [25].

* In an article on the Society's Bicentenary the Perth Diocesan Magazine commended the Society for its "unswerving adherence to the principles of free and independent local government," and for its recognition of the fact that "it is almost useless endeavouring to convert the heathen unless the white races scattered throughout the world exhibit a high standard of Christianity" [21*a*].

† That is, larger than the following countries all joined together: Austria-Hungary, Germany, France, Great Britain and Ireland, Italy, Greece, Switzerland, Servia, and Montenegro.

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 466.)

CHAPTER LXV.

TASMANIA.

TASMANIA—or Van Diemen's Land, as it was once called—was discovered in 1642 by the Dutch navigator, Abel Van Tasman; but it was reserved for Surgeon Bass in 1797 to demonstrate that it was an island. England formally took possession of it in 1803, and made it an auxiliary penal settlement to New South Wales. The first convicts were sent out in 1804, and Hobart Town was founded on the banks of the Derwent. Free emigrants were first introduced in 1816; and in the next year a church was begun at Hobart. Already the colony was paying the penalty of religious neglect. Within a year of the British occupation (1803–4) a collision took place between the colonists and the aborigines at Risdon, when many of the latter were slain. The efforts of several of the Governors to restore confidence and establish friendly relations were frustrated by outrages committed by European "bushrangers." In retaliating, the natives were unable to discriminate between friend and foe. "No white man's life was safe. . . . Men, women and children were speared alike." In 1830 Governor Arthur planned the removal of the natives to a separate island. About 3,000 men were sent out to effect the capture; but after two months' absence and an expenditure of £30,000 they brought back only two prisoners. What numbers failed to do, was accomplished by a bricklayer of Hobart Town, named George Augustus Robinson, who has well earned the title of "the Conciliator." Such an influence did he acquire over the natives that, chiefly by persuasion, the whole of them were gathered together during the next five years and transferred to Flinders Island, in Bass Straits. Here, notwithstanding every reasonable attention paid to their comfort and improvement by Government, their number had dwindled to 54 when visited by Bishop Nixon in 1843. Four years later the survivors were removed to Oyster Cove, where in 1854 only 16 remained. The last

of the race—a woman called Truganina, or Lalla Rookh—died in 1876. The bushrangers referred to were mostly runaway convicts, and their hand was frequently raised against every man, white and black. Under Governor Sorrell (1817–24) they were suppressed. Some of them were shot in the woods, or starved to death or hanged; others were killed and eaten by their comrades.

THE religious needs of Tasmania were brought to the Society's notice by Archdeacon BROUGHTON of New South Wales in December 1834 [*see* pp. 391–2], and out of the first £1,000 voted in answer to his appeal, £400 was appropriated to the erection of two churches, in Hobart Town* and Launceston†. For each of these places only one such building existed, and these were "far too small for the numbers wishing to attend," Hobart Town alone containing from 7,000 to 9,000 people, "almost exclusively Protestant." During the next seven years provision was made, with the Society's assistance,‡ for 14 additional churches and 8 parsonages in parts of the island where before little if any such accommodation was to be found. This was the beginning of the first "serious effort" made to provide instruction "either for settlers or convicts" [1].

Visiting Tasmania in 1838 after a lapse of five years, Bishop BROUGHTON noticed that "a gradual but certain improvement of the moral and religious condition of the inhabitants" was taking place. Of Tasmania as of New South Wales he could say that, "surrounded, it cannot be dissembled, by much that is base and disgusting, there is nevertheless an extensive, and in point of actual influence, a preponderating proportion of integrity and worth, from which if suitably supported and encouraged now, there may hereafter spring forth a wise and understanding people to occupy this land." Wherever he had gone an anxiety had been manifested "to possess the observances of religion and the guidance of their proper ministers," and in every district the inhabitants were fulfilling the conditions under which the aid of Government could be obtained in erecting churches and parsonages and maintaining clergymen. "On behalf of these truly exemplary and deserving people" he appealed to the Society to send out several clergymen at once [2]. This was done,§ and later on others were sent, specially for a class not exemplary, and therefore more in need of such attention. The formation of Tasmania into a diocese—a matter frequently urged by Bishop Broughton—was accomplished in 1842, on the representation of Governor Sir John Franklin, afterwards the famous Arctic explorer [3], and with the aid of a grant of £2,500 from the Society [3*a*].

The necessity of such a measure had been intensified by the fact that transportation to New South Wales had recently ceased (1841), and Tasmania, with Norfolk Island annexed, had become the only receptacle for convicts from the mother country. When Dr. NIXON, the first Bishop of Tasmania, took charge of his diocese he found "that out of a population of some 60,000, scattered over a country nearly as large as England, there were about 18,000 convicts." With the exception of a Wesleyan minister stationed by the Government in

* Trinity. † St. John's.

‡ The grants-in-aid from the Society varied in amount from £20 to £50. A sum of £200 was also given towards building a school at Launceston [1*a*].

§ The first S.P.G. Missionaries in Tasmania were Rev. G. Bateman (Oatlands and Jericho, 1838), Rev. H. P. Fry (Hobart Town, 1838), and Rev. J. Mayson (Hobart Town, 1838).

Tasman's Peninsula, there was "not . . . one chaplain appointed *exclusively* to the systematic instruction of the convicts." At the "road stations" provision had been made for the daily reading of the sacred Scriptures, but those readings had been "performed generally if not always by some of the very worst of the convicts themselves." "For labour and for punishment" ample provision had been made. The most abandoned criminals were "shut up in wretched hovels" on a separate island during night-time, and in the day were sent to work on the opposite coast. Here, "borne down by toil and by the ever present sense of irremediable hopeless degradation," so "dreadful" was the punishment that "murder even" had "been committed, in order that the miserable criminal might be remanded to the gaol in Hobart Town, and thus be permitted to spend, in comparative comfort, that brief time . . . between the sentence of death and its execution." Here again were "no spiritual instructors"—"the possibility of reformation was taken from them, and they were doomed it would appear, to have even in this world, a foretaste of that hell which God had declared should be the dwelling place of the impenitent and the ungodly" [4]. It is only just to add that Government were becoming alive to the necessity of remedying these evils, and in the same year that the Bishop uttered his complaint Lord Stanley introduced the "probation system." Under this treatment convicts were to pass through the successive stages of detention,* probation gangs, probation-pass, ticket of-leave, and pardon. Each probation gang was to have a clergyman or schoolmaster attached, and religious instruction was to be carefully given. The failure of this system was partly due to the lack of proper agents to administer it, and "the one thing needful" seems to have been sadly neglected. A letter of a convict will best illustrate this. He was one who on the voyage had shown a true desire "to lead a new life." How difficult that was in such a nursery of vice as the probation gang will appear from his words:—

"Thank God, I can now breathe a purer air, and can lift up my head (as far as a convict can) once more, being just escaped from the dreadful society of the probation gang. On Jan. 14, 1843, we arrived . . . and in a few days were separated and most of us sent into the interior to our appointed stations. Previously to our dispersion we had an opportunity of assembling for reading the Scriptures and Prayer, as we had been wont to do on board the ship . . . and earnest were the prayers, and deep the feeling on behalf of our kind friend and patron we were about to part with, and fervently too we sought Divine wisdom and grace, to guide and bless us in all our future steps. The time soon came for us to be marched off. Myself, and five more shipmates, with twenty old hands were yoked to carts, loaded . . . all we knew was that we were going to form a new station fifty miles up the country. . . . Journey on we must, up rugged hills beneath a scorching sun, and amidst the hellish oaths . . . of our new companions. My ears were unaccustomed to such wicked words as proceeded from their lips. . . . We arrived . . . and were put within the prison. . . . My friend and shipmate . . . desirous of doing good, proposed to read a chapter from God's Word, but oh! I shall never forget the dreadful cry they set up. 'You old hypocrite! there's no God in Van Dieman's Land, nor ever shall be!' Not till then did I find banishment such a heavy chastisement. . . . At —— we commenced our work. Then began the course of government and discipline to which I have been subjected. Gangs marched to the Station as it enlarged from . . . Second Sentence Stations. These men are supposed to have been reformed but . . . their conduct

* This at Norfolk Island, but only in extreme cases.

soon evinced that the treatment they had received was calculated to harden, rather than soften, their moral feelings. They soon broke out. Officers commenced their work. . . . I should have told you that for three or four months we were tolerably comfortable, owing to the influence of a pious visiting magistrate, who . . . during that brief period . . . paid great attention to our spiritual interests. . . . There was no flogging during his time: but he would come and talk with us as a tender father to his children, and encourage us, in every possible way. . . . After he had left us, the scene changed. Thirty boys, incorrigible, as their conduct afterwards proved, were sent to us, and . . . allowed to mix with the men, many of whom were depraved in the extreme. . . . Never did I feel myself so degraded, never were my feelings so hurt as now. . . . What my mind has suffered through the wickedness of my fellow men I will not attempt to tell. . . . With few exceptions no man cared for their souls. Our illegal conduct made us convicts and our rulers have placed us in such circumstances, as render the commission of crime easy. They put forth no counteracting influences, to bear against the evil spirit that is in man. Little instruction is afforded to the mind. . . . I hope something will be done speedily for the bondmen and bondwomen in this part . . . the present system is most ruinous both to soul and body. . . . They assemble in groups telling each other of the robberies and murders they have committed and at night . . . the scene is truly awful" [5].

A statement made by the Bishop of Tasmania in 1847 confirms this description. One-half of the whole population of 60,000 were now convicts, and under the existing system of prison discipline "a degree of wickedness" had "sprung up among the convict gangs, unexampled" (the Bishop believed) "in the annals of the Christian world." Few, if any, of the prisoners while in the gangs dared, though their hearts might be touched with remorse, "even speak of, much less act upon, their convictions" [6].

Through the recommendation of the Society the services of five candidates for Ordination were secured in January 1844 as religious instructors* to the convicts, for whom Government had determined to provide a large increase of clergy [7].

The Society also promoted the raising of a Special Fund for Tasmania, and between 1842 and 1849 over £23,000 was contributed by the Church in England to meet the spiritual wants of the diocese. Only a part of this money passed through the Society's hands [8].

Already the Missionaries first sent out by the Society, although intended specially for the free settlers, had been able to do something for the outcast class.

From Oatlands the Rev. G. BATEMAN reported in 1843: "The hearts of few unfortunates here are really hardened, not one in a hundred; and they can generally be profitably turned to good paths by kindness and taking an interest in their welfare." Of another station he said: "The Vale of Jericho has been so supported, so comforted by a holy place of worship, that it is quite a contrast to the dreadful heathenish state of other villages and settlements here." [9].

By 1849 the number of Clergy in the diocese had increased to fifty, and a Theological College was at work training candidates for Holy Orders. [*See* p. 787*a*.] The Clergy consisted of Colonial Chaplains, Missionary Chaplains, and religious instructors maintained by the Crown for services in gaols and convict stations. The Colonial Chaplains

* Their work began on the voyage from England. [*See* accounts of Messrs. W. R. Bennett and G. Eastman in 1844 [7*a*].]

were maintained by the local Legislature, and of the Missionaries, five were supported from Crown endowments and the rest by special contributions from England. In the previous ten years the population had greatly increased, and the colony was "honourably distinguished" by the liberality of its older residents "to promote the propagation of the Gospel in every practicable way, and to stem the tide of evil continually flowing in from the mother country" [10]. Chief among those evils was intemperance. The Society's Missionary at Hobart Town in 1855 estimated that £700,000 was annually spent on drink in Tasmania, and in Hobart Town alone the average was £12 a year for "every person" or £50 for "each house," and 279 coroners' inquests had been held in the year, on deaths "mostly caused by drink" [11].

The discovery of gold in California thinned the population in 1850, and among those who migrated were a gang of convicts. They effected their escape by seizing the Bishop's Missionary boat, the *Psyche*, in which it is supposed they went "from island to island for the sake of provisions until they reached the Sacramento." At this period the free settlers were renewing efforts, often made, to resist a further importation of convicts [12]. An "angry, restless and even rebellious feeling" had been excited among the colonists, but notwithstanding this the evil might have continued to grow but for the danger caused to the Colony of Victoria. On the representation of the Bishop of Melbourne the Society petitioned the two Houses of Imperial Parliament on the subject in 1853, and transportation to Van Diemen's Land, or Tasmania as it now became, was henceforth discontinued [13].

The moral degradation which Tasmania had been compelled to endure for fifty years might have furnished grounds for soliciting the alms of English Churchmen for a prolonged period: certain it is that many colonies with claims weak by comparison have continued to look for and to receive such support. The decision taken by Bishop NIXON was thus expressed :—

"We have been largely helped from home. Your own Society, the S.P.C.K., private bounty, all have proved to us how large is the debt of gratitude that we owe to the continued and lavish kindness of the mother country. Surely we can best show our thankfulness by quietly suffering these many streams of bounty to flow into other channels, and to impart to other and less flourishing communities some of those advantages which we have so liberally received ourselves." [L. to the S.P.G., June 5, 1854 [14].]

Four years later there was but a single clergyman in the diocese assisted by the Society, and in 1859 this aid was dispensed with. The Bishop's efforts were unremitting to rouse his flock "to a sense of their duty, as stewards of the good things with which Providence" had "entrusted them."

"I have" (he wrote) "distinctly warned them that I will be no party to any further appeals to your Society." . . . "I will not be instrumental in begging about [? alms] at the hands of England. Gifts that come spontaneously from loving hearts will never be rejected by me, but be received with all gratitude. My determination does not extend to such little matters as books and the like. But I am quite sure that we shall have means enough in the Colony to do without home grants. . . . We shall be sadly disgraced if there be not enough of the old British spirit within us to induce us to exercise a little of the self-denial which our forefathers practised so largely" [15].

(1892–1900.) To Tasmania belongs the honour of being the first of the Australian Colonies to dispense with the Society's aid, and the only one to maintain its independence in this respect. This record, honourable and unique in itself, would be incomplete without an acknowledgment of the services rendered by Bishop Montgomery* of Tasmania, in stirring up and fostering a missionary spirit in the Australian Church generally. As a result of a Church Congress held at Hobart in 1894 a pastoral letter from the united Episcopate was published setting forth the duty of the Australian Church to support missionary work among the heathen in its own borders and in the adjacent islands, specially New Guinea and Melanesia. In his opening address at the Congress Bishop Montgomery fully recognised the duty of caring first for our own people, and speaking of the Society ("whose very name we in this hemisphere can never pronounce without emotion") as "the founder of the English Church in Australia and New Zealand" he said:—

"I can remember the days of my folly when I may have at times waxed impatient over the claims of prosaic bush settlers. It seemed hardly Mission work to some in England to care for the souls of men clad in fustian, with axes in their hands, when there were so many other races more romantically coloured and more scantily clothed. Perhaps I am not the only man present who has once been so foolish and has now wholly repented himself. Had a representative of that great Society been present I should have taken upon myself to have asked this great audience to have risen as one man, and with one voice to have told our deep sense of favours received, which we can never forget, and which we wish we could repay. . . . Built up by Missionary Societies during this wonderful century, we are, throughout our length and breadth, nothing but a Missionary Church" [16]. [*See also* pp. 403, 459*a*.]

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 466.)

* Since this was written the Bishop has accepted the office of Secretary of the Society (*see* p. 886).

CHAPTER LXVI.

NEW ZEALAND.

NEW ZEALAND consists of three principal islands—known as the North, the Middle, and the South, or Stewart's Island—and several islets, most of the last being uninhabited. The honour of discovering the group is divided between Tasman (1642) and Captain Cook (1769–77). The former, who did not effect a landing, had four men killed by the natives. A similar fate befell 28 Frenchmen in 1772, ten of Captain Furneaux's expedition in the next year (who were eaten), and all but four of the crew and passengers of the *Boyd* in 1809. But Mr Wilson of the London Missionary Society, on his way to the Society Islands in 1800, spent a night on shore in New Zealand in safety; and it was reserved for another messenger of the Gospel of Peace to open the country so that colonisation became possible. Subsequently to Cook's visits the islands were resorted to by whalers and traders chiefly from Australia. Occasionally they were accompanied on their return by New Zealanders, some of whom, notably two chiefs named Tippahee and Duaterra or Ruatara, were sought out and made friends of by the Rev. Samuel Marsden, the senior Government Chaplain in New South Wales. [*See* p. 388.] By these means the way was prepared for a Mission to New Zealand; and on Mr. Marsden's appeal the Church Missionary Society sent from England in 1809 Messrs. Kendall (a schoolmaster), Hall (a carpenter), and King (a shoemaker), to work under his direction. In New South Wales they had to wait two years before a vessel could be found to take them to New Zealand, such was the terror inspired by the fate of the *Boyd*. A preliminary visit to the coast having been made by Messrs. Kendall and Hall, the Mission party, led by Mr. Marsden and accompanied by Duaterra and two other Maori Chiefs, sailed from Port Jackson for the North Island in November 1814. On December 19 they had friendly interviews with the natives at a small island near Wangaroa, and the next day they landed at Wangaroa itself. Here they were met by a crowd of warriors, and the leader in the destruction of the *Boyd* related the story of the outrage, which had been brought on by the cruel conduct of the captain. After this, all of Mr. Marsden's companions having returned to the vessel except a Mr. Nicholas, those two lay down to sleep in the midst of the natives, and

passed the night in safety. On December 22 the Mission party reached Rangihoua (Bay of Islands), where they settled under the protection of Duaterra. Mr. Marsden returned to his duties in New South Wales in March 1815. In 1820 Mr. Kendall visited England with two native Chiefs; and with the help of Professor Lee of Cambridge the Maori language was reduced to writing and a grammar published. Two years later the first resident clergyman, the Rev. H. Williams, was appointed to New Zealand by the C.M.S. As yet the Missionaries could reckon no converts. The first was granted to them in 1825, but nearly five years more passed before any other baptisms took place. An industrial station was formed at the Waimate in 1830, and from that date the Mission made rapid progress. The year 1837 was marked by the seventh and final visit of Mr. Marsden, 1838 by his death, the printing of the New Testament and the Prayer Book in Maori, and the visit of Bishop Broughton of Australia.

In 1839 the New Zealand Land Company, formed in England, having bought large tracts of land from the native Chiefs, commenced the colonisation of the country by founding the town of Wellington. In 1840 the islands became a British colony, under the Treaty of Waitangi, by the terms of which the Chiefs acknowledged the supremacy of England, and were guaranteed the exclusive possession of their lands so long as they wished to retain them.

THE operations of the Church Missionary Society being limited to native races it became the duty of the S.P.G. to see that the colonisation which the labours of Marsden and his successors had made possible should be of a Christian character. In 1839, on the application of "the Rev. Dr. Hinds" for "a chaplain to the settlers about to proceed to New Zealand," the Society sent out the Rev. J. F. CHURTON in that capacity [1]. He accompanied some of the first emigrants, and reached Port Nicholson in April 1840. By September the colony numbered about 500, but most of the people were remaining at Petoni, the place originally fixed for the settlement, until the town, some seven miles distant, was finally allotted. At this town, then styled "Brittania," but afterwards Wellington, Mr. Churton began to hold service in a native "warrie"—a structure sufficiently large but otherwise inconvenient, for it was occupied by "the Surveyor's men" and used by them as a dwelling and lumber and cooking room, and their occupations were not "intermitted even during the hours of Divine Service." Consequently "respectable persons" were driven from attendance, and in the absence of a more fitting place the Holy Sacrament was administered at his own "warrie."

But while his white congregation was reduced to sixty or seventy persons, the natives were forward in coming to service and evinced an eagerness for instruction. On this point he wrote (September 9, 1840):—

"Be assured no illustration can be offered of 'fields white already to the harvest' more apt and immediate than the spiritual condition of New Zealand—no case which better deserves and needs a 'prayer to the Lord to send forth labourers, to a harvest, which is plenteous and ready.' Here in the midst of a fertile soil, a most balmy delicious climate, here are a people, intelligent, ingenious, well affectioned, and eagerly ready to welcome us *because* we are *Christians*. It is not as a 'man' but as 'the Missionary' (the white man's Missionary) that I find in every one of them, a friend to myself and to all my family—and in despite of my ignorance (in fact) of their language—yet *through all that disadvantage* they will listen with an attention which was never exceeded towards any one at home, to my poor efforts to read to them in their own tongue, the wonderful works of God" [2].

Sufficient local support not being forthcoming at Wellington, Mr. Churton, who waited there till he "became an impoverished man," removed to Auckland in January 1841 [3].

The settlers at Wellington were displeased by what they considered a "desertion of them," but before Mr. Churton left, Mr. R.

DAVY, B.A., was placed there as catechist by the Bishop of Australia, who directed him "to read prayers and preach, to visit the sick, to superintend schools for the young and to inter the dead" [4].

At Auckland, the capital, Mr. Churton did not lack for support. Up to August 1841, when a Roman Catholic priest landed, he was the sole minister of religion. The town then numbered 1,500 settlers [5]. Service was begun on the Sunday before January 19, 1841, "at the large public store." The attendance was "creditable and encouraging," and at the conclusion the congregation, "collecting together without the door, . . . declared their determination, now that a clergyman of the Church of England had come among them, forthwith to erect entirely at their own cost, a large, substantial and handsome Church," and it appeared that a contribution was "offered by every one" [6]. On July 28 the Governor laid the first stone of the "Metropolitan Church of St. Paul," designed to contain 600 sittings, one third free. Attendance at the jail and Sunday School left Mr. Churton little time for the natives, but he reported that they were well disposed to the English, that "muskets, guns, powder and balls" were not so much in demand among them as "clothing, boxes, sugar, tea," but above all things, what they wanted was "a copy of the Gospel" [7].

By the co-operation of the New Zealand Church Society, the New Zealand Land Company, and the Colonial Bishoprics Council, the islands were created a diocese in 1841 [8].

Before his consecration (October 17, 1841) as the first Bishop of "New Zealand" the Rev. GEORGE AUGUSTUS SELWYN asked the S.P.G. to entrust him with an annual grant for the purpose of endowment in preference to giving annual salaries for clergymen. "What I most of all deprecate" (said he) "is the continuance of annual salaries, which leave a church always in the same dependent state as at first, and lay upon the parent Society a continually increasing burden" [9]. [The force of this statement may be seen by a comparison of two parts of the Mission field. In New Zealand, where the Colonial Church has been founded mainly on the endowment system, no one station has received a grant from the Society for more than twenty-three years. In North America, where the other system has prevailed, there are still Missions which 100 to 150 years' continuous assistance have not rendered self-supporting.] The funds placed at Bishop Selwyn's disposal by the Society enabled him to take with him from England four clergymen* (Revs. T. WHYTEHEAD, G. BUTT, R. COLE, and W. COTTON), three candidates for Holy Orders (Messrs. EVANS, NIHILL, and BUTT), and two school teachers, as well as to proceed at once to the purchase of land for endowment [10].

During the next ten years the Society's grants for endowment alone amounted to £7,000, the New Zealand Company also contributing large sums for the same purpose [11].

The Mission party sailed from Plymouth in the *Tomatin* on December 26, 1841, and at once began studying Maori and otherwise preparing for their future work. With the assistance of a New Zealand youth whom he had engaged from a school at Battersea, the Bishop was able on arriving to catechise in Maori [12].

Landing on May 30, 1842, at Auckland, and settling his family at

* The Rev. C. L. Reay of the C.M.S. also accompanied the party

the Waimate, near the Bay of Islands, he set out in July to visit the diocese. His "chief object being to obtain a general acquaintance with the language and habits of the natives, and with the nature of the country," "very few specifically episcopal acts were performed," but "almost daily preaching and teaching" were involved. In his first tour he travelled nearly 2,300 miles—762 on foot—and towards the end "the only remaining article in his possession of the least value was his "bag of gown and cassock." At the Waimate on his return he held his "first confirmation, at which 825 natives were confirmed [13].

In "every part of the country" there was "great occasion for thankfulness and hope." The English settlers (numbering in 1842 about 9,000) showed "a very considerable willingness . . . to bear their part in the maintenance of ministers," and the Church being "foremost in the field" "few hindrances had grown up to prevent the establishment of a sound and efficient Church system," and the Bishop found himself placed in a position such as was never granted to any English Bishop before, with a power to mould the institutions of the Church from the beginning according to true principles" [14]. The natives and English were so interspersed that it was necessary to require every clergyman to acquire Maori and to be ready to minister to both races [15].

On May 7, 1843, St. Paul's Church, Auckland (though unfinished) was opened.* "The services began with a native congregation at nine, some of whom . . . paddled a distance of twelve miles by sea during the night, in order to be present." They took part in the service in a manner which contrasted strikingly "with that of the silent and unkneeling congregations of the English settlers." At eleven an English congregation assembled and the Holy Communion was administered "to a more numerous body of communicants" than the Bishop had ever met before in any English settlement. In the afternoon services were again held for the natives and the settlers [16].

Steps were being taken for the erection of churches at Wellington and Nelson. At the former place the Rev. R. COLE was stationed, having also under his charge "a large native congregation . . . sometimes . . . to the number of 800" and the out-settlement at Petoni. At the Waimate "a collegiate institution† for candidates for Holy Orders . . . upon the plan of King's College, London, and its tributary schools," had been founded. The college course included instruction in medicine and surgery by two medical practitioners "of good repute," Messrs. BUTT and C. DAVIES, the wants of the sick natives as well as those of the European staff being ministered to. A knowledge of medicine was found to be of "great assistance to a clergyman in this country." Two of the staff had however passed beyond medical skill‡ [17]. In rendering an account of his "stewardship" the Bishop wrote (1843):—

"The plan of the Society in furnishing me with the means of educating young men for the ministry, has given me the greatest comfort and hope during

* Consecrated March 17, 1844.

† *See* p. 788.

‡ The Rev. T. Whytehead and Mr. W. Evans. The former had declined any remuneration for his services; and by his will he repaid the outfit granted him by the *Society, and left £681 3½ per Cents.* to the Church in New Zealand [18].

the many losses which we have sustained. . . . In carrying into effect the various plans which I have felt to be necessary for the establishment of a sound Church system in this country I have been continually reminded of the confidence reposed in me by the Committee, which has enabled me to act with decision in many cases where delay would seriously have injured the future prospects of the Church. . . . If I had been fettered with strict rules and obliged to refer every question to England; or if every clergyman were at liberty to communicate directly with the Society instead of looking up to me as the director of his duties, and the source of his emoluments, I could never have met the changes which, even in one year, have completely altered many of the arrangements which I at first formed. Being entrusted with the charge of an undertaking altogether new and unexampled in our Church, and therefore experimental in character, I have deeply felt the benefit of that confidential latitude which was kindly given to me. . . . I cannot withhold my tribute of gratitude, confidence and esteem, from the Committee, to whose exertions I owe so much of the comfort and stability which I feel in my present position . . .: as the managers of a public fund having for its object the propagation of the Gospel according to the doctrines of the Church of England they have fulfilled the purposes for which they were incorporated, so far as regards my own diocese, in a manner, and to an extent, which, I doubt not, will produce, under God's blessing, a lasting effect upon the future character of this colony" [19].

In this year the Bishop was successful in pacifying two parties of natives whose quarrels threatened to involve a portion of the northern island in war [20].

In 1844 a serious affray occurred between the settlers and the natives (led by John Heké) at Kororareka. The English were defeated, but when the firing had ceased the Bishop and Mr. Williams went on shore to recover and bury the bodies of the dead. The natives were plundering the houses, but their behaviour to the Missionaries was "perfectly civil and inoffensive," and several guided them to the dead bodies which were "lying with their clothes and accoutrements untouched, no indignity of any kind having been attempted" [21].

A desultory and occasional warfare, in which many lives were sacrificed, was kept up until 1848, and probably would have been prolonged but for a wise change of policy on the part of the home authorities. Only a short time before the disturbances ceased it became necessary for the Bishop to protest against a violation of the Treaty of Waitangi [22]. In those days "the chief fault" imputed to the Missionaries was an "undue desire for peace." "Here comes that Bishop to prevent us from fighting the natives" was a well-known saying, but his influence and that of his clergy prevented a general rising of the natives, and in fact not one in thirty of the population rebelled [23].

"In all parts of the country and under all circumstances" the Bishop received from his native friends "the most disinterested kindness" and was "comforted under many sorrows by their unwearied fidelity." "It has become an axiom in my mind" (he wrote in 1848) "that if I treat a native as my own child I make him a friend for life" [24].

For the purpose of tracing the growth of the Society's work in New Zealand, Bishop Selwyn's letters and journals are for a long period almost the only sources of information available to the Society. On this subject he wrote in 1847: "I am conscious of a defect of regularity on my part in forwarding to you Reports of this Diocese, and in expressing my thanks for the unwearied kindness of the Society in still supplying us

with stated means of support in the midst of their pecuniary difficulties" [25]. One reason assigned (L., June 23, 1848) for the infrequency of his own reports was the fear of appearing to engross too much of the Society's interest and attention: "After the formation of so many new dioceses, I thought it due to them that we should not show so much anxiety as before, to create a feeling in favour of this country and so to absorb more than our proportionate share of public contributions. I cannot bear to think of our continuing to drain your resources one hour longer than the necessity of the case may require" [26].

Since 1842 the chief S.P.G. stations had spread from Wellington (1840) and Auckland (1841) to Nelson (1843), Tamaki (1847), Taranaki or New Plymouth (1847), Onehanga Harbour and several other places in the suburbs of Auckland (1847). St. John's College, after having been carried on two years at the Waimate, was removed in 1844 to a site then about four miles from Auckland. This institution was frequently declared by the Bishop to be "the key and pivot" of all his operations, and the only regular provision for its support was an annual grant of £300 from the Society. The general condition on which all students were admitted was that they should "employ a definite portion of their time in some useful occupation in aid of the purposes of the institution"—the "only real endowment" of which "was the industry and self-denial of all its members" [27]. As instances of their skill and industry, "persons going out of town in the morning, saw with great surprise on their return in the evening, a church, where in the morning there was nothing at all. Eight of these little chapels were erected withing a few miles of Auckland, by the operation of an industrial body, working by the spare time of its own scholars, which would otherwise have been spent in idleness, and perhaps in vice" [28].

The following "chapelries" were in 1847–8 under the charge of the clerical members of the collegiate body:—

St. Thomas', Tamaki, ½ mile N.E. of the College; St. Mark's, Remuera, 4 miles W.; St. Andrew's, Epsom, 5 miles S.W.; St. Peter's, Onehunga, 5 miles S.S.W.; St. James' (native chapel), Okahu, 3 miles N.W.; All Saints', Owairoa (Howick), 5 miles E.; and New Village of Pensioners, 3 miles S.

Not much could be said "in praise either of the beauty or congruity of the college buildings," which were of a temporary nature, chiefly of wood; but excellent work was done in the various branches, comprising the training of candidates for Holy Orders, catechists, and schoolmasters; elementary schools for the children of natives and British settlers; and an hospital. There was no difficulty in procuring a supply of promising native scholars. In order to civilise the Maories it was necessary not only to provide the means of education, but also "instruction in the most minute details of daily life and in every useful and industrious habit." They had "received the Gospel freely and with an unquestioning faith," but the unfavourable tendency of their habits was "every day dragging back many into the state of sin from which they seemed to have escaped." Their bane was "desultory work interrupted by total idleness." With them the belief was fast gaining ground "that work was incompatible with the character of a

gentleman." There was also a danger of the rising generation of the English sinking "to the same level of indolence and vice with the native youth." Hence the great attention paid to industrial training at St. John's College—the results of which were especially successful in farming, building, and printing operations—the latter including versions of the Scriptures in Maori.

The mild character of slavery among the Maories was seen at Onetea in 1848, where a native in the Bishop's employ was landed to redeem his mother. The Bishop gave the master—a baptized Chief—"the choice proposed by St. Paul to Philemon of giving . . . up freely in a spirit of Christian love, or of receiving payment." The master said that he was old and needed help, but when he was dead she should be free. The old woman after explaining that he would have no one to fetch him water or to light his fire, or to boil his pot, ended by saying that she "loved her master" and would "not go out free."

At the conclusion of a voyage of 3,000 miles in 1848, including a visit to the Isle of Pines, the Bishop wrote:—

"How forcibly may you urge this upon your members, that every Colony may be a source of light to all its heathen neighbours; that those who contribute so coldly and sparingly to the funds of the Society . . . because they think that its work does not bear a Missionary character, are, in fact, hindering the surest method of preaching the Gospel to the heathen by starving the Colonial Churches, which might be the nursing mothers of every tribe within the circle of their influence. . . . The young men of the College [St. John's], before my last voyage . . . begged me to accept their assurance that if I should discover any opening where their services might be more required than in New Zealand, they held themselves in readiness to answer to the call" [29].

In 1848 a movement was set on foot in England with the object of forming a settlement in New Zealand "to be composed entirely of members of our Church, accompanied by an adequate supply of Clergy, with all the appliances requisite for carrying out her discipline and ordinances and with full provision for extending them in proportion to the increase of population." The settlement was to be "provided with a good College, good Schools, Churches, a Bishop, Clergy, all those moral necessaries, in short, which promiscuous emigration of all sects, though of one class, makes it utterly impossible to provide adequately." To carry out these intentions the Canterbury Association—as the projectors were known—made arrangements with the New Zealand Company for acquiring a territory of about 2,400,000 acres on the eastern coast of the middle island. The first settlers, 1,512 in number, sailed from England in eight ships from September 1850 to January 1851. Each ship was provided with a clergyman and a schoolmaster, and the new settlement took the name of "Canterbury." Owing to the embarrassments of the New Zealand Company, and other causes, the scheme was however only partially successful [30].

About £24,000 were invested in land by the Canterbury Association in 1851 for religious purposes, but some of the endowments were for a time "comparatively unproductive," and "but for the assistance of the Society the appointment" of a Bishop "might have been indefinitely postponed." Such was the opinion of the first occupant of the See of Christchurch, Dr. Harper, who found on his arrival in December 1856 a population of 5,000 70 per cent. being members of the Church—five

churches, and nine clergymen—four of whom were labouring gratuitously. For 18 years (1862–79) the diocese received aid from the Society, an addition to its resources which was "very helpful and encouraging, and must ever be gratefully remembered as an indication and substantial proof of the sympathy of the mother Church with her colonial offshoot in its efforts to fulfil the duties of its mission" [31].

Further relief came to Bishop Selwyn in 1858 by the formation of three new dioceses. Two of the new Bishops (of Wellington and Nelson) were consecrated in England, and one of their first episcopal acts on arrival in the colony was to assist in the consecration of the third, on which occasion Bishop Selwyn wrote:—

"We had a delightful day on Sunday, April 3, when the four Bishops of New Zealand, Christchurch, Wellington and Nelson consecrated the Bishop of Waiapu.* We are most grateful to the Giver of all good; and among His agents and instruments not the least share of gratitude is due to the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*, to whose timely aid in 1841 this happy consummation is to be traced. I shall go back to Auckland light in heart, being now enabled to leave these rising provinces under the care of their own Bishops" [32].

In 1866 the Province of Otago became the Diocese of Dunedin, but as its first Bishop (Dr. Jenner) did not act, the Bishop of Christchurch continued to exercise episcopal authority over it until 1871.

The first five dioceses received continuous aid from the Society down to the end of 1879, and Dunedin occasional help to 1880 [33]. In addition to grants for Missions the Society contributed largely to the endowment of the Dioceses of Wellington and Nelson [34]. Though its work in New Zealand was mainly among the colonists, the natives were not neglected by the Society. In the Diocese of Christchurch it numbered among its Missionaries the Rev. G. P. MUTU—who twice refused a seat in the Colonial Legislature although "begged to accept it by the entire Maori population" of the island, preferring "to take Holy Orders and to devote himself to the spiritual welfare of his countrymen." While studying with the Rev. J. H. STACK he maintained himself at his own cost [35].

Writing in 1859 the Bishop of Wellington stated that the Society's policy had "succeeded well" in that district. In the first struggles of the colony, when all the means and energies of the settlers were expended in subduing the forest and eking out a bare existence, "all care for their spiritual wants would have been omitted, had it not been for the Society" [36]. A few years later he reported that the Society's grant had "worked a wonderful change" in the Upper Hutt district. The largest proprietor there, who gave a parsonage, said to him: "I do thank God when I consider the condition of this district compared with what it was three years ago. Then it was a den of thieves, now I leave it a Christian community. I am dying, and my family will remain here. Pray don't take away the Clergyman" [37].

The truth of Bishop Selwyn's remarks on pages 439, 445, as to the value of the colonial branch of the Society's work was further manifested in 1862, when the New Zealand Church through its General Synod formally avowed its "responsibility . . . to extend as far as in it

* [Dr. W. Williams. His successor, Dr. E. C. Stuart, after 16 years' devoted service as Bishop of Waiapu, resigned his See in 1893 in order to become a Missionary in Persia, thus following the precedent set by the late Bishop French of Lahore (p. 627).] The *Venerable* W. L. Williams was elected to the Bishopric of Waiapu in 1894.

lies the knowledge of our blessed Lord and Saviour and the enjoyment of His means of grace, to every creature within the Ecclesiastical Province and to the heathen beyond" [38].

How the Gospel was carried to the "heathen beyond" is told under Melanesia. [*See* p. 444.] In New Zealand itself Christianity had already spread to all parts of the colony,* but ere it had become firmly rooted there arose false prophets, and many of the natives fell away from the faith. The relapse was the outcome of the second Maori War, which originated from the refusal of William King, the Chief of Waitara, to give up his own land which one Teira had professed to sell to the Colonial Governor, Colonel Gore Browne. For this refusal the New Zealand Government in 1860 "proclaimed martial law and ordered W. King to be attacked." In 1867 "the war was proved to be altogether unjust," on the evidence of Teira himself, taken before Judge Fenton in a regular Court in the colony. The Society was asked by the Bishop of Wellington to "put this on record," "out of justice to your own Clergy and those of the Church Missionary Society, who were all so reviled for declaring William King to be in the right" [40].

At the outbreak of the war (which lasted with but little intermission till 1870) a leading chief said to the Bishop of Wellington:—

"We believe that there is a deep-laid conspiracy to destroy us. The English people first send Clergy here to make us believe that you were all a pious God-fearing people—then by degrees the settlers followed—and now that they equal us in number, they instantly make a quarrel, and if it had not been for the fact that we see the newspapers abuse you Clergy as much as us, we should have condemned you all alike" [41].

In 1864, when the Maori cause seemed to be almost lost, the Pai Marĭrē, or Hau Hau fanaticism, was set on foot, and soon "swept over the land like a pestilence, and carried off in its train the great mass of the people (natives) from Waikato to the Wairapa." Pai Marĭrē means "Very good"—literally "good, smooth." Hau Hau (pronounced How How) is the war-cry of the Maories. The movement is said to have originated in this manner. An English officer (Captain Lloyd) and some of his men were killed by the Maories, who cut off their heads and drank their blood. Shortly afterwards it was said that the Angel Gabriel appeared to those who had partaken of the blood, and ordered Captain Lloyd's head to be exhumed, cured in their own way, and carried throughout the land, in order that it should be the medium of communication with Jehovah. Next it was announced that the head appointed a high priest (Te Ua) and two assistants or prophets (Hepania and Rangitauria), and communicated to them the tenets of a new religion, the followers of which were to be called Pai Marĭrē, and to be protected by the Angel Gabriel and his legions, who were to aid them in exterminating, or driving out of the country, the Europeans and all natives who did not adopt the superstition. When this had been accomplished men were to be sent down from heaven to teach the Maories the European arts and sciences. The new religion contained strange contradictions. The abiding presence of the Virgin Mary was promised, and the religion of England as taught by Scripture

* In 1843–4 Bishop Selwyn wrote: "There is no part of New Zealand where the Gospel is unknown" [39].

was declared to be false and the Scriptures were to be burnt. Yet the creed and form of worship adopted included not only Romanism but articles from Wesleyanism, the English Prayer Book, and especially from Judaism and the Old Testament, to which were added a mixture of Mormonism, Mesmerism, Spiritualism, Ventriloquism, and some of the worst features of the old Maori usage and the days of cannibalism. The rites which accompanied these doctrines were "bloody, sensual, foul and devilish; the least reprehensible consisting in running round an upright pole, and howling" until catalepsy prostrated the worshippers.

During one of these fanatical outbreaks the Rev. C. S. VOLKNER, a Missionary of the C.M.S., suffered martyrdom while visiting his Mission at Opokiti in 1865 [42].

Yet amid the apostasy of two-thirds of their countrymen the native clergymen remained steadfast to a man, and among the faithful laity were to be found many who in spite of the distractions of the war continued to make provision for the permanent establishment of the Church in their midst. In the Canterbury settlement, the Chatham Islands, and the Northern Island gifts of land and money were forthcoming—in the latter instance nearly £2,000 had been raised by 1866 almost entirely by the Maories as a Native Pastors' Endowment Fund, which was supplemented by the Society [43]. In the first two districts the natives were comparatively few, and in the other, where they were numerous, the Maori Church was reported in 1876 to be "much better provided for than that of our own countrymen," the immigrants being unable to maintain clergymen for themselves [44].

In 1869 Bishop SELWYN was translated to Lichfield, and the title of the see which he vacated was altered from "New Zealand" to "Auckland." His successor, Bishop COWIE, for whom he had secured an endowment [45], reported after 10 years' experience that the Society's assistance to the Diocese had "been most valuable, not only as so much money, but also—and chiefly—as a constant encouragement to our people to help themselves. . . . We have fifty clergy at work . . . including twelve Maories, and . . . most of them are maintained, in whole or in part, by the weekly offerings of their congregations" [46]. Much more might be added to the same effect, but it will be sufficient to quote the following tribute from Bishop Selwyn :—

> "I claim for this Society the credit of having in a most patient, persevering, and God-fearing manner, in a time of spiritual deadness, with little encouragement indeed, worked its way to success. . . . I was once the sole Bishop in New Zealand; there are now six, and every one of them, if applied to, would bear testimony, that the institution of their sees and the support of their clergy are mainly owing to the timely aid given by the Society" * [47].

It should be added that each of those six dioceses has united in propagating the Gospel in foreign parts through the agency of the Melanesian Mission, and (in not a few instances) by means of the Society, whose connection with new Zealand has since 1880 been

* The part taken by Bishop Selwyn in building up the Church in New Zealand and planting it in Melanesia was formally recognised on his death in 1878, when the Society recorded "its gratitude to God for the precious example of a devout and unselfish life, *and of a laborious* and fruitful Episcopate" [48].

limited to help given in 1897 towards the endowment of the Bishopric of Dunedin (£500), and of the Theological College of that diocese (the interest on £1,000 set apart from the Marriott bequest) [*see* p. 787*b*], and the building of a church at Tariki, Auckland diocese, and to the receipt of tokens of gratitude and of sympathy in the Society's work [49].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 466.)

CHAPTER LXVII.

MELANESIA.

MELANESIA comprises the western islands of the South Pacific Ocean, more than 200 in number, the principal groups being the Solomon,* the Santa Cruz, and the Banks Islands, the New Hebrides, and New Caledonia—bounded on the east by the Fijis and closed in to the westward by Australia and New Guinea. Generally they are of volcanic formation and are covered to the water's edge with luxuriant vegetation —the whole effect being enchanting. They are inhabited by people differing widely from the natives of the East Pacific, or Polynesia. The Polynesians are lighter in colour, and for the most part of larger stature, and are united by language, customs, and superstitions. "A native of any one Polynesian island would almost immediately recognise in the dialect spoken in any other Polynesian island a dialect similar to his own." It is very different in Melanesia, where, although the inhabitants with few exceptions belong to the Papuan race, "almost as a rule, the natives of one island, however small, have a language which is nowhere else understood"; and in the New Hebrides this diversity extends to the villages. Hence the people are broken up into hostile sections, the boundary of a rock or a brook dividing, within the confines of a small island, "languages mutually unintelligible and communities perpetually at war." The climate of the northern islands is no less unfriendly; in all but a few, "fever and ague afflict the natives and make a continual residence impossible to Europeans and even perilous to the Polynesians of the Eastern Pacific."

WHEN the See of New Zealand was founded in 1841 the jurisdiction of Bishop G. A. SELWYN was by a "clerical error" [1] extended to the 34th degree of *north*, instead of *south*, latitude. In addition to this he received a charge from Archbishop Howley, in the name of the mother Church, to consider New Zealand "as the central point of a system extending its influence in all directions, as a fountain diffusing the streams of salvation over the islands and coasts of the Pacific, as a luminary to which natives enslaved and debased by barbarous and bloody superstitions will look for light." At this time most of the islands to the eastward of Melanesia had already received the Gospel —the Society, Hervey and Navigator Islands being occupied by the London Missionary Society, and the Friendly and the Fiji groups by the Wesleyans. But so far as Bishop Selwyn was aware "in Melanesia . . . not . . . a single native Christian was to be found." For the first seven years of his episcopate Bishop Selwyn's time was fully occupied by his duties in New Zealand, but at the end of that time he was enabled (December 1847 – March 1848) to visit in H.M.S. *Dido* the Friendly and Navigator Islands, Rotuma, Anaiteum (Southern Hebrides), and the Isle of Pines (near New Caledonia). The Wesleyan and the London Society Missionaries were already in the field, and the Church of Rome too had borne witness; but the thing which impressed Bishop Selwyn most was his meeting in Samoa a Mission which had been dispatched to the Pacific by the Presbyterians of *Nova Scotia*. "A striking lesson for our New Zealand Church," said he, "for I believe this was the first instance of any Colonial body sending out its Mission to the heathen, without assistance from the mother country . . . how much more easy would be our work" [2].

Easy (comparatively) as regarded distance, but in other respects how difficult! Looking to the unhealthiness and extent of the field

* A British Protectorate was established over the Southern Solomon Islands in 1893 and 1898, and over the Santa Cruz group in 1898.

and the confusion of tongues that prevailed, it was evident that if Melanesia was to be evangelised it must be by the employment of native agency. Accordingly Bishop Selwyn formed the plan of gathering youths from the various islands and taking them to New Zealand for training as teachers of their countrymen [3]. Friends in England furnished the means of buying a small schooner, the *Undine*, in which in the autumn of 1849 he visited, in company with H.M.S. *Havannah*, Anaiteum, Tanna, Erromango, Fatè, Uea, Lifu, Nengone (or Mare), New Caledonia, and the Isle of Pines, and returned with five youths—three from Nengone, one from Lifu, and one from New Caledonia. In 1850 these scholars were taken back to their homes and others were brought away—from the Loyalty Islands, the Southern Hebrides, and the Solomon Islands. This voyage occupied from April 6 to June 8, the *Undine* being escorted by H.M.S. *Fly*. Later in the same year Bishop Selwyn took a prominent part in establishing the Australasian Board of Missions [*see* p. 398], one immediate result of which was the adoption of the Melanesian Mission by the Church in Australia and New Zealand, and the provision of a new vessel [4].

On the next voyage Bishop Selwyn was accompanied by the Bishop of Newcastle, and writing to the Society from the "schooner *Border Maid*," "At sea, September 17, 1851," he said:—

"I think that I cannot acknowledge the Society's Jubilee Letter from a more appropriate place than the bosom of the wide sea, over which, in its length and breadth, it has pleased God that the work of His Church should be extended. The vessel, on board of which I write, will also attest the blessing granted to the Society's labours; for it is the gift * of the Dioceses of Sydney and Newcastle, where the good seed has been sown and nurtured, under Divine protection, mainly by your efforts. It has pleased God in a remarkable manner to verify the words which I wrote in an early letter; that those who thought that our venerable Society was doing little for the conversion of the heathen, might well consider whether there could be any surer way of spreading the Gospel to the uttermost parts of the earth, than by building up the Colonial Churches as Missionary centres. The movement at Sydney last year . . . is a signal proof of the diffusive and fructifying character of your work. Your contributions to Australia and New Zealand have awakened a zeal, and established a precedent, by which the Gospel has now been carried over a range of 4,000 miles, to islands of which even the names are almost unknown in London. We have with us in the Mission vessel thirteen youths, from six different islands, besides two of our own New Zealanders [=15, speaking seven languages], who are going with us to St. John's (now reorganised as the central Missionary College), for such instruction as we hope will qualify them, in due time to return as teachers to their own countrymen . . . we offer to you these treasures of our Mission field, as proofs that your efforts have not been unblessed, and that your prayers do not return to you void. . . . in our College, mainly promoted and encouraged by your support, you are educating the children of the most distant races of the earth. . . . And it is mainly owing to the efforts of the Society, under God's blessing, that I have been enabled, during the last nine months, to visit, with ease and comfort, inhabited countries stretching over thirty-three degrees of latitude, or, one eleventh part of the circumference of the globe . . . [5].

During this voyage, while Bishop Selwyn was on shore at Malicolo in the New Hebrides, procuring a supply of fresh water, the Mission vessel was surrounded for two hours by several canoes full of savage men armed with clubs and spears. An attempt was then made to cut off his retreat, but amid a shower of arrows he and his party reached the vessel without injury [6].

* [= £1,200.]

At Nengone (Loyalty group) Bishop Selwyn in 1852 stationed the Rev. W. NIHILL and baptized 19 natives, one being a Chief of Lifu. The first convert of the Solomon Islands also received baptism, and 25 scholars were conveyed to New Zealand. At this time the Polynesian teachers of the L.M.S. had been mainly instrumental in bringing about 600 natives of Nengone to a profession of Christianity, but it was understood that the field was open to the Church of England, and Mr. Nihill laboured there "with extraordinary zeal and success" and had "entirely won the confidence of the people when in 1854 European teachers from the London Mission appeared." The "engagement" between that Society and Bishop Selwyn had been misunderstood on the one side or the other. The position of Mr. Nihill was trying; but "he did all he could to help the new comers with his knowledge of the language, gave them his translations, and in every way suppressed his own feelings for the good of the people." In 1855 he died. Nengone then "fell out of the sphere of the Melanesian Mission though for three years more scholars were taken from the island to New Zealand" [7].

In 1854 Bishop Selwyn visited England and secured a new schooner, and the services of the Rev. JOHN COLERIDGE PATTESON. In the first visitation made in the *Southern Cross* in 1857 landings were effected on 66 islands, and friendly relations established with the inhabitants, 33 scholars accompanying the Bishop to New Zealand. One of the young men, Chief of Lifu, brought his wife, wishing her to be partaker of the same education as himself [8].

For the first ten years of its existence the Anglican Mission was mainly engaged with the Loyalty Islands, but these, together with the southern New Hebrides and New Caledonia and the Isle of Pines, were relinquished by Bishop Selwyn since they had become occupied by other Missions.* From this comparatively healthy region attention was now diverted to the northern islands. Their general unhealthiness [*see* p. 444] made it difficult to find a basis of operations for the winter, but in 1860 Mota in the Banks Islands was selected, Mr. Patteson remaining there for some weeks. On the return voyage in this year the *Southern Cross* was lost on the coast of New Zealand, but the scholars were enabled to proceed to the new Melanesian College which had been established at Kohimarama, near Auckland (p. 788*a*) In 1861 Bishop Selwyn resigned the charge of the Mission to Mr. PATTESON, who was consecrated Missionary Bishop for Melanesia in Auckland on the Festival of St. Matthias. Friends in England provided a new *Southern Cross*, which arrived in 1863 [10].

In the previous year communication was opened with Santa Cruz. The Missionaries had never before effected a landing. On this occasion (1862) Bishop Patteson "went ashore in seven different places, large crowds of men thronging down to the water's edge" as he landed. They were exceedingly friendly, but no scholars could be gained [11].

* The four Loyalty Islands by the L.M.S., New Caledonia and the Isle of Pines by the Roman Catholics, and Anaiteum, Futuna, Erromango, Tana, Niua (in the Southern Hebrides) by the Presbyterians from Nova Scotia, through whose labours the inhabitants of Anaiteum (in number 4,000) were converted from heathenism to Christianity in nine years [9].

Two years later, as the Mission party were leaving this island, the natives shot poisoned arrows at them, and Edwin Nobbs and Fisher Young—both descendants of the Pitcairn Islanders (p. 455) died from the wounds received [12].

In approaching the Melanesian islands for the first time great caution was necessary. Generally the shore was occupied by a large band of armed men. If no women or children were among them, there was need for extra caution, and still more, if dark forms were observed hiding behind the trees. "As a general rule," Bishop Patteson "never hesitated going ashore," and it was "real safety to go alone" and "defenceless." Visitors with weapons created suspicion. The usual method of the Missionaries in landing was to leave the boat a good way off, and then go ashore either wading or swimming [13]. (For "a fair illustration of a first visit at an island where all goes well . . . everyone seems friendly and confidence is at once established," *see* M.F. 1863, pp. 101–2.)

On the Bishop's first visit to Mota the natives came to the conclusion that he "was one Porisris who had died at Mota," and having gone to New Zealand had "there passed through certain changes till he reappeared in his own land."

When the Missionaries had succeeded in obtaining pupils from any island, and had learned the language, they returned and wintered on the island, the result being that they won the goodwill of some of the people, and carried on continuously the teaching which the lads had received in New Zealand [14].

In 1867 the headquarters of the Mission, with its Central School, "the true nursery of Missionaries for the islands" (as Bishop Patteson called it [15]), was removed from New Zealand to Norfolk Island.* This step would have been taken twelve years before but for objections raised on account of the Pitcairn settlers† [17].

The new site of the Mission is on the western side of Norfolk Island, about three miles from the town; and as regards climate, fertility, and nearness to Melanesia, is far preferable to New Zealand. The Rev. J. PALMER prepared the way for the removal, and on the arrival of the Mission party Bishop Patteson was "astonished" to see what had been effected. In the place that he had "left only a few months before unenclosed and without a hut or shed of any kind upon it" he now found "a large wooden house," with dormitory, kitchen, and sheds attached. Several acres of land were fenced in, and had already yielded a fine crop of yams, sweet potatoes, &c. Other works were in progress. All this "had been mainly done" by Mr. Palmer "and his party of sixteen lads." Mr. Palmer was one of the Missionaries assisted from the Society's grants. Of another, the Rev. L. Pritt, whose health did not permit him to remove to Norfolk Island, Bishop Patteson wrote:—

"Before his time we taught a certain amount of reading and writing; we used to print too, and made some small attempts at teaching the lads to be useful in other ways. But he conceived and worked out the idea of making the school a

* Though a convenient centre, Norfolk Island is not within "Melanesia." [*See* p. 455.] The Government of Queensland offered a site in Curtis Island in 1864, but on examination it proved unsuitable [16].

† *See* p. 454.

thoroughly industrial working institution . . . the discipline, training and general organization of the whole school both with respect to Melanesians and to us English people also are in great measure owing to him. That we have now a *bonâ fide* working institution to some extent self-contained and self-supporting is his work. . . . Melanesians . . . acquired habits of honesty, attention, carefulness, industry. He taught them everything at first, by doing everything with his own hands. . . . Mrs. Pritt trained the girls and young women as he trained the boys and young men. . . . That he has so trained these scholars of ours as to render himself no longer absolutely necessary, for they can now do without him what they have so well learnt to do with him . . . this is indeed high praise to give to any man [18].

St. Barnabas was the name adopted for the new station, in consequence of the site having been chosen on the festival of that saint in 1866. The first ordination in Norfolk Island was held on St. Thomas' Day, 1867, when the Rev. J. PALMER was ordained Priest and Messrs. G. BROOKE and J. ATKIN Deacons [19]. On December 21, 1868, the first Melanesian (George Sarawia) was ordained. He was a native of Venu Lava Island, brought away by Bishop Selwyn in 1858, and educated at the Society's expense in the college at New Zealand. Mr. BICE, of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, was ordained with him. The Mota language was used throughout. The greater part of the Prayer Book had long been in print, and the Ordination Service was set up and printed by George in time for it to be taught to the scholars, and "the 55 Melanesians present were nearly all of them able to enter into the Service intelligently" [20].

The Rev. J. ATKIN, who had succeeded Mr. Pritt on the Society's list, wrote from Norfolk Island in 1869: "Our life is very much that of a large family; our Bishop is a father to all—the clergy, the older brothers, and so on, down to the latest comers, who still feel that they are as much members of the family as their older brothers." But the family had its cares. "Traders" had been among the islands, "taking away natives to work in the cotton plantations at Fiji, New Caledonia, or Queensland." Some of the "traders," if they could not entice men on board, used force to accomplish their object [21].

In January 1871 the Bishop addressed the General Synod of New Zealand on the subject of kidnapping, stating that "out of 400 or 500 Banks Islanders who had been taken away" he "had not heard of, much less seen, one tenth of that number brought back."

"In conclusion" (said he) "I desire to protest by anticipation against any punishment being inflicted upon natives of these islands who may cut off vessels or kill boats' crews, until it is clearly shown that these acts are not done in the way of retribution for outrages first committed by white men. Only a few days ago a report reached me that a boat's crew had been killed at Espirito Santo. Nothing is more likely. I expect to hear of such things. It is the white man's fault, and it is unjust to punish the coloured man for doing what, under the circumstances, he may naturally be expected to do. People say and write inconsiderately about the treachery of these islanders. I have experienced no instance of anything of the kind during fourteen years' intercourse with them; and I may fairly claim the right to be believed when I say that, if the Melanesian native is treated kindly, he will reciprocate such treatment readily. The contact of many of these traders arouses all the worst suspicions and passions of the wild untaught man. It is not difficult to find an answer to the question, Who is the savage, and who is the heathen man?

"Imperial legislation is required to put an end to this miserable state of things" [22].

The effects of this nefarious traffic greatly dispirited the Bishop during the first part of his winter stay among the islands in this year, and the only hope for the Mission seemed to be to try to get at the Melanesians on the plantations in Australia and Fiji. But "the wonderful progress made at Mota during his stay there . . . brightened his hopes" [23]. "The whole island was full of the one theme—the new religion. The Bishop baptized 97 children in one day; old men and women also in great numbers. . . . There was no rest for the Bishop. He was beset everywhere by question-askers, doubters and believers, and in the *gamals* and salagoros—the club-houses of Mota—where of old the conversation had been of the grossest kind the general talk now was, 'What was that Bishopé said last night?'"

Such was the report brought to Norfolk Island at the end of August. In "that happy day of prosperous reunion and of looking back upon a work done, and forward to a return home," little did the community think that before another month had run its course, "two of the three rejoicers would have reached a far happier home" [24].

Landing on September 20, 1871, at Nukapu, an islet about thirty miles to the north-east of Santa Cruz, after a labour vessel had been there, Bishop Patteson was killed by the natives, and about a week later two of his companions, the Rev. J. Atkin and Stephen Taroaniara, died of the wounds which they had received [25].

The death of the Bishop was regarded by the Society (January 19, 1872) "as the brightest crown of a life of Christian heroism, as an honour reflected for the first time in this age on the office of a Bishop of our Church, as a severe and humiliating warning from on High against the frequent acts of violence and injustice by which Christianity has been disgraced in the eyes of the heathen," and "as a trial to us all permitted by God whose teaching will be soonest understood by those who wait on Him in patience and prayer." And it pledged itself to "renew and continue to the utmost" of its ability "its cordial co-operation with the Missionaries in their work," and "to honour the Christian dead by an effort to protect from further injury the heathen islands of Melanesia and . . . to give a more permanent character to the work for the recovery of those islanders out of darkness to the light of Divine knowledge and Christian living" [26].

Little difficulty was experienced in raising a fund of £7,000, which was applied to (1) the erection of a memorial church on Norfolk Island (£2,000), (2) the provision of a new Mission vessel (£1,500), and (3) the endowment of the Mission (£3,500) [27].

The Society also memorialised the Imperial Government (January 1872) for the suppression of the slave trade in the Pacific. The subject was accorded a place in the Queen's Speech a few weeks later, and in September the senior Missionary, the Rev. R. H. CODRINGTON, reported: "the efforts made, by the Society's petition, to do away with what was in fact a Slave Trade . . . have already borne visible fruits." Where previously traders were to be seen "continually day after day," it was now "a rare thing to see one," and the Missionaries in this year had met with only a single instance of an "unlicensed trader." And it was not only fear of the ships of war that had effected this change. "Public opinion" had "been so strongly expressed" that some had "withdrawn from an unpopular occupation," and others

had "left it because of their experience of the horrors of it." In expressing the gratitude of the Mission Mr. Codrington said: "The work of the Society for distant Missionaries, in bringing together and conveying to them such sympathy and encouragement when they are sorely tried by their isolation itself, besides whatever else may have fallen upon them, is one of the most useful and blessed of the offices which it discharges for the Church of England" [28].

There were other signs that Bishop Patteson's death was being overruled for good. Though stunned for a time by the calamity, the surviving members of the Mission, in a spirit worthy of their late leader, increased rather than relaxed their efforts, and the work, so far from collapsing, continued to make good progress. The Report for 1873 recorded "that the Mission is perhaps stronger now than at any previous period in its history" [29].

In this year the Rev. J. R. SELWYN and the Rev. J. STILL joined the staff, who nominated the former to the New Zealand Synod as their Bishop; but it was decided that the New Zealand Bishops* should supply episcopal ministrations for a time [30.]

This arrangement, with Mr. Codrington as Superintending Missionary (he had previously declined the higher office), was terminated in February 1877 by the consecration of the Rev. J. R. SELWYN at Nelson [32]. Simultaneously a service of intercession was conducted in Lichfield Cathedral by his father, the founder of the Mission [33]. An important step was made in this year towards reopening communication with the Santa Cruz group, the new Bishop having delivered from captivity a native of Nufiloli, one of the islands, and sent him to his home [34].

The placing of the Rev. Mano Wadrokal, a Melanesian deacon, at Nufiloli in 1878 was followed by a visit of Bishop John Selwyn to Santa Cruz in 1880, and the opening of Mission work there [35]. In 1884 he was enabled to erect a cross at the scene of Bishop Patteson's death in Nukapu. The cross, the gift of the Patteson family, has this inscription:—

"In memory of John Coleridge Patteson, D.D., Missionary Bishop, whose life was here taken by men for whose sake he would willingly have given it. Sep. 20, 1871" [36].

The Memorial Church at Norfolk Island was opened for regular service on Christmas Day 1879, and consecrated on December 7, 1880. In thanking the Society "for this glorious gift," which "completely . . . fulfils the aspirations of Bishop Patteson's life," Bishop Selwyn said that nothing that the Melanesians "have ever seen can approach it in beauty and fitness for its use," and "their awe-struck reverent behaviour in it shews how the beauty of holiness is teaching them" [37].

From this time the history of the Melanesian Mission may be said to have been full of encouragement. Experience has proved the wisdom of the system adopted by its founder, and each year seems to lead the way to fresh conquests for Christ. The placing of native teachers, male and female, in the islands has shown remarkable results, as appears by the fact that the Central Training Institution at Norfolk Island is now enabled to draw on Christian homes for many of its

* *Three native* deacons were ordained by the Bishop of Auckland in 1872 [31].

scholars. In some instances, as in the Banks Islands, there is no lack of volunteers for work in distant islands. In one year sixteen native teachers went forth from Mota [38].

The first ordination held *within* Melanesia was in 1878, when Bishop John Selwyn admitted the Rev. EDWIN SAKELRAU to the diaconate at his home—Ara, in the Banks Islands [39].

It had been the aim of Bishop Patteson, no less than the founder, to make the Melanesian Mission independent of aid from England. "The Australasian Church ought to support it" (said the former in 1865), "and they will do so. . . . We can carry on the Mission here very well if we only do our duty." In 1869 he wrote to the same effect [40], and added in 1870: "Our object is to support the Mission here in Australasia, and to free both the Society and also private friends in England as much as possible from contributing to our aid, that they may have more to give to them that need elsewhere. This Mission receives almost an undue share of support and sympathy, and we cannot feel it right when we read of the *great* difficulties under which other Missionaries are labouring, to withdraw any money from being sent to them" [41].

From the Society (the chief supporter of the College at Auckland where the work was begun) [*see* p.445] the Mission had been receiving an annual subsidy since 1853 [42].

This ceased at the end of 1881 [43], but through New Caledonia the Society still retained a connection with Melanesia. Owing to its annexation by the French, about 1857, this island had been regarded as practically outside the sphere of the Melanesia Mission, but in 1880 the Society at the request of Bishop J. Selwyn sent a Missionary there (Mr. G. SCOTT) from England. Having been ordained at Sydney, Mr. Scott arrived at Noumea on January 6, 1881, and with the permission of the Governor he succeeded in opening the first and only non-Roman Mission in the island. His ministrations, primarily intended for the English-speaking people, were extended to "soldiers, sailors, convicts, and all classes of the community," and "native labourers from almost every island in the South Pacific" received instruction from him. The failure of Mr. Scott's health led to his withdrawal early in 1885, and the Mission has not been revived [44].

"The noble work" which Bishop John Selwyn "has been privileged to do in Melanesia," was formally acknowledged by the Society when, in 1891, broken in health and practically a cripple, he resigned his See; and again on his death in 1898, when it recalled "his chivalrous and self-denying action" in going to Melanesia, and expressed its admiration for his subsequent labours there, and for the example of the

> "Christian patience with which in later years he bore the heavy trial of weakness and pain, which curtailed his possibilities of work, but in no way slackened his zeal for the work of God. Worthy son of a noble father, he has added yet another glory to the name which he inherited."

Since 1893 the Bishop had held the post of Master of Selwyn College, Cambridge, and not the least of his services to the Missionary cause was his last—the lectures delivered in Cambridge on "Pastoral Work in the Colonies and the Mission Field" [45].

His successor in the Bishopric (Dr. Cecil Wilson, consecrated in Auckland Cathedral, New Zealand, on St. Barnabas Day, June 11, 1894) says the Melanesian Mission looks upon the Society "as in a certain sense its nurse, and would always regard it with the deepest love and reverence" [46].

During a vacancy in the chaplaincy at Norfolk Island, 1895-98, the duty of ministering to the Pitcairn community there was undertaken by the staff of the Melanesian Mission, and in 1897 the Society contributed (£300) towards building a hospital for the Mission. Norfolk Island has since been selected as its site, in preference to Florida as originally intended [47].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 466)

CHAPTER LXVIII

PITCAIRN ISLAND.

PITCAIRN ISLAND (area, 2 square miles), situated in the Pacific Ocean, about midway between Australia and America, was discovered by Carteret in 1767. Its first settlement 22 years later took place under the following circumstances. In December 1787 H.M.S. *Bounty*, commanded by Lieut. Bligh, was sent to the South Sea Islands to procure plants of the bread-fruit tree for introduction into the West Indies. On the return voyage a mutiny took place off Tofoa, one of the Friendly Islands, on April 27, 1789, when the Commander and 18 officers and men were sent adrift in a launch. After losing one of their number by an attack of the natives at Tofoa, and suffering terrible privations, they arrived on June 14 at Timor, a Dutch island in the East Indies, a distance of 3,618 miles. Four died, and another remained at Batavia; the others reached England in March 1790. The mutineers were less fortunate. Fourteen were taken by a British frigate at Otaheite in 1791: four of these were drowned during shipwreck, three were hung, three pardoned, and four acquitted. Two others could be accounted for—the ship's corporal had become King of Teirraboo and been shot by a companion, who in turn was killed by the natives; but the fate of the remainder was not discovered until 1808. In that year Captain Folger of an American ship visited Pitcairn Island, and was astonished to find it inhabited, and by English-speaking people.

These proved to be the sole survivor of the missing mutineers—John Adams—and their descendants. On parting from their companions at Otaheite, Adams and the other eight had proceeded to Pitcairn Island, taking with them a native wife each, six Otaheitan men (three of whom had wives), and a native girl—in all a party of 28. On landing they destroyed the ship, and soon began to destroy one another. Five of the whites were murdered by the Otaheitan men in 1793, and every one of the latter were slain in the same year. The native women resigned themselves to their lot, but not until they had failed in an attempt to escape and to kill the other whites. Of the latter, one committed suicide in 1798, another was killed by his companions in self-defence in the next year, and a third died a natural death in 1800. Thus Adams was left the only man on the island, in the midst of five or six heathen women and twenty fatherless children. About ten years later he was troubled by two dreams, under the influence of which he was led to "search the Scriptures," a copy of which, with a Prayer Book, had been saved from the *Bounty*, but long laid aside. His heart being turned to God, he sought to atone for the past by instructing the other members of the settlement, and a chapel was built in which all met for worship according to the form in the Prayer Book. The next visitors to the island—the captains of H.M.S. *Briton* and *Tagus* in 1814—found there a happy, flourishing, and devout community, numbering about 46 besides infants.

The part that Adams had taken in the mutiny was practically condoned by the British Government, and he continued the head of the settlement until his death in 1829. In the previous year there had come to the island one well qualified to carry on the work of instructing the people. George Hunn Nobbs was born in Ireland in 1799.

After serving as a midshipman in the British Navy, as a lieutenant in the Chilian service, and in other capacities at sea, he was attracted to Pitcairn Island by reports of the happiness of the people there, a happiness which he desired not only to share but to increase. On his succeeding Adams as teacher in 1829 the inhabitants numbered 68. By 1831 they had increased to 87, and in anticipation of a scarcity of fresh water they were then removed by the British Government to Otaheite. There they were welcomed by Queen Pomare and her subjects; but the climate and licentiousness of the place did not suit the emigrants, and in the same year all but twelve, who had died, returned to Pitcairn Island. Some trouble was now caused by the intrusion of a Mr. Joshua Hill, a pompous personage who posed as a relative of the Duke of Bedford and an authorised resident of the British Government. For a few months he succeeded in excluding the other Europeans from the island, during which time Mr. Nobbs occupied himself in teaching at the Gambier Islands, about 300 miles distant. In 1837, a son of the Duke of Bedford arrived in H.M.S. *Actæon*, and the impostor was soon removed.

As early as 1847 the islanders had expressed a desire that their teacher should receive the licence of a Bishop of the Church of England; and in 1852 Admiral Moresby persuaded them to consent to Mr. Nobbs going to England for ordination, promising them the services of a chaplain (Rev. Mr. Holman) meanwhile.

The Society took up the case of the Pitcairn Islanders in 1850, by seeking to "awaken an interest" on their behalf, and on Mr. G. H. Nobbs' ordination he was placed on its list of Missionaries [1].

While in England Mr. Nobbs met with much kindness and attention from Church and State. A fund amounting to several hundreds of pounds was raised* to supply his flock with various necessaries and comforts, and he took back with him, as a memento of a visit to the Queen, portraits of her Majesty and the Royal Family.

During Mr. Nobbs' absence, the attention of the islanders having been drawn to the Missionary work of the Church and the spread of the Gospel among the heathen, they resolved "that each family should give one dollar a year and the younger members be allowed to add what they liked." "I am sure" (wrote Mr. Holman) "they esteem it a great privilege and one which they would be very sorry to be deprived of" [2]. Their first contribution to the Society amounted to £8. 10*s.*, and this at a time when they were suffering grievously from sickness and famine. The resources of Pitcairn Island being inadequate to meet the wants of the growing community, on Mr. Nobbs' return (May 1853) the people petitioned Government to remove them to Norfolk Island. From a naval officer who took part in the arrangements for the transfer the Society received the following account of the people shortly before leaving their old home:—

"After we landed we were taken up to the village, and the first place we came to was the church and school-room . . . a wooden building thatched with palm-leaves, and having openings left along the sides, with shutters . . . in case of rain. There was a very nice pulpit, and open pews just like the new ones in our church at home . . . a plentiful supply of books . . . and everything looked so neat and like a place of worship. . . . their houses are all much the same, having one story and three rooms. Every one of middle age, men and women work in the fields and assist each other. . . . They live like one large family (there are 190 people on the island). They marry very young and the usual age they have attained is about fifty. . . . We went to church . . . our chaplain preached. The service was performed exactly according to our forms, and they sung some hymns very well indeed. Everything was done so reverently and so simply that you could not help joining in the spirit that every one of them seemed to be in. They are all brought up strictly and well, and even among the little children you never hear an angry word. They seem to be all love and charity towards each other" [3].

At the first administration of the Holy Communion—by Mr. Holman in 1852—every one of the adults, sixty-two in number, communicated;

* By "The Pitcairn Fund Committee."

and reporting in August 1855 Mr. Nobbs said: "Of the two hundred persons who form the community none but infants, and those who must necessarily take care of them, are absent from Divine Service on the Sabbath; and the weekly Evening Prayers are also well attended. The communicants amount to eighty" [4].

Some further notice of the Pitcairners will be found below under Norfolk Island, to which all were removed in 1856, and where the majority remained. Between 1858 and 1863 forty returned to Pitcairn Island, and by 1879 their number had increased to ninety, but the Society's connection with that island has not been renewed.

CHAPTER LXIX.

NORFOLK ISLAND.

NORFOLK ISLAND (area, with adjacent islets, 12 square miles) was discovered by Captain Cook in 1774. It was first inhabited in 1788, when it became a branch of the convict establishment in New South Wales. Excepting for the period 1807–25, such it continued to be up to 1855, when the convicts were finally removed to make way for the Pitcairn Islanders. [*See* above.]

WHAT Norfolk Island was as a convict settlement is told in connection with the Society's work in New South Wales. [*See* pp. 886–91, 894.] What it became under the new order of things was thus described by Bishop G. A. Selwyn in 1867:—

"In . . . the place to which the very worst class of criminals was sent from Port Jackson, in those dens, where formerly felons cursed God and man, may now be seen little children of the Pitcairn race, descended from the mutineers of the *Bounty*, playing . . . totally unconscious of theft. Theft, indeed, is not known in the island; drunkenness is not known, and the reason is that there the people make their own laws, and they have enacted that no spirituous liquors shall be introduced into the island except to be kept in the medicine chests of the clergymen, to be used as necessity requires. And thus it is that they are in a great measure free from other sins, though not altogether. No seaman desires to land there, because he can get no intoxicating liquor" [1].

The Pitcairners, who arrived on June 8, 1856, found Norfolk Island "a pleasant place to dwell in; the only drawback being the long droughts of summer which affect our sweet potatoes and Indian corn crops; otherwise the soil is fruitful and the climate very healthy. . . . There is less sickness among us here than at our former home, asthma being the prevailing complaint." Thus wrote the Rev. G. H. NOBBS after three years' experience, adding: "The spritual affairs of the community are precisely the same as in years gone by. No schisms or divisions have or (humanly speaking) are likely to take place; and with *this* exception that two families have returned to Pitcairn and one or two others are holding themselves in readiness to go thither . . . *unity and brotherly* love prevail in our temporal concerns" [2].

By the removal of the headquarters of the Melanesian Mission to Norfolk Island in 1867 the Pitcairners were brought into more direct contact with their heathen brethren. A few were privileged to aid in the work of conversion in Melanesia, and it was while thus engaged that a son of Mr. Nobbs and Fisher Young [p. 447] were called to lay down their lives [3]. It should be explained that although mutual assistance has been freely rendered, the care of the Pitcairn people is distinct from the work of the Melanesian Mission—the one being purely pastoral, the other mainly evangelistic.

Another reason there is for describing the two works in separate chapters. The episcopal jurisdiction over Norfolk Island was assigned respectively to the Bishops of "Australia" in 1836, "New Zealand" in 1841, and "Tasmania" in 1842 or 1843—in the last case by a special Act passed in consequence of the removal of the New South Wales convict establishment to Hobart Town. On Norfolk Island ceasing to be a penal settlement, Bishop G. A. Selwyn immediately renewed his connection with it (the Bishop of Tasmania acquiescing), his object being to save the island "from being made a mere appendage to one of the neighbouring dioceses" and to make it "the seat of an Island Bishopric including the New Hebrides and the other groups to the northwards" [4].

Practically that object has been realised. Although, strictly speaking, Norfolk Island is not in "Melanesia," episcopal functions are administered there by the Bishop of Melanesia at the request of the people and with the consent of the Primate of New Zealand and of the Governor of Norfolk Island and the Colonial Secretary [5].

Little remains to be said about the Pitcairners. In 1870 the corner-stone of a new church for them was laid by Mr. Nobbs in the presence of Bishop Patteson and the inhabitants. The spot chosen was formerly used as a "parade ground" "when soldiers were employed to restrain or compel some twelve or fifteen hundred of their most depraved fellow men" [6]. Though now failing in health, Mr. Nobbs was enabled, with the help of the Melanesian staff, to carry on the chaplaincy for another fifteen years. In 1882, when it was with difficulty he could walk, he wrote: "As for my own people, nearly five hundred in number, they are—blessed be God—all members of the Church by baptism, confirmation, and the Holy Eucharist. In the Day School are ninety scholars. . . . In the Sunday School there are thirteen classes, instructed by some of our Mission friends, and by several of our own community. We have also a reading room under the direction of the communal doctor" [7]. Mr. Nobbs' death took place in November 1884 at the age of eighty-four, among those to whom for fifty-six years he had been "schoolmaster, pastor and chaplain" [8].

The Society's allowance of £50 a year has been continued to his successor, the Rev. T. P. THORMAN, who arrived in May 1886 [9].

Though provided with their own Clergyman, this little flock seem to attract the attention of Nonconformist teachers from all parts. In 1891 Mr. Thorman reported that "the 'Seventh Day Adventists'" had just paid a visit, and left two of their number. A Wesleyan Minister came in the early part of the year, "and everyone that comes along seems anxious to set up a Church and to convert (?) the

people [10]. Under their own mode of government the condition of the islanders had become so unsatisfactory—most of them being lawless and in debt—that the Governor of Sydney decided in 1895 to take the government out of their hands. Another great drawback to their moral and spiritual welfare was removed in the same year by the withdrawal of their school from the hands of an islander who had been perverted by the Adventist sect. His place was temporarily supplied by the Melanesian Mission staff, which also, on the departure of Mr. Thorman in 1895, undertook his duties until the arrival of a successor, the Rev. P. M. Aldous, in 1899. At present one of the old convict buildings is used for service, the church having been destroyed by a storm [11]. The Society's contribution to a hospital for the Melanesian Mission is recorded in Chapter LXVII., p. 452 [12].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 466.)

CHAPTER LXX.

FIJI.

THE Fiji Archipelago occupies an intermediate position between Melanesia and Polynesia proper, and comprises from 200 to 250 islands, islets, and rocks, of which about 80 are inhabited, the principal being Viti Levu (4,112 square miles), Vanua Levu (2,432 square miles), Taviuni (217 square miles), Kadavu (124 square miles), Koro (58 square miles), Gau (45 square miles), and Ovalau (43 square miles). The islands were discovered by Tasman in 1643, and visited by Captain Cook in 1769. Missionaries failed to effect a landing there in 1797; but traders coming about 1806 were successful in their object—the collection of *bêche-de-mer* for Chinese epicures, and sandal wood to burn in Chinese temples. Early in the present century also, convicts, escaped from New South Wales, found an asylum and a grave in the Fijis—some of them exercising almost kingly sway until devoured by their subjects. To the Wesleyan Missionaries who settled in Fiji in 1835, and their successors, is due the giving up of cannibalism. The aborigines belong to the darker of the two chief Polynesian races. Their principal Chief in 1859, viz. Thakombau, offered the islands to Great Britain, but the offer was declined in 1862. About this period Europeans began to settle in Fiji for the purpose of cultivating cotton; and in 1871 some Englishmen set up a native Government with Thakombau as king. Distracted by troubles from his Parliament and the settlers, Thakombau sought rest by renewing his offer; and this led to the cession of the sovereignty of the islands to England by himself and the other leading Chiefs on October 10, 1874. Soon after this the Fijis were erected into a separate colony.

Rotumah, which with three adjacent islets are now included in the colony, were acquired in 1881 after the manner of Fiji. Rotumah (area, 14 square miles) was discovered by H.M.S. *Pandora* in 1793 while seeking the mutineers of the *Bounty*. [*See* p. 462.]

IN 1870 some Churchmen in Melbourne formed a Committee with the object of providing for the spiritual wants of the members of the Church of England who constituted the majority of the settlers (then numbering 2,500) in Fiji. About the same time a Committee was organised in Fiji for the same purpose, "and in conformity with their wishes" the Rev. WILLIAM FLOYD (a member of the Melbourne Committee) offered his services, and with the sanction of the Bishops of Melbourne, Sydney, and Melanesia—neither of whom however possessed jurisdiction there—went to Fiji (as the first Anglican clergyman) in 1870 [1].

Mr. Floyd established himself at Levuka, the then capital of the islands, and he proved so acceptable to the Church members that in 1872 they "applied to the New Zealand Bishops to consecrate" him. The application was met by a request for further information and a suggestion (which proved impracticable) that the Bishop of Melanesia should undertake the episcopal oversight of the Colony [2].

The Wesleyans were at first unfriendly. Previously to the appointment of the Fiji Committee some of the white settlers had asked the Wesleyan Missionaries "to give them a service occasionally in the English language," but the Missionaries declined to do so, "on the ground that their services were for the Fijians, not for the whites; that the whites came to Fiji on their own responsibility, they must therefore abide the consequence." When however the Wesleyans heard that a clergyman had been appointed, they "immediately built a stone church at Levuka" and started Methodist services in the English language. Some time after Mr. Floyd's arrival they "introduced the Morning Service of the Church of England, or a portion of it, regularly on Sundays, observing also the Festival of Christmas." In endeavouring to obtain a grant of land for a new cemetery in 1871, "a portion . . . to be set apart exclusively for Church of England purposes," as in the case of other religious bodies, Mr. Floyd met with "determined opposition from the Wesleyan Methodist body," but he carried his point, and mutual relations have from that time been of "a thoroughly friendly character." From the first his policy was "not to interfere with their work or proselytize one of their number," but at the same time he has been "most willing to receive all who came to the Church of their own free will." During "the last few years" (preceding 1892) the Wesleyans have reverted to "a plain Methodist service," and observed Christmas "by attending the Church of England on that day."

In secular affairs also Mr. Floyd showed a wise discretion. On the formation of "a *de facto* Government" in 1871, when "summoned" to lend his "countenance to the matter by being present on the daïs with the King at his proclamation," he declined to do so, though desirous of upholding law and order according to his ability. About this time a secret society called the "Clu Clux" was formed, composed for the most part of lawless adventurers, who posed as law-abiding British subjects, but whose real object was to oppose any form of government that might curtail their "unbridled licence." The "most sweeping propositions" were adopted by them, and more than once the colony was "on the eve of bloodshed." Mr. Floyd had to show that he had "no sympathy with such lawlessness," notwithstanding his "attitude towards the existing Government." On one occasion he was "the means of preventing bloodshed." Declining "to omit the name of Queen Victoria, or to insert that of King Cacabau [Thakombau], or alter the State Prayers in any way," he was "accused" of "High Treason" by the then Premier, who however declined Mr. Floyd's request to be brought to trial. An attempt was made "to get hold of the Deeds of the Church land," and when this failed Mr. Floyd's opponents withdrew support from him, subscribed to build another church and invited another clergyman. "Flattery" and "inducements" also failed to move Mr. Floyd, "but," he adds:—

"Few know what I had to suffer during this period. I felt however amply compensated when in 1874, the year of annexation to Great Britain, the Church, intact, was able to take her true position in Fiji with nothing to alter, nothing to retract."

Invaluable service was now rendered by Mr. Floyd during an epidemic of measles introduced by the ex-King and his sons, who had been visiting Sydney. Precautionary measures were urged

by Mr. Floyd at the outbreak, but not taken, and "the plague spread with awful rapidity . . . nearly one third of the aborigines" being "swept away." The sick Melanesians were cared for at an early stage—Mr. Floyd converting his house into an hospital for the purpose. The Fijians he considered had "their natural protectors in the Wesleyan and Roman Catholic Missions," but they were so neglected that he intervened, and moved the Government to isolate the sick in each town, and to appoint a white man in charge and to supply medicines and food gratis. Full powers were given to Mr. Floyd in regard to supplies, and not one person under his immediate care died [3].

On the annexation of the Fiji Islands by Great Britain (1874) the Society signified its readiness "to send clergymen there or perhaps even a Bishop" if the circumstances required; but though funds were set apart in 1876 some years elapsed before a clergyman could be obtained [4]. In 1879 Sir Arthur Gordon [now Lord Stanmore], ex-Governor of the Colony, drew the Society's attention to the "field open for Missionaries of the Church of England in Fiji" among the English settlers, the half-castes, the imported Polynesian labourers, and the Indian coolies. Of the first there were "about 2,000, many if not most of whom" (said Sir Arthur) "have been members of the Church of England, and would gladly avail themselves of her ministrations; although in their absence they have either joined the Wesleyans, or altogether abandoned attendance at public worship." Mr. Floyd had at Levuka "a tolerable wooden church and a good congregation." The half-caste population, though not then numerous, were, it was feared, increasing, and the Wesleyan Missions had "not the same hold on them as on the Fijians." The Polynesians had been "almost wholly neglected by the Wesleyans," and coming mostly from islands on which the Melanesian Mission had stations, they were "generally regarded as legitimately belonging to the Church of England." The importation of Indian coolies had "only just commenced," but the Governor was anxious that a Mission to them should be started "without delay" [4*a*].

Later in 1879 the Society sent from England Mr. A. Poole, who, having been ordained in Fiji by Bishop J. R. Selwyn of Melanesia, was stationed at Rewa and Suva in 1880. The visit of Bishop Selwyn (1880) encouraged the whole Church community, but he was unable to undertake the Episcopal supervision of the colony, which needed a resident Bishop. A large number of candidates were waiting for confirmation, prepared by Mr. Floyd, of whom the Bishop reported he "deserves great credit for the work which he has done in Levuka. He has struggled almost single handed through many difficulties and some of them serious ones of a political character during the transition stage of the Colony and now has a church (which was enlarged on my arrival) almost free from debt with an income of between £500 and £600 a year all told. The services were bright and hearty with a surpliced choir." Nearly 50 persons were confirmed, and at a gathering of 150 Melanesians many volunteers (including the Chief Justice of the Colony, a Presbyterian) were enlisted to teach them. Seeing that the Wesleyan Mission has "done a very great work in heseisland s," that "their organisation has spread over the whole group," and that "in fact as regards Christianising the natives the

work is done as far as it can be done," Bishop Selwyn felt it would "therefore be unjust and . . . unwise if our Church were to assume anything of a proselytizing character towards them." With a view to avoiding "all possible chances of clashing," he held a conference with the local head of the Wesleyan Mission, Mr. Langdon, and Mr. Webb and Mr. Floyd. It was stated by the Bishop that the object of the Church Mission was not to obstruct or confuse the work of the Wesleyans, but rather to help it, as the presence of an uncared-for white population would be productive of much harm to their converts. "But while no attempt directly or indirectly ought to be made to proselytize their members yet in the natural course of things it was impossible but that a small leakage should take place and could not be guarded against." The Wesleyans replied that they could offer no objection to the plan proposed of making Fiji a diocese for that purpose, and though unauthorised to answer for their colleagues in Fiji or their Board in Sydney, yet they believed there would not be any objection on their part, "it being clearly understood that no efforts be made to establish a Mission amongst the Fijians or to proselytize from their Church." While hoping the S.P.G. would approve of the line he had taken, and would see its way to following it out, Bishop Selwyn stated that he had explained to the conference that he "had no power to bind the authorities at home in any way" [5].

By the transfer of the seat of Government to Suva in 1882 Levuka became deserted by those who were in a position to maintain the Church and its services, and this was followed by a period of great commercial depression throughout the colony. A collapse of the work at Levuka was averted by the Society coming to Mr. Floyd's assistance, and, after enabling him to recruit his health in England in 1884, to return as its Missionary in the following year [6]. Another result of the depression has been the postponement of the realisation of an offer made in 1884 by the Hon. J. Campbell [*see* p. 400] to provide (from his estates in Fiji) an endowment for a Bishopric [7].

In 1886 the Bishop of Nelson, at the request of the General Synod of New Zealand, visited Fiji and other islands in the Pacific, and consecrated (and confirmed in) a church at Suva which had been erected by the exertions of the Rev. J. F. JONES, who succeeded Mr. Poole in 1886 [8].

In 1889 a proposal was made through the Bishop of Dunedin, with the concurrence of the Bishop of London, to "commit the Ecclesiastical charge of . . . Fiji to the Primate of New Zealand, or to some Bishop appointed by him" [9] but the Church residents in Fiji have decided that their interest "will be best served by the colony remaining ecclesiastically a dependency of the Diocese of London," and by provision being made "for the delegation of the duties to the . . . Bishops of Melanesia" [10].

1892–1900.

Other Bishops have visited Fiji from time to time—the Bishop of Tasmania in 1893, the Bishop of Salisbury in 1896, and the Bishop of Honolulu in 1899, as well as the Bishop and clergy of Melanesia [11]. During this period, while the Colony has not recovered its prosperity,

and the aboriginal population has been steadily dying out and the white settlers removing, the Mission among the Melanesians has remained the one bright spot amid the surrounding gloom. The Melanesians are "more than anxious to embrace Christianity," and they learn more readily from the Bible and Prayer-book than anything else, and when free from their indentures they prefer taking service in the town within reach of the school to going to the plantations [12]. The Bishop of Tasmania, who found the two Missionaries (Messrs. Floyd and Jones) bravely carrying on their work among the English settlers and Melanesians, with small encouragement from the Church in Australasia, did not think he was ever more impressed by any service than by the confirmation of seventy-three of the Solomon islanders at Suva, in 1893. "All honour to the Society" (he added), "which has patiently done a noble work, though the eyes of many are drawn away only too often to younger Societies" [13]. With a view to connecting the Christian Melanesians in Fiji with the diocese of Melanesia, Bishop Montgomery's visit was, at his suggestion, followed by that of Dr. Codrington, the veteran Missionary of Melanesia, who reported that—

"to see a congregation of one hundred devout, sincere worshippers one evening, sixty-seven devout, sincere communicants the next morning, is indeed remarkable, to a Melanesian like myself most gratifying; but to hear the Psalms, lessons, and prayers in English, and to hear the English they speak, is to get the idea that they have gone very fast. Mr. Jones would gladly give up his English work for his Melanesians. To me, and I hope to you, it is gratifying to find that the two S.P.G. men in Fiji have throughout done what they could for the Melanesians carried into that country. The Church has done her duty there in a way that Queensland people are now just beginning to follow, after years of gross neglect of tens of thousands."

The contrast between the Solomon Islander in his native savagery, going about with deadly and poisoned arrows, and the same man voluntarily "going to school" after his day's work to learn from a Christian teacher and in time worshipping in church and kneeling at the altar, is just the contrast which it is the happy lot of the Missionary to bring about. One of the results of Dr. Codrington's visit was that in 1894 six of the Melanesian converts left to be Missionaries to their own islands [14].

It was Mr. Jones' desire to be relieved of his European work, which had been by no means neglected, in order to devote his whole time to the various coolie races, but illness drove him to England in 1896, and he was not permitted to return, and it was not until 1899 that a successor (the Rev. H. Packe) could be found [15].

In the meantime Mr. Floyd continued his work among both Europeans and Melanesians, the Society assisting in rebuilding the Melanesian churches which had been destroyed by hurricanes [16]. In the celebration of Her Majesty's Jubilee in 1897, "Levuka, owing to its geographical position (178·51 E. Greenwich), enjoyed (he said) the peculiar distinction of commencing this 'Wave of Song,' which, taking its rise with us, passed on through Suva, New Zealand, Australia, India, Africa, England, and America with the sun, until it encircled the globe" [17].

Mr. Floyd's labours were extended to the Chinese at Levuka in 1888 [18], but as yet the East Indian and Japanese coolies remain untouched—not through any failing of the Missionaries, but from lack of time and teachers. The Indian coolies have increased from 7,000 to 13,000 in the last ten years. They are chiefly Urdu- and Hindi-speaking people, but the Missions in North India have failed to furnish the needed teachers. As one of the Missionaries in Fiji wrote: "To see the crowds of Indian children growing up without any effort being made to Christianise them is indeed deplorable" [19].

The work at Suva (under Mr. Packe) is making good progress in its various departments and is being extended [20].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 466.)

CHAPTER LXXI.

THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

THE HAWAIIAN (or SANDWICH) ISLANDS, situated in the North Pacific Ocean, are mainly of volcanic origin, and contain the largest active volcano in the world. There are thirteen islands, eight being inhabited, the total area being 6,587 square miles. One of the group was discovered by Gaetano in 1542; but little was known of the islands until their re-discovery in 1778 by Captain Cook, who named them after his patron, the Earl of Sandwich. Cook was at first treated as a god by the natives, but he died by their hand in February 1779. The favourable reception of two London ships in 1786 led to the opening of a continuous trade with England and America. During a series of outrages between some traders and natives in 1790 two American sailors—Isaac Davis and John Young—were seized and detained. Being kindly treated and placed in high positions they rendered great service in teaching the Hawaiians the arts of civilised life and the absurdity of worshipping idols. In 1792–4 Vancouver (a companion of Cook in 1778) revisited the islands, introduced cows and sheep, and in every way showed such kindness that the King, Kamehameha I., in 1794, conceded the island of Owhyhee to England,* and begged for Christian teachers. The request was made known to the English Government, but disregarded. The religion of the Hawaiians permitted their chiefs and priests to pronounce anything they pleased to be *tabu* or forbidden, and sometimes for days the people had to remain indoors without fire or light, refraining from work and speech—silence being enforced even on animals by tying their mouths up. Though almost unendurable, the system could not be broken through for fear of death. But on the decease of the old King in 1819 his successor was persuaded by the two dowager Queens and the High Priest to dare the vengeance of the gods and to break the *tabu*. This he did at a public feast, and when the people saw that no harm happened to him they shouted with joy, "The *tabu* is broken," and imitated his example. Then the idols were destroyed. In the next year some American Congregational Missionaries arrived; but so strong was the desire for Missionaries of the Church of England that it was only on the assurance of John Young that they would teach the same Gospel that the Congregationalists were allowed to land. French priests who followed in 1827 were "banished" in 1831–2; but by coercion the Roman Catholics obtained a permanent footing in 1839. For nearly seventy years (1792–1860) the islands remained neglected

* In 1843 the whole of the Hawaiian Islands were conditionally ceded to Great Britain, but restored within a few months. Their annexation by the United States of *America in 1898* is recorded on page 468*a*.

by the Church of England, notwithstanding the several appeals made during this period by the native Kings and the English residents. Kamehameha II. and his Queen advocated the cause in person, but died in London during their visit in 1824.

No representation on the subject of an English Mission appears to have been made to the Society until January 1858, when the Rev. F. D. MAURICE drew attention to the religious condition and wants of the Sandwich Islands, and the desirableness of sending a Missionary there specially to minister to the "many English families in Honolulu," who were dependent for the baptism of their children &c. on the chaplains of the British warships which occasionally touched there [1]. No action then resulted from the consideration of the matter; but in 1861, on being informed that its President had, in compliance with the request of the King, consented to consecrate a Bishop for the superintendence of a Church Mission in the Islands, the Society at once granted £300 a year towards the support of three clergymen, "one main object" being "to secure an adequate provision for the spiritual wants of British residents and sailors" [2].

The Hawaiian Mission was the outcome of a direct appeal from Kamehameha IV. to Queen Victoria, and its establishment was undertaken by a separate Committee formed in England. The Society, which was not consulted as to the arrangements for the foundation of the see, was to be regarded "in the light of a subscriber to the support of the Mission" [3].

In company with Bishop STALEY (consecrated in Lambeth Palace Chapel 1861) the Revs. G. MASON and E. IBBETSON, the first two Missionaries of the Society, left England on August 17, 1862. When they arrived at Honolulu, the capital, on October 11, they found the natives mourning the death of the young Prince of Hawaii, the intended charge of the Bishop. No clergyman of the Church of England being at hand the child was baptized during his illness by a Congregationalist. In a temporary church, formerly a Methodist chapel, provided by the King, the English Service was commenced on Sunday, October 12. The natives "crowded in and out upon the foreign residents." Some of the latter had "not been in a place of worship for years"; others, including a number of English Church people, had attended the ministrations of the Rev. S. C. Damon, one of the American Missionaries. The statistics of 1860 showed that out of a population of 68,000 Hawaiians there were about 20,000 professing Protestants, the same number of Roman Catholics, and 3,000 Mormons, leaving "25,000 unconnected with any creed." The "religious status" of the Hawaiians was characterised by a local newspaper as "one of religious indifference—a swaying to and fro in gentle vibration between the two principal forms that succeeded the iron grip of the heathen worship." The first person to receive baptism from the English Missionaries was the Queen. This took place in a large room in the Palace on October 21, 1862, and subsequently the King "was engaged the whole afternoon in explaining to his courtiers the expressions in the Service, and proving its truth by Holy Scripture." Already he had nearly completed a translation of the Morning and Evening Prayer into Hawaiian. This version was brought into use on November 9, and on the 28th both the King and Queen were confirmed. The other chief events of the year were the incorporation of a Diocesan Synod of "the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church"; the

preparation for ordination of "one of the highest chiefs in the kingdom," Major William Hoapili Kauwoai; the beginning of a Mission at Lahaina (Maui) on December 14, and the securing of the observance of Christmas Day as a public holiday for the first time.

So far the Mission had progressed "beyond" the "most sanguine expectations" [4]. But the natives were "in a fearfully degraded state" [5].

"Five-sixths of the children born" disappeared "by neglect and foul means" [6].

By September 1863 the Bishop could report 300 baptisms, the confirmation of some 50 natives, and the establishment in Honolulu of societies of lay helpers (chiefly native, male and female), and of a school for poor outcast Hawaiian boys, a grammar school, and a female Industrial Boarding School built by the King. Every Sunday three Hawaiian and three English services were held, and of the 100 communicants fully one half were natives.

Before the Ladies' Visiting Society was formed the people had been wholly neglected when sick, but now the Hospital had become well-nigh filled and European treatment took the place of native incantations. This moved the Roman Catholics to send to England for Sisters of Charity [7].

The death of the King on November 30 was a heavy loss to the Mission as well as to the people generally. No one loved the Church services "more devotedly or attended them more regularly" than he did. He often acted as interpreter between the Bishop and the people, and on one occasion preached with the latter's sanction—"the first king perhaps since Charlemagne who has performed such an office."

It had been his intention to visit England, "as a member of the Anglican Church," to seek aid in saving his "poor people" [8]. This Mission was undertaken by his widow, Queen Emma,* in 1865.

The new King, Kamehameha V., gave the Mission his support, himself contributing nearly £400 a year, the Dowager Queen £100, and the foreign residents (in 1865) about £350 per annum.

In the original plan of the Mission it was designed that the American Church, the eldest daughter of the Church of England, should join for the first time with the mother Church in a Missionary enterprise. Co-operation was delayed by the Civil War in America, but no sooner was peace restored than Bishop Staley was invited to visit the United States. He attended the General Convention in 1865, joined in the consecration of two Missionary Bishops, and secured grants towards the stipends of two clergymen (Revs. G. B. WHIPPLE and T. WARREN) and a pledge from the House of Bishops "to aid the work of planting the Church in the Sandwich Islands by every means in their power" [9].

In 1867 a station was opened near Kealekekua Bay (Hawaii), the spot where Captain Cook perished in 1779. A wooden church was erected by the Rev. C. G. Williamson, and congregations gathered from the foreign settlers as well as the natives, but his labours were at first greatly interrupted by earthquakes [10].

On returning in 1869 from the first Lambeth Conference Bishop Staley (acting under a commission from the Bishop of London and at *the request of* the Society, which guaranteed his expenses) held confir-

* Granddaughter of John Young.

mations among the chaplaincies on the East and West Coasts of South America. During his absence his diocese had become disorganised, and following the example of several of his clergy he retired in 1870 [11].

In January 1871 Kamehameha VI. appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate a Bishop to fill the vacant see, saying: "I should regard the withdrawal of the Mission as a misfortune to my people, recognising as I do the valuable service which has been rendered them by its establishment among us" [12].

A new Bishop (the Rev. A. WILLIS) was consecrated in England in 1872, but within six months of his arrival in his diocese the King died, and the Royal grant of £400 per annum to the Mission was not renewed.* In England also the novelty of the Mission had worn off, the special organisation was no longer able to carry on the work which it undertook, and but for the General Fund of the Society—which from 1876 has supplied the entire Episcopal stipend—the Hawaiian Mission must have collapsed [13].

Reporting on the work in 1881 Bishop Willis said that "judged merely by statistics the Anglican Church cannot yet claim to have an equal hold upon the nation with the Congregationalists and Roman Catholics." Still "it has had an influence which has been felt far beyond the circle of its professed adherents, notably in its educational work, in causing the middle wall of partition between the white and coloured races to disappear," and especially in "securing a general recognition of Christmas Day and Good Friday, which passed unnoticed up to 1862" [14].

While the Hawaiian race has been dying out, there has been within the last few years a "great influx of a heathen population from China and Japan," which now forms three-tenths (27,000) of the entire population of the islands. Heathen temples are again springing up in the midst of a remnant of a people who only seventy-two years ago cast away their idols. The presence of the Chinese in large numbers, not only as labourers on the sugar plantations but engaging in every kind of business, is an urgent call on the Anglican Church. The Society has made special provision with a view to their evangelisation, and a hopeful beginning was made among them by the Rev. H. H. GOWEN in Honolulu in 1887. In 1889 his congregation included thirty-one communicants, and although poor, besides contributing half the salary of a Chinese reader, they have subscribed £200 for the erection of a church for their own use, and in 1892 one of their number (Woo Yee Bew) was ordained Deacon by Bishop WILLIS [16].

Among the Japanese a small congregation was gathered by the Rev. W. H. BARNES at Lahaina in 1887, but their dispersion in the next two years has led to the suspension of the Mission for the present [17].

1892-1900.

The Chinese Mission has made such progress that in 1900 there were two Chinese churches†—one in Honolulu and one in Kohala—with "two bodies of earnest, faithful Christians," each under the care of a Chinese clergyman, and zealous for the conversion of their

* The Dowager Queen Emma continued to support the Mission up to her death in 1885 [15].

† Erected by the aid of the Chinese, who, though poor, gave £200 towards the building of the church in Honolulu.

countrymen. The second of these clergymen (Kong Yin Tet), ordained in 1895, had acquired English and Greek sufficiently to read such books as "Pearson on the Creed," and to pass a very creditable examination in the original of St. Mark's Gospel [18].

On the day of Mr. Tet's admission to the priesthood—Trinity Sunday 1899—three congregations, speaking different languages—Chinese, Hawaiian, and English—worshipped in the Cathedral, Honolulu, according to the Anglican rite, and at each of those services the hymn, "Holy, holy, holy," was sung in these several languages to the tune in "Hymns Ancient and Modern."

The baptism of a Chinaman on his deathbed in 1897 made a stir among the heathen Chinese in Honolulu. That any society should admit to membership one at the point of death was regarded by them with astonishment. Hitherto they had regarded the Christian body as "a society," so far similar to the numerous societies among themselves, in that its privileges and duties must necessarily cease at death. But here there was an object lesson set before them that the Christian Society was essentially different from any other society, for, if it would admit a dying man, there was only one conclusion to be drawn, that this society extended into the unseen world [19].

In summarising the results of his episcopate in the twenty-five years 1872–96 (viz. the formation of a Synod, the erection of a portion of a stone Cathedral and a few churches, the establishment of a boarding school for girls, and of a Chinese Mission, and the beginning of local endowments), the Bishop said that, small as this record may seem in comparison with the expectations that were formed in 1862, foundations are being laid on which the Anglican Church in Hawaii may be built up, if slowly, yet surely [20].

During the last seven years the work of the Church, previously not free from internal troubles,* has been further hindered by the political disturbances and changes which, beginning with the deposition of the Queen† and the appointment of a provisional Government on January 17, 1893, was followed by the withdrawal of State aid to schools, and culminated in the annexation of the islands by the United States on August 12, 1898.

This step necessarily involved the withdrawal of the Society from the islands, in accordance with the precedent set in 1785, when it withdrew from the "United States" [page 80], and, arrangements having been made by His Grace the President of the Society for the transfer of the English Mission to the American Church, the Society's aid to the islands ceased on June 30, 1900‡ [21].

(*For Statistical Summary see p.* 466.)

* Happily the matters in dispute were beyond the Society's province, but they were none the less deplored.

† Queen Liliuokalani, who was hypothetically baptized, and then confirmed by Bishop Willis in Honolulu Cathedral, on May 18, 1896. The late Queen Dowager Kapiolani was greatly attached to the Anglican Church.

‡ The transfer has been delayed by the Bishop, who regarded the Society's action as premature, but in justice to the Society it must be recorded that thirteen months' notice of its intention to withdraw was received by the Bishop. [*See* the Standing Committee's Memorandum of October 4, 1900, on the subject] [21*a*].

SAMOA.

About the year 1877 the Bishop of London gave a commission to Bishop Willis to visit parts of the Pacific Ocean that were not included in any other existing diocese. It was not convenient for the Bishop to avail himself of this commission until 1897, when he visited Apia, on the island of Samoa. On Easter Eve, the day of his arrival, he confirmed eleven candidates who had been carefully prepared by the British Consul (Mr. T. B. Cusack Smith)—all but two being half-castes of English descent—and on Easter Day he celebrated the Holy Communion, the services taking place in a disused store. In the evening he held service by invitation in "the foreign church" belonging to the London Missionary Society.

A site for an Anglican church has since been given by the community with a promise of £50 per annum towards the support of a resident clergyman, and the Society, while declining to supplement this, showed a disposition (in 1897) to provide for the expense of Bishop Willis visiting Samoa regularly in the event of the New Zealand Church sending a clergyman there.

Samoa had been previously visited by a New Zealand Bishop [22], and it remains to be seen how the transfer of the British interests to Germany in 1899 will affect the need for an Anglican clergyman.

CHAPTER LXXII.

NEW GUINEA.

NEW GUINEA (area, 234,768 square miles) is the most easterly of the East Indian group, and next to Australia the largest island in the world (if Africa be excepted). Of the Portuguese and Spanish navigators who visited it in the 16th century, Antonio de Abrea, in 1511, was the earliest; but the first European settlement was formed by the Dutch (in the 18th century), who have acquired the western portion of the island up to 141st E. longitude. The East India Company formally annexed New Guinea in 1793, but their occupation was confined to a small port at Geelonk Bay and was soon abandoned. In 1883 the Government of Queensland annexed all but the Dutch portion of the island. This step, though disallowed by the Imperial Government, was followed by the establishment of a British Protectorate over the south-eastern division and adjacent islands on November 6, 1884, and the formal annexation of the territory by Great Britain on September 4, 1888. The remaining portion of the island, that is the north-eastern, is in possession of the Germans. The British colony (area, about 90,000 square miles) includes the Trobriand, Woodlark, D'Entrecasteaux, and Louisiade groups, and all other islands lying between 8° and 12° S. lat. and between 141° and 155° E. long. (and not forming part of Queensland), and all those in the Gulf of Papua to the north of 8° S. lat. The aborigines of New Guinea are Papuans, and for the most part derive the means of existence from the soil. They have clear ideas as to proprietary rights, and the British Administrator (Sir W. Macgregor) has laid it down that "to rob them would be an act of infamy." . . . "The country will eventually be a great timber reserve for Australia"; and it is his "ardent desire to lay the foundation of an administration that will never be a reproach to Australia." Intermixture with Polynesians and Malayans has produced an improved type at various places on the coast, but laudable precautions have been taken to secure the natives under British rule from that demorali

which generally accompanies "civilization." The importation of firearms, explosives, and spirituous liquors is not allowed, neither is the settlement or acquisition of land occupied by natives, and trading and exploring can only be conducted under special "permits."

WHEN the Australasian Board of Missions was formed in 1850 New Guinea was included in the islands to which it was hoped the efforts of the Board would be extended [1]. That hope has at last been realised, but not until the field had been occupied by the London Missionary Society, the Roman Catholics, and the Wesleyans [2].

In response to appeals from the Bishops of Brisbane, North Queensland, and Sydney, the Society in 1884 offered £300 (which was not utilised), and in 1887 set aside £1,000 and opened a special fund to assist the Australian Church in planting a Mission in New Guinea [3].

In his appeal Bishop Barry (Sydney) said :—

"The protectorate was assumed largely in deference to the wishes of the Australian colonies, in view not only of a probable extension of commerce, but in still greater degree of political considerations of security and consolidation of power. It has therefore been felt that on Australian Christianity chiefly rests the duty of spreading the light of the Gospel in those dark regions, and so Christianising the influence which the English-speaking race must soon acquire over this vast territory. It is well known that noble and successful work has already been done in New Guinea under the auspices of the London Missionary Society, and substantial progress . . . has also been made by a Roman Catholic Mission. But, without the slightest interference with these good works, which touch only a few points on a coast-line of more than a thousand miles, there is ample room for a new Mission; and the Church of England is undoubtedly called to take her right place in the extension of the kingdom of our Lord to those heathen tribes. The Australian Church has recognised this sacred duty, and has resolved to start a Mission, under the general direction of the Bishop of North Queensland but with the support of all the dioceses represented in the General Synod. . . . It will be necessary to create a small missionary community, including workmen and mechanics, to erect some wooden houses, to provide boats (and hereafter a missionary schooner, like the *Southern Cross* of the Melanesian Mission); . . . this cannot be properly done without an annual outlay of about £2,500. Of this the Australian Church proposes to provide at least £1,500" [4].

The first Missionary of the Anglican Church to New Guinea was the Rev. A. A. MACLAREN, one who, having already done good service in Australia, offered himself for the work [5].

On arriving at New Guinea in February 1890 Mr. Maclaren found that the Louisiade Islands had been appropriated by the Wesleyan Missionary Society on the invitation of Sir W. Macgregor, who had been ignorant of the intentions of the Church to occupy them.

It was then arranged by Mr. Maclaren and the local agents of the London Missionary Society that the field to be occupied by the Church Mission should be "on the coast from Cape Ducie to Mitre Rock," a position which is thought to be a more interesting one than the islands would have been. "It is quite new country, and the only part of the coast of British New Guinea unexplored to any extent." The L.M.S. Missionaries were "exceedingly kind and helpful" to Mr. Maclaren, and he could not "speak too highly" of their reception of him.

Having selected a field Mr. Maclaren returned to Australia to arrange with the Board of Missions for the establishment of the Mission [6], for the working of which it was now estimated that at least £3,000 a year would be required. Two ladies in Sydney gave him 1,000 guineas towards his proposed Mission vessel. Tasmania contributed a large whaleboat, Melbourne the greater part of the cost of

the first Mission buildings and the stipend of a lay Missionary for three years; and altogether during a period of about fifteen months (in 1890-91), £4,615 were raised in Australia for the Mission. Having secured a colleague in the Rev. Copeland King, Mr. Maclaren returned to New Guinea in August 1891. Baunia, in Bartle Bay, was selected as the headquarters of the Mission, and was considered to be "a perfect site." Pending the erection of a suitable house the Mission party, however, had to occupy a native house, which was wet and unhealthy, and the hardship and exposure attending the formation of the settlement brought on fever. In November Mr. King returned to Sydney temporarily disabled, and about Christmas Day Mr. Maclaren was taken away by Mr. S. Griffith in the *Merrie England*, but too late—he died on board on December 27, and was buried at Cooktown, North Queensland [7]. Mr. King now became the superintendent, and the entire support (as well as direction) of the work devolved on the Church in Australia, the Society declining to relieve that Church of what appeared to be its duty and privilege [8].

NOTE, 1900.—Though no longer connected with the Mission, the Society still feels warmly interested in its progress, a few particulars of which are here given. Wild, savage, and suspicious though the natives are, and bound by superstitions which attribute any misfortune (no matter how it comes) to an evil spirit ("Paroma") or to witchcraft, they grew to understand the Missionaries and to love them. The children, who used to run away screaming in terror from the Missionaries, soon plucked up courage and came to school, submitting to discipline after a time without running away to their homes, and remaining at the boarding school erected at Dogura, the headquarters of the Mission. In 1893 the Australian Church provided a Mission boat, the "Albert Maclaren," in memory of the first Missionary; and by the next year the natives had built churches at several stations, and Easter Day, 1896 (April 5), witnessed the ingathering of the first two converts—Samuela Aigeri, a man of twenty-four, and Pilipo Agadabi, a schoolboy—who were baptized in a stream near Dogura. The good effect of the school was seen in 1898, when three girls and two infants, who had been rescued by a schoolboy from being buried alive with their dead mother according to native custom, were baptized, one of whom six years before had taken part in a cannibal feast.

Meanwhile the first two converts had materially assisted in the translation of St. Luke's Gospel into the language of Wedau, and seven South Sea Islanders had joined the Mission as teachers. The adoption of this system of native teachers trained and directed by white men—termed by Bishop Selwyn, "black nets with white corks"—met with great success. The teachers were regarded as "the parsons of the villages," and with their coming fights and cannibal feasts disappeared. Hitherto the Mission had dealt with only forty miles of coast, but with the advent of a Bishop (Canon Stone-Wigg, consecrated in Sydney Cathedral, on St. Paul's Day, 1898) arrangements were made for an immediate extension to 120 miles. The Mission comprises an industrial department, and the Bishop rises at half-past five every morning with all his native teachers to work in the plantations, and every member of the community is required to show that being a Christian does not mean being idle [9].

(*For Statistical Summary see p* 466)

(1) The Field and Period	(2) Ra ces and Tribes ministered to	(3) Languages used by the Missionaries	(4) No. of Ordained Missi naries employ.d	
			European & Colonial	Native
NEW SOUTH WALES .. 1793-1900	Colonists (Christian and non-Christian) ..	English	128	—
VICTORIA 1838-81	Colonists (Christian)	English	115	—
	Chinese (Heathen and Christian)	Chinese		
QUEENSLAND 1840-1900	Colonists (Christian)	English	77	—
	Chinese (Heathen and Christian)	Chinese		
	South Sea Islanders (Heathen and Christian)	Mota		
	Aborigines (Heathen)			
SOUTH AUSTRALIA, 1836-65 (including the "Northern Territory" of Australia, 1874-5, 1886-8)	Colonists (Christian)	English	34	—
	Aborigines (Heathen and Christian) ..	English (chiefly) Upper Murray Spencer's Gulf and Adelaide dialects		
	Chinese (Heathen and Christian) ..	English and Chinese		
WESTERN AUSTRALIA 1841-64, 1876-1900	Colonists (Christian)	English	64	—
	Aborigines (Heathen and Christian)	English		
	Chinese (Heathen and Christian)	Chinese		
	Japanese (Heathen and Christian)	English		
	Malays (Heathen and Christian)	English		
TASMANIA 1835-59	Colonists (Christian and non-Christian) ..	English	17	—
NEW ZEALAND 1840-80	Colonists (Christian)	English	65	2
	Maories (Heathen and Christian)	Maori		
	Chatham Islanders (Heathen and Christian)			
	Melanesians (Heathen and Christian) ..	Mota, &c.		
MELANESIA 1849-85	Melanesians (Heathen and Christian)	Mota and many other dialects	10	1
	Colonists (Christian)	English		
	Polynesians (Heathen and Christian) ..	Mau		
PITCAIRN ISLAND 1853-6	Pitcairn Islanders (Christian) (mixed race)	English		
NORFOLK ISLAND 1796-1824, 1841-3, 1856-1900				
FIJI 1880-1900	Colonists (Christian)	English	4	—
	Melanesians (Heathen and Christian) ..	English		
	Half-Castes (Heathen and Christian) ..	English		
HAWAIIAN ISLANDS .. 1862-1900	Hawaiians (Heathen and Christian)	Hawaiian	29	3
	Half-Castes (Heathen and Christian) ..			
	Polynesians (Heathen and Christian) ..			
	Colonists: British (Christian)	English		
	Germans (Christian)			
	Portuguese, &c. (Christian)			
	Chinese (Heathen and Christian)	Chinese		
	Japanese (Heathen and Christian)	Japanese		
NEW GUINEA, 1890-2 ..	Papuans (Heathen)		2	—
TOTAL§	Colonists, 10 Native races, besides mixed coloured races	Over 12	530	6

§ After allowing for repetitions and transfers.

(5) No. of Central Stations	(6) Society's Expenditure	(7) Comparative Statement of the Anglican Church generally							
		1701				1900			
		Church Members	Clergy	Dioceses	Local Missionary effort	Church Members	Clergy	Dioceses	Local Missionary effort
106	£253,503	—	—	—		502,980	343 (12 S.P.G.)	6	Domestic Missions to Colonists and to Aboriginal races, and Missions to Melanesia and New Guinea, and contributions to S.P.G. and C.M.S.
84		—	—	—		401,604	254	2	
60		—	—	—		187,000	112 (8 S.P.G.)	5	
27		—	—	—		90,000	90		
48		—	—	—		80,000	56 (23 S.P.G.)	1	
17		—	—	—		91,000	64	1	
50		—	—	—		300,000	300	6	
8	£116,899	—	—	—		10,000	24	1	Domestic Missions
		—	—	—		—	—	—	
		—	—	—		500	1 (S.P.G.)	—	
3		—	—	—		3,400	2 (S.P.G.)	—	Domestic Missions to Coolies, Melanesians.
6		—	—	—		1,820	9 (8 S.P.G.)	1	Domestic Missions to Hawaiians and Chinese, and contributions to S.P.G.
1		—	—	—		60	4	1	
410	£370,497	—	—	—		1,668,364	1,269 (57 S.P.G.)	24†	

† *See* pp. 765–6.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

ASIA AND THE EAST—(INTRODUCTION).

ALTHOUGH the Society did not itself engage in Missions in Asia until 1818, its example served to "provoke" others to undertake work there at a very early period.

"As soon as it was published in Europe that Wm. 3rd . . . had fform'd the design of erecting the . . . Society . . . the admiration of all and the pious emulation of some was so far excited thereby, that they were also desirous of doing something in so holy a work. . . . It fell out . . . about that time that the pretestant Body of the Roman Empire were upon Reforming the Old Calendar upon which occasion when the . . . King of Prussia had resolved to establish a Society of Philosophical Knowledge certain pious gentlemen, stir'd up by your Example, advised his Maj^ty^ to make it also an Evangelical Society, and to joyn the apostolical to the Philosophical Mission."

So wrote Dr. D. E. Jablonski ("Vice-President of the Royal Society of Prussia and Director of the Oriental Class which sends out the Missionarys") from Berlin to the S.P.G. on January 20, 1711. In the original Letters Patent of 11 July 1700 the King willed and required that under his "Protection and encouragement the sincere worship of God may be extended and propagated among those most remote nations that are still in the deepest and darkest ignorance"; and in his general Instructions it was provided that the Prussian Society:

"may also be a College for the propagation of the Xtian ffaith, worship and virtue. That upon occasion of their Philosophical Observations which they shall make in the northern part of Asia, they shall likewise diligently endeavour, that among the Barbarous people of those Tracts of land as far as China, the light of the Xtian ffaith and the purer Gospel may be kindled, and even that China itself may be assisted by those protestants who travel thither by land, or sail to that country thro' the Northern Sea."

These provisions were reiterated and confirmed by new statutes in 1710, the said Society being then divided into four classes—one for Natural Philosophy, one for Mathematicks, one for History, and a fourth called the Oriental, out of which the King "ord^d^ Missions for Propagating the Gospel to be sent." But "this admirable design . . . met with so many impediments that it was not perfected" till January 19, 1711, the anniversary of the King's Coronation, "in which the Society was erected by the Royal Authority in a very solemn manner." The "favour," "assistance and council" of the S.P.G. were now solicited for the new Society, which, said Dr. Jablonski,

"is either your younger sister or your elder daughter, which if it shall produce any good it must be owing to you; which being erected after your platform shall be directed by your methods. Do you run before in this holy race; and we will follow, treading in your ffootsteps, tho' we shall not pretend to keep pace with you. To you the Divine Providence has opened the West. . . . The East and the North lye open to us."

It should be added that Dr. Jablonski and other members of the Prussian Society had already been elected members of the S.P.G. [*See* A MSS., V. 6, No. 53; R. 1711, pp. 46-7.]

The Danish Mission to India in 1705 [*see* pp. 471-2] was another instance of Missionary work due to the example of the S.P.G. How, in the following century, the Society in its operations in Asia was called on to enter into the labours of Danish and German Missionaries is told elsewhere [Chap. LXXVI., pp. 501-3, and p. 496]. Here it will be enough to state that the Society undertook work in India in 1818, the first Missionaries arriving early in 1821 (with Burmah in 1859); in CEYLON in 1840; in BORNEO in 1848; in THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS in 1856; in CHINA in 1863; in JAPAN in 1873; in COREA in 1889; in MANCHURIA in 1892; in WESTERN ASIA (*temporarily*) in 1842.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

INDIA—(INTRODUCTION).

INDIA consists of that triangular portion of Asia which stretches southwards from the Himalaya mountains into the sea, a territory equal in area (1,560,160 square miles) to the whole of Europe, excluding Russia, and containing a wondrous variety of scenery, climate, and people. The aboriginal inhabitants are believed to have been formed by successive immigrations of Thibeto-Burmans, Kolarians, and Dravidians. Following them at some long period before Christ (possibly 1500 B.C.) came a new race, which, entering India from the North-West, gradually spread over the country, conquering and absorbing the primitive peoples, or driving into the highlands those who were not to be subdued. The invaders were a branch of the greatest of the human families, viz. the Aryan (which comprehends the Persians, Greeks, Slavs, and Teutons), and from them and the peoples whom they absorbed, sprung the mass of the population of India now known as the Hindus. The Greeks, under Alexander the Great, about 326 B.C. made temporary conquests in North-Western India, but the Mahommedans, after a struggle carried on for over 300 years, succeeded A.D. 1000-1 (under Mahmud the Sultan of the Afghan Kingdom of Ghazni) in gaining a permanent footing in the Punjab, their sway, which was extended into Bengal and the Deccan and Guzerat, lasting until the establishment of the famous Tartar rule—commonly called the Moghul dynasty—in 1526.

The Moghuls, who for three centuries had disturbed India, now, on effecting a permanent conquest of the North-West, themselves adopted Mahommedanism, though not in the orthodox form. Their splendid dynasty began to decline about 1707, eventually became subject to the British Government, and entirely ceased in 1857 after the suppression of the Sepoy mutiny. The discovery of the route to India *viâ* the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco di Gama in 1498, led to the occupation of Goa by the Portuguese, who for a century enjoyed a monopoly of the East Indian trade. They were followed in the 17th century by the Dutch, the English, the Danes, and the French. The famous East India Company, originally constituted on December 31, 1600, established the first English factory on the Indian mainland—at Surat, about 1611; in 1639 it founded Madras, in 1668 it acquired the island of Bombay, and in 1686 it founded Calcutta.

A struggle for supremacy between the English and French in the next century "turned the East India Company from simple traders into territorial sovereigns," and the defeat of the Nawab of Bengal by Clive at the battle of Plassey, June 13, 1757, which is regarded as the commencement of the British Empire in India, was followed in 1761 by the practical extinction of French influence. Under the East India Company British rule in India was greatly extended, but as a consequence of the Mutiny of 1857 the Company was dissolved in 1858 and the administration of the country assumed by the Crown. About one third of India has been allowed to remain under hereditary native rulers, acting in "subordinate dependence" to the British Government. The remainder—the unreservedly British possessions—are divided into 12 provinces, viz. Madras, Bombay, Lower Bengal, Behar, Orissa, Chota Nagpur, Assam, North-Western Provinces, Oudh, Punjab, Central Provinces, and Burma, each having a separate government but the whole being subject to the Supreme Government—the Governor-General of India in Council.

The population of India, which numbered 287,223,431* in 1891, may be thus classified:—

I. According to the principal **LANGUAGES.**

(*a*) **Aryo-Indic group (195,463,807).** NOTE.—*Sanscrit*, the language of Brahman literature, and the nearest approach to the original Aryan, is practically a dead language, being spoken by only 308 persons.

Hindi and *Urdu* (or *Hindustani*)	spoken mostly in			N.W. Provinces, Bengal, and Oudh	by	89,344,763
Bengali	„	„	„	Bengal	„	41,343,672
Marathi	„	„	„	Bombay and Deccan	„	18,892,875
Punjabi	„	„	„	Punjab	„	17,724,610
Gujerati	„	„	„	Bombay and States, and Baroda	„	10,619,789
Uriya	„	„	„	Bengal and States	„	9,010,957

Pahari, by 2,700,744; *Kashmeri*, by 29,276; *Chitrali* (Arniya), by 11; *Shina*, &c., by 6 (mostly in Northern India); *Sindhi*, by 2,592,341 (mostly in Sindh); *Márwádi*, by 1,147,480 (Punjab, Ajmere, &c.); *Kachhi*, by 439,697; *Goanese* and *Portuguese*, by 37,738 (mostly in Western India); *Assamese*, by 1,435,820 (mostly in Assam), *Halabi*, by 143,720 (in Madras, Berar and Bengal).

(*b*) **Dravidian group (52,964,620):—**

Telugu	spoken mostly in			Madras	by	19,885,137
Tamil	„	„	„	„	„	15,229,759
Canarese	„	„	„	Mysore, Bombay and Hyderabad	„	9,751,885
Malayalam	„	„	„	Malabar coast	„	5,428,250

Gônd, spoken by 1,379,580 (Central Provinces, &c.); *Kandh* (*Khond*), by 320,071 (Madras, &c.); *Oraon*, by 368,222; *Mal-Pahádia*, by 30,838 (Bengal, &c.); *Brahui*, by 28,990 (Sindh); *Kharwár*, &c., by 7,651 (Central Provinces, &c.); *Kôdagu* (*Coorgi*), by 37,218 (Coorg, &c.); *Túlu*, by 491,728; *Máhl*, by 3,167; *Tôda* and *Kôta*, by 1,937; *Sinhalese*, by 187 (mostly in Southern India).

ARYAN and DRAVIDIAN GYPSY dialects, spoken by 401,125 (mostly in Madras, Berar, Bombay, and Central Provinces).

(*c*) **Kolarian group (2,959,006)** the languages, mostly unwritten, of hill tribes:—

Santhâli, spoken by 1,709,680; *Múnda* or *Kôl*, by 654,507; *Kharria*, by 67,772; *Baiga* (*Bhinjwa* &c.), by 48,883; *Juáng* and *Malér*, by 11,965 (mostly in Bengal); *Korwa* or *Kur*, by 185,775 (mostly in Central Provinces, and Bengal and Berar); *Bhíl*, by 148,596 (mostly in Bombay and Central Provinces); *Sáwara*, by 102,059; *Gadaba*, by 29,789 (mostly in Madras).

(*d*) **Khasi**, spoken by **178,637** (by 178,630 in **Assam**).

(*e*) **Tibeto-Burman group (7,293,928):—**

Burmese, spoken by 5,560,461; *Arakanese*, by 366,403; *Khyin* dialects, by 126,915; *Kakhyin* (*Sing-pho*, &c.), by 5,669 (mostly in Burma); *Nikobari*, by 1, in the Andaman Islands; *Kachari*, by 198,705; *Garo*, by 145,425; *Naga* dialects, by 102,908; *Mech*, by 90,796; *Mikir*, by 90,236; *Kathé* or *Manipuri*, by 88,911; *Lushai* (*Zhô*), by 41,926; *Lálúng*, by 40,204; *Abor-Miri*, by 35,703; *Kuki*, by 18,828; *Rábha*, *Hajong*, &c., by 4,314; *Aka*, *Mishmí*, &c., by 1,282 (mostly in Assam); *Nipáli* dialects: *Gurkhali*, &c., by 195,866; *Tipperah*, by 121,864; *Koch*, by 8,107 (mostly in Bengal and Assam); *Lepcha*, by 10,125; *Bhutáni*, by 9,470 (mostly in Bengal); *Thibetan* (*Bhôti*), by 20,544; *Kanawari*, by 9,265 (mostly in Punjab).

(*f*) **Môn-Annám (229,342):**—*Mon* or *Talaing*, spoken by 226,495; *Palaung*, by 2,847 (mostly in Burma). (*g*) **Shán** or **Taic group (178,447):**—*Shán*, spoken by 174,871; *Lao* or *Siamese*, by 4 (Burma); *Aitôn*, by 2; *Khámti*, by 2,945; *Phakiál*, by 625 (mostly in Assam). (*h*) **Malayan group (4,084):**—*Malay*, spoken by 2,437; *Salón*, by 1,628 (mostly in Burma); *Javanese*, by 19 (Bombay, &c.). (*j*) **Sinitic group (713,350):**—*Karén*, spoken by 674,846; *Chinese*, by 38,504 (mostly in Burma). (*k*) **Japanese**:—Spoken by 93 (Burma, Bombay, &c.). (*l*) **Aryo-Eranic group (1,329,428):**—*Persian*, spoken by 28,189 (mostly in Bengal, Punjab, and Bombay); *Armenian*, by 833 (mostly in Bengal and Burma); *Pashtu*, by 1,080,931 (mostly in Punjab); *Balôch*, by 219,475 (mostly in Sindh). (*m*) **Semitic group (55,534):**—*Hebrew* (Israeli), spoken by 2,171 (mostly in Bombay, Bengal, Madras, and Burma); *Arabic*, by 53,351 (24,055 in Aden, and rest mostly in Madras, Bombay, and Bengal); *Syriac*, by 12 (Madras, Bombay, &c.). (*n*) **Turánic (659):**—*Turki*, spoken by 607 (Punjab, Bombay, &c.); *Magyar*, by 42 (Bombay, &c.); *Finn*, by 10 (Bengal and Burma). (*o*) **Aryo-European group (245,745):**—*English*, spoken by 238,499; *German*, by 2,215; *French*, by 2,171; the remainder (2,860) distributed among 20 European languages.

NOTE.—*Basque* is spoken by 1 (in Madras), and *Negro dialects* by 9,612 (mostly in Aden).

* 25,175,991 of these were not enumerated by *language* in the Census of 1891, and in the case of 20,022 others returns were not made or were unrecognisable.

Particulars of the Census of 1901 are not yet available, but the total population, *according to the preliminary returns*, has increased to 294,266,701.

II. According to **RELIGION.**

Hindus—"Brahman," 207,645,721 (distributed over India generally), "Arya," 39,952; "Brahmo or Āryā Somaj," 3,051; *Mahommedans*, 57,321,164 (mostly in Northern India); *Animistic* (*Aboriginals*), 9,280,467 (hilly districts of Central India); *Buddhists*, 7,131,361 (Burma); *Christians*, 2,284,172 (1,642,030 in South India—Tinnevelly, Travancore, &c.); *Sikhs*, 1,907,883 (Punjab); *Jains*, 1,416,638 (Bombay district); *Zoroastrians* (*Parsees*, &c.), 89,904; *Jews*, 17,194; minor and unspecified, 42,971.

Distribution of the CHRISTIAN population:—

(*a*) According to **RACES.**

Natives, 2,036,449; *Europeans*, 167,981; *Eurasians*, 79,742. (Total, 2,284,172.)

(*b*) According to **DENOMINATION.**

Roman Catholics, 1,315,263 (1,243,529 natives); *Church of England*, 340,613 (207,546 natives); *Syrians* (*Jacobite Section*), 200,467 (all but 18 natives); *Lutherans*, 69,405 (67,925 natives); *Baptists*, 202,746 (197,487 natives); *Wesleyans*, *Methodists*, *and Bible Christians*, 32,123 (24,412 natives); *Congregationalists*, *Independents*, &c., 50,936 (47,225 natives); *Church of Scotland*, 46,351 (33,276 natives); *Greek*, *Armenian*, and *Abyssinian Churches*, 1,258 (257 natives); *other Protestants*, 15,658 (7,452 natives); *unspecified*, 9,352 (6,891 natives).

The number of native Christians *not including* Roman Catholics was, in **1850**, 91,092; in **1861**, 138,731; in **1871**, 224,258; in **1881**, at least 593,100; in **1891**, 792,920. *Including* Roman Catholics the number for **1891** was 2,036,449.*

The most ancient Christian community in India, known as the Syrian Christians, hold the tradition that their Church originated from the preaching of the Apostle St. Thomas, who after labouring with great success on the south-east, or Coromandel, coast, suffered martyrdom. Driven thence by persecution, his disciples found refuge in the hills of Travancore &c. on the south-west coast. Whatever truth there may be in this, certain it is that the Portuguese on their arrival found a flourishing Christian Church in existence, claiming a succession of Bishops from the Patriarchs of Babylon and Antioch, and though infected by Nestorianism, yet ignorant of the peculiar teaching of the Church of Rome. The Roman Catholic Missionaries who followed in the 16th century made many nominal converts—Francis Xavier alone being credited with over a million baptisms during his brief stay (1541-4)—and by force and fraud brought the Syrian Church in 1599 to accept the yoke of Rome. In 1653 the Syrian Church regained its independence, though a large body from it has remained in subjection to Rome more or less to this day.

The English traders and settlers in India were long neglectful of religion. Over seventy years passed before they began† to build a church, and the first Governor of Bengal degenerated into an avowed Pagan. Between 1667 and 1700 eighteen chaplains were provided by the East India Company, the first being for Madras in 1667-8. About 1677 the Hon. Robert Boyle, a member of the East India Committee, reprinted the Malayan Gospels for distribution; and in 1695 Dean Prideaux of Norwich proposed the erection of churches and schools in the English settlements in India and the sending of a Bishop, and by his exertions, seconded by Archbishop Tenison, provision was made in the new Charter of the East India Company in 1698 for the maintenance of ministers and schoolmasters in their garrisons and principal factories in the East Indies, the clergymen being required to learn Portuguese and the vernacular of the district, to enable them to instruct the native servants or slaves of the Company in "the Protestant religion." But these obligations were greatly neglected by the Company.

ALTHOUGH the Society was preceded in India by other Missionary agencies,‡ "One of the Fruits and Effects" of its "opening the Way . . . to . . . a Propagation of the Gospel in the . . . *Western Indies*" (or America) was the "laudable zeal" shown "in the Kingdom of *Denmark*, for sending . . . Missionaries to the coasts of *Coromandel* in the *East Indies*" [1]. The first two Danish Missionaries—Bartholomew Ziegenbalgh and Henry Plutscho—arrived at Tranquebar in July 1706, and in 1709 the Rev. A. W. Boehm, formerly Chaplain to Prince George of Denmark, translated their letters (or reports) of 1706-7 into English from the High Dutch and

* For the Indian Ecclesiastical Establishment, *see* p. 659.

† At Madras in 1680, by Governor Master, who bore the whole cost of building.

‡ The Danish Lutherans, 1706; the English Baptists, 1793; the London Missionary Society, 1798; the C.M.S., 1813; the American Congregationalists, 1813; the American Baptists (Burma) 1813; and the Wesleyans, 1817.

having published the same dedicated them to the Society, by whom 500 copies were purchased and distributed.

The dedication contains the following passage :—

"And as by the Means of your generous Enterprize, some Beams thereof have been cast even upon the WESTERN World: so a small Ray of Visitation begins to return, it seems, to the EASTERN Tract again, after so dark, long, and dismal an Hour of divine Judgments pour'd out upon those nations."

A second account of the Mission ("Part II."), published in 1710, was "*humbly recommended to the Consideration*" of the Society; and in Part III., published by the direction of the S.P.C.K. in 1718, it is stated that the first collection of letters was dedicated to the S.P.G., "*and proved a Motive to many charitable Benefactions contributed by well-disposed persons for advancing this Mission*" [2].

In a letter "*To a friend at* London" (January 17, 1710: Part II. of above, pp. 44–5), Ziegenbalgh acknowledged a box of books and a sum of £20 sent from England for the Mission in 1709. These contributions have been represented as a direct gift from the Society [3], but in the absence of any record of the same in the S.P.G. Journals and accounts it would probably be more correct to regard them as private offerings elicited by the Society from its members and friends. In support of this view, Hough's statement may be added, that though the management of the English contributions was undertaken by the S.P.C.K. in 1710, "it remained very much in the same hands, Archbishop Tenison and Mr. John Chamberlayne, the President and Secretary of the Gospel-Propagation Society," who "are described by La Croze as 'the very soul of these collections'" [4]. (The work of the Danish Lutheran Mission is noticed in Chapter LXXVI [pp. 501, &c.].

In 1721 a contribution of five guineas from the Dean of Ely was applied by the Society for books for Charity Schools at Forts St. George and St. David [5].

The claims of India on England from a Missionary point of view were advocated in the Society's Anniversary Sermons continuously from 1806 to 1810, and emphasis was laid on the "languishing state of religious Knowledge, or, to speak more truly, the almost entire Extinction of it in our Asiatic Settlements," and on the fact that while the Syrian Church in Malayla numbered from 150,000 to 200,000 members, and the Roman Catholic establishment at Goa had 200 Missionaries, there were "not more than eleven" Protestant Missionaries employed on the part of England among the heathen in India.

One of the courses recommended was the introduction of an English Bishop [6], an object which, mainly through the representations of the S.P.C.K. to Government and the influence of Mr. Wilberforce, was accomplished in 1814 when the See of Calcutta (then comprising the whole of the British East Indies) was founded, and the Rev. T. F. Middleton was consecrated its first Bishop in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace on May 8.

Yet such was the jealousy and alarm with which this measure was regarded that it was thought advisable to perform the Consecration Service in private and to suppress the sermon preached on the occasion [7]. Four years later (1818) the S.P.G., acting on the advice of its President, undertook work in India, and commencing with

BENGAL in 1820 [*see* p. 473], its operations were extended to MADRAS PRESIDENCY in 1825 [*see* p. 501]; BOMBAY, 1830 [p. 568]; THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES, 1833 [p. 590]; THE "CENTRAL PROVINCES," 1846 [p. 604]; ASSAM, 1851 [p. 606]; THE PUNJAB, 1854 [p. 612]; BURMA, 1859 [p. 629]; CASHMERE, 1866-7, 1892, &c. [p. 656]; and AJMERE and RAJPOOTANA, 1881 [p. 657].

1892-1900.

During this period two new Indian Bishoprics have been founded with the Society's aid (viz., Lucknow in 1893, and Tinnevelly and Madura in 1896), and four of the old Sees have received new Bishops. One result of these changes is that there are now six* Indian Bishops who were formerly Missionaries in India—a state of things without a parallel in the history of the Indian Church and a striking proof of the estimation in which Missionaries are held by the civil authorities [8].

The present Metropolitan, Bishop Welldon, on his appointment, laid down the proposition :—

"that, whatever it is that we as a nation destroy in India, we are morally bound to set up some equivalent in its place. We have destroyed the ancient governments of India, and we have given India a far better Government than it ever possessed before. We are sapping the old civilisation of India, we are undermining some of its historic institutions, and we are giving to India a civilisation under which the powers and energies of her peoples may develop as they never could develop before. We are, whether we like it or not, killing the ancient religions of India. I do not say that the work of killing them will be soon accomplished, but it is inevitable, and because it is inevitable it is the duty, as it is the privilege, of this country to give India her own religion. If not, if India is not made Christian, then India will be left at the last as a country without God. And because it is terrible to contemplate the fact of a country so mighty as India left by our action without God, I say that it is a primary obligation lying upon the people of this country to spread the Gospel of Jesus Christ in India."

In his address on his enthronement in St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, the Bishop stated that his first efforts would be to lift up among the Europeans a loftier Christian standard and to raise the existing moral tone, "which does not always inspire respect for our religion" [10]. The subject found a place in a noble letter addressed by the Indian Bishops in Synod in 1900 to all persons resident in India [10*a*].

While the duty of providing ministrations to Europeans in India does not fall upon the Society, which only occasionally assists in this work in that country [*see* p. 658], its evangelistic work from 1825 down to the present time has been greatly promoted by the faithful European laity who have taken an active part in the administration of its affairs in India.

The late Sir William Hunter stated that he knew of "no class of Englishmen who have done so much to render the name of England respected in India as Missionaries," and he thought that "few Indian administrators have passed through high office, and had to deal with

* Two of these were connected with the C.M.S., viz. Dr. Clifford and Dr. Hodges; and four with the S.P.G., viz. Dr. Strachan (of South India, from 1861–82); Dr. Whitley (of Delhi and Chhota Nagpur, from 1862–90; Dr. Lefroy (of Delhi, from 1879–99); and Dr. Whitehead (of Calcutta, from 1884–99). For full list of the Bishops *see* p. 767.

the ultimate problems of British government in that country, without feeling the value of the work done by Missionaries" [11].

Especially has this been the case during the periods of famine—one of the most serious of the problems which the Government have to deal with. Once in every five years scarcity more or less severe may be expected in some portion of India, and at least once in every twenty years such scarcity will deepen into famine.

In the famine of 1896-7 two and a half millions of people died of starvation—a number exceeding half the population of Ireland. The famine of 1900 affected a much larger area, and at one time over five and a half millions of people were in receipt of famine relief. On both occasions the Society opened a special fund,* which, as in the case of 1877-8, was administered by its Missionaries for the relief of sufferers without respect to race, caste, or creed, and altogether on these three occasions over 100,000 sufferers were thus relieved and provision was made for the maintenance of hundreds of orphans.

Experience has again and again shown that on the part of petty Hindu officials there is a distinct tendency to pass over outcasts in distributing famine relief, and that on some of the relief works the *bunnias*, who sell food at the stalls, cheat and rob the sufferers. It is here that the agency of the Missionaries is so valuable. No more striking proof could be given of the depth of love inspired by the life of Jesus than clear evidence that the Christian in his acts of sympathy has learnt to disregard the barriers of race and creed [12].

Sir Charles A. Elliott, when Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, also testified (in 1894) that "no officer of Government can fail to recognise in the noble body of Missionaries an auxiliary force of the greatest value," and occupying a portion of the field which it is vital to success to hold, but which the Government from its very limitations are unable to occupy. He regarded the self-sacrificing and devoted lives of the Missionaries "as a standard, an example which all of us would wish to follow" [13].

In 1896 he bore similar testimony, and showed that, while the population of India had risen only about 16 or 17 per cent. in the period 1871-91, Christianity had "increased four times as fast as the Hindu and Mohammedan populations generally," the increase being "far more among the non-Roman Missions than among the Roman Catholics" [14].

A committee appointed by the Joint Boards of Missions of the Provinces of Canterbury and York to ascertain the law bearing on legal disabilities of native Christians in India reported on the general subject in 1897:—

"We have come to the conclusion that in British India, although native Christian converts labour under difficulties which, in the circumstances, are unavoidable, and although in some particulars the law applicable to them may be obscure or defective, they do not labour under any serious disabilities for which a remedy must be sought by legislation, except, perhaps, in a matter affecting the marriage law.

* The amounts raised by the Society's special famine relief funds were: in 1877-8, £17,747; in 1897-8, £5,000; in 1900, £7,078.

'But as regards Christians who are the subjects of certain native States under the suzerainty of the Crown of England, complaints, apparently well-founded, are made that a change of faith entails deprivation of rights, both of property and person, and earnest hopes have been expressed that the Government of India will use its influence to secure to converts in these States the same justice and protection that are accorded to subjects of the Crown in British India. We entirely share these hopes, and trust that the action which, it is understood, has already been taken by one of the local Governments in this matter may achieve the object contemplated" [15].*

CHAPTER LXXV.

BENGAL.

BENGAL, the largest and most populous of the twelve Governments of British India, comprises the lower valleys and deltas of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, including the four provinces, (1) Bengal Proper, (2) Behar, (3) Orissa, and (4) Chota Nagpur. The East India Company established its earliest settlements in Bengal in the first half of the 17th century, and founded Calcutta in 1686. The next seventy years were signalised by a struggle between the English and the Moguls and Mahrattas, which, culminating with the outrage of the "Black Hole" of Calcutta in 1756, and the battle of Plassey in the next year, led to the Treaty of 1765, by which the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa became British possessions. *Area*, 151,543 sq. miles. *Population*, 74,643,866. Of these 47,821,468 are Hindus, 23,437,591 Mahommedans, 2,294,506 Animistic (Aboriginals), and 192,471 Christians; and 38,390,772 speak Bengali, 26,652,547 Hindi, and 6,099,412 Uriya.

THE operations of the Society in the Presidency have been carried on in the districts of (I.) CALCUTTA, 1820-1900; (II.) TOLLYGUNGE, 1823-1900; and (III.) THE SOONDERBUNS (BARRIPORE, &c.), 1829-1900; (IV.) BHAGALPUR and RAJ MAHAL, 1824-7; (V.) CHINSURAH, 1825-36; (VI.) MIDNAPORE, 1836; (VII.) TAMLOOK (MEERPUR &c.), 1838-92; (VIII.) PATNA, 1860 71; (IX.) DINAPORE, 1876-8, 1884-92; (X.) BURISAL, 1869-80, 1895-1900; (XI.) CHOTA NAGPUR, 1869-1900.

A local "Diocesan Committee" of the Society, formed at Calcutta under Bishop Heber in 1825, rendered invaluable assistance to the cause until 1885, when it was superseded by a Board of Missions, one of the branches of a Diocesan Council formed by Bishop Johnson for the then Diocese of Calcutta.

(1885-1900.)

The work of this Board consisted mainly in administering the affairs of the Missions supported by S.P.G. funds, exclusive of Bishop's College, Calcutta, the C.M.S. declining to come under the Board. The arrangement (which was sanctioned by the Society as a temporary measure) not having proved satisfactory, steps were taken in 1900 with a view to reverting to the old system of a Diocesan Committee [1].

* It may be of service to record here the following extract from the Royal Proclamation of 1858:—"Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects, on pain of our highest displeasure."

(1.) **CALCUTTA** District, 1820-92.—(*a*) Bishop's College, (*b*) Howrah, (*c*) Cossipore, (*d*) Mariners' Church, (*e*) St. Saviour's Mission, (*f*) Cathedral Mission.

(I.*a*) **Bishop's College** (1820-92).—On February 20, 1818, Archbishop Sutton, the President of the Society, stated

"that time having been now allowed for the due settlement of the Episcopal authority in India, it did appear to him that the moment was at length arrived, when the operations of the Society might be safely and usefully extended in that quarter of the world, and that with the security derived from proper Diocesan control, it now became the Society to step forward with some offer of co-operation with the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, in such plans, as with the concurrence of the constituted authorities for the Government of India, his Lordship might be inclined to recommend" [1].

In the following month the Society placed £5,000 at the disposal of the Bishop [2], who [L., Nov. 18] thereupon recommended the establishment of a Mission College in the immediate vicinity of Calcutta as the object best adapted to meet the wishes of the Society [3].

In the meantime steps had been taken to raise a Special Fund for India, and by means of a Royal Letter in 1819, which produced £45,747, and contributions of £5,000 each from the S.P.C.K. and the C.M.S., £55,747 was provided for the erection of the College, in addition to the Society's first grant of £5,000 [4]. The East India Company having given the Society a site at Howrah (on the right bank of the Hooghly, some four miles below Calcutta), which was improved by an additional piece of ground from C. T. Metcalfe, Esq., the foundation-stone of the College was laid by the Bishop on Friday, December 15, 1820 [5 and 5*a*]. In order to obtain Professors for the College it was found necessary to send delegates to the two chief Universities, the result being that on June 24, 1820, the Rev. W. H. MILL, Fellow of Trinity College, and Mr. J. H. ALT, B.A., of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, were appointed respectively Principal and third Professor of the College [6]. Sailing from England in August 1820 they landed at Madras on January 4, 1821, where they remained eight days, and in February they arrived at Calcutta [7].

Already the Bible Society had appropriated £5,000 to the College to promote the translation of the Scriptures, and in 1821-2 the C.M.S. and the S.P.C.K. co-operated with the S.P.G. in founding scholarships. [*See* p. 789.] The S.P.C.K. endowment was designated "Middleton Scholarships," as a memorial of the Bishop, whose assiduity in visiting the infant institution and watching over its welfare* "occasioned principally, if not entirely," his death, which took place on July 8, 1822. As a further tribute to the memory of the Bishop a monument was erected in St. Paul's Cathedral, London, by the S.P.C.K. and the S.P.G. In the meantime statutes drawn up by him had (with slight modifications) been adopted by the Society (January 18, 1822), and their subsequent circulation among the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of the British East Indies, in which the local Governments took part, elicited additional support for the College.

In 1826 a Hindu gentleman (Baboo Muthoomanth Mullick), after

* In addition to a donation of £400 for the College Chapel, the Bishop bequeathed £500 to the Society and 500 volumes to the Library, and his widow added a service of Communion plate for the chapel [8*a*].

a visit to the College, desired to be allowed to become an annual subscriber of Rs.400 [8].

The first builder (Mr. Jones) having died in 1822, the services of Captain Hutchinson (of the Engineers) were appropriated by Government to carry on the work.

Under the auspices of Dr. Middleton's successor, Bishop Heber, who arrived in October 1823, the Principal took up residence in the College in January 1824, and on March 6 the first two students were admitted [9].

In accordance with the wishes of the founder an attempt was made to introduce students also from the Clergy Orphan School, England; and in 1822-3 three were, with the consent of their guardians, dedicated to this Missionary service. Only one, however, appears to have actually entered the College (T. C. Simpson, in 1825), and the connection between the two institutions was not continued [10].

As a special mark of respect to the memory of Bishop Heber, who died at Trichinopoly on April 3, 1826, the Society (adopting a suggestion of his) authorised the admission as Foundation Scholars of two students in Divinity being members of foreign Episcopal Churches not in subordination to the Church of Rome, and the S.P.C.K. founded two Heber Scholarships for this purpose in 1827 [11].

In the course of time other scholarships were founded. [*See* list on page 789.]

The College was designed by Bishop Middleton

" to be subservient to the several purposes:—

" 1. Of instructing Native and other Christian youth ('from almost every part of the continent and islands of Asia subject to British authority') in the doctrines and discipline of the Church, in order to their becoming preachers, catechists, and schoolmasters.

" 2. For teaching the elements of youthful knowledge and the English language to Mussulmans or Hindoos, having no object in such attainments beyond secular advantage.

" 3. For translating the Scriptures, the liturgy, and moral and religious tracts.

" 4. For the reception of English Missionaries to be sent out by the Society, on their first arrival in India" (in order that they may be prepared for the better discharge of their duties) [12].

From the first the College became the centre of active Missionary operations in Bengal. In 1829 the admission of lay or non-foundation students was sanctioned, the building being enlarged for the purpose; and during the first twenty years (at least) the College course embraced instruction in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Sanscrit, Bengali, Hindustani (Urdu), Persian, Arabic, Tamil, Singhalese, and Armenian [13]. In 1837 the Bishop of Calcutta said that "the amount of good already effected by the College was really surprising"; and in the next year he wrote of the native students:—

" It was delightful to see these lads, only fourteen months at College, vying with those of European extraction, who had been two or three years. These young Hindoos have not only cast off all idolatrous usages and habits, but are steadily acquiring Christian knowledge. They are quick in their apprehension of truth, with tenacious memories and great piety. They translate Homer, Xenophon, Cicero, and Ovid in a manner perfectly surprising, and with a justness of English

pronunciation which increases the pleasure. Conceive only, if it be possible, in an adequate manner, of a Hindoo Baboo explaining Paley, Barrow, Graves, Bishop Sumner, and others of our English writers: then their knowledge of the Old Testament, which was probed to the bottom by the Venerable Archdeacon Dealtry; and of the Lord's Prayer, in which I examined them myself; it would have charmed any of the members of the . . . Society" [14].

In 1840 it was reported that in the Barripore and Tollygunge Missions there were 1,800 Christians, most of them tried and approved, and that these encouraging results were the fruit of Bishop's College [15].

During the first twenty-five years translations or compilations in Arabic, Persian, Bengali, and Sanscrit, besides several works in English, were issued from the College press [pp. 805, 810]; but in 1871 this branch of work was suspended, and the press and material, excepting the rare Oriental type, were sold [16].

As time went on the leading object of the College—the training of Mission agents—began to be neglected, and in 1871 the Society, finding that the efforts of the tutors had for some years been directed to preparing Christian students for the Calcutta University, took steps for restoring the purely missionary character of the institution [17]. But the results attained were not satisfactory, and it becoming evident to all connected with the College that its large and handsome buildings were rather a hindrance than a help to the training of Mission agents, the Society in 1878, at the urgent request of Bishop Johnson, sanctioned the sale of the buildings to Government and the removal of the college into the city of Calcutta, which was effected in 1880* [18]. There, under the Rev. H. WHITEHEAD, its usefulness was revived [19].

(1892–1900.) By 1895 the College had become "the centre of the Society's work in the whole Diocese of Calcutta." The senior student of the College, who entered at Oxford University in 1893, was "believed to be the first Indian Christian who . . . ever studied at Oxford." Provision was made for the development of University classes of a secular department in 1893, and for additional accommodation in 1893–95; and in 1897 a Vernacular Divinity Class was started for the training of Schoolmasters and Readers for the village Missions. In the earthquake of 1897 the Principal's house was cracked on both sides from top to bottom, the crack closing and opening as the building rocked; and in the Mohammedan riots in Calcutta in the same year the Vice-Principal (Rev. W. L. Nanson) was wounded while driving [20]. Mr. Nanson (1900) succeeded to the Principalship on the appointment of Mr. Whitehead to the Bishopric of Madras in 1899 [21].

The confidence and the support of the Society enabled Mr. Whitehead to look back upon his long connection with the Society in Calcutta "with much gratitude and affection," and on his departure he gave a private donation to Bishop's College Chapel, in memory of his father. A new chapel was dedicated on January 19, 1900 [22].

It has been proposed to further utilise the College: for (1) the training of an order of native teachers for native schools, and (2) a teaching order for educational work among Europeans and Eurasians [23].

* The price obtained was three lacs of rupees, and the permanent reservation of the chapel and the cemetery for their sacred purposes was guaranteed.

(I.*b*) **Howrah** (sometimes called "the Wapping" of Calcutta) (1820–92).—The establishment of Bishop's College in this neighbourhood (the first work of the Society in India, begun in 1820 [*see* p. 474]) led to its professors gratuitously undertaking, in 1825 or 1826, the service of the East India Company's chapel at Howrah, which by the departure of Archdeacon Hawtayne was left without a clergyman, and to which the Government were then unable to assign a resident chaplain. This timely act saved "a respectable and highly interesting congregation" from being "scattered among different sectaries"; and after a short intermission (1828) the duty was re-committed to the clergy of the College in 1829. This arrangement proved "highly acceptable" to the congregation; and the parish church of St. Thomas, which was afterwards erected, owed its existence mainly to the exertions of the Rev. Professor Holmes [1]. About 1825 also a circle of native schools in the district was transferred to the Society by the S.P.C.K. [*see* p. 478], and placed under the superintendence, first of the Rev. W. TWEDDLE, and, in 1826, of the Rev. M. R. DE MELLO. The schools, six in number, were situated at Batore, Seebpore, Chukerparry, Howrah, Sulkea, and Ballee; and by 1830 the number of scholars had risen from 440 to 652. In that year a central native English school was established at Howrah; and in 1837 a building which served as a chapel also was erected at Boishkotty [2]. The discontinuance of the system of giving pice as rewards to the scholars almost emptied the central school in 1832 [3]; but the work of education generally revived, and the Howrah Schools have continued to be the most hopeful feature of a Mission whose progress in other respects has been somewhat discouraging [4]. In 1832 five men and a woman were baptized in the district, and during 1833–4 thirty-eight others were admitted to baptism. Twenty-six of the latter consisted of emigrants who had been driven from Beebeegunge (near Diamond Harbour) by the inundation of 1833. Before their baptism, which took place in Bishop's College Chapel, they were twice examined by the Bishop, and at first their conduct appeared "quite satisfactory"; but it was soon discovered that they had previously resided at Serampore [a Baptist centre], and "upon the withdrawal of the pecuniary provision continued to them with too little consideration by Mr. de Mello after their first necessities had been supplied," many of them "retired from the neighbourhood"; and the Rev. J. BOWYER, who succeeded to the charge of the Mission in 1835, added in 1836 that one family asserted "that they were baptized with the hope of receiving support; and that unless" they were "paid" they would "not attend service" [5]. Mr. Bowyer himself received several offers from people wishing to become Christians from worldly motives, and might (he wrote in 1841) have had "whole villages" if he had "encouraged them." In the villages around Boishkotty the reception of Christianity was hindered by "violent persecution and opposition;" but after two years of trial (1836–8) the cause gained ground; and in 1845 these congregations numbered sixty-one persons, composed entirely of the Pode and Teore castes [6]. The fact that the majority of the people in the Howrah Mission are of the peasant class and at work the whole day has made it a matter of great difficulty to instruct them, and the Missionaries have had to

resort to house-to-house visits and to the formation of classes and the holding of meetings in huts [7].

In 1870 the Rev. B. C. CHOUDHURY, a native in charge of the Mission, described his professed converts as demoralised and as claiming from the Church: work, free schools, gratuities of clothing and money, pensions for their widows, and feasts at the great Church season. In his opinion too much had been done for them in this respect in the past through mistaken kindness [8]; and probably this partly accounts for the backwardness of the converts in contributing to the support of their own Missions and schools [9].

(1892–1900.) The work of the Mission may now be summed up as consisting of ministering to a body of about three hundred Bengali-speaking Christians and evangelistic efforts.

The inner life of the Christian community as a whole was (in 1897–98), however, "calculated to exert little influence for good upon the surrounding mass of heathenism," not a few of them regarding the Missionary as "the dispenser of temporal benefits," and having "little relish for spiritual things unless they are covered with at least a thin coating of silver." Against this a firm stand has been made [10].

The transfer of the Mission to the C.M.S. was suggested in 1900, but the Society (S.P.G.) has preferred to retain and strengthen it [11].

(I.*c*) **Cossipore** (1823–32).—In July 1822, the S.P.C.K. having reported that the Bishop of Calcutta had applied for two English Clergymen, principally for the superintendence of certain [S.P.C.K.] schools in Bengal, and that it considered "such appointments were in the exclusive province" of the S.P.G., the latter Society decided to supply the want [1], and in October 1823 the Rev. T. CHRISTIAN and the Rev. W. MORTON arrived at Calcutta. After instruction from the teachers of Bishop's College, Mr. Christian took charge of the Cossipore circle at the northern extremity of Calcutta, and Mr. Morton of the Tollygunge at the southern, the S.P.C.K. continuing to support the schools. In taking over the management of these schools, and of a third circle at Howrah in 1826, the newly-formed local Committee of the S.P.G. stated that they regarded "the native schools as the most powerful engine that could be employed for the subversion of idolatry." The Cossipore circle consisted of four schools—at Tallah, Burnagore, Chitpore, and Ooturparah—containing an average of 300 boys belonging to "almost every caste among the Hindoos—from the Brahman to the most inferior Sudra"—and including also many Mahommedans. Mr. Christian was transferred to Rajmahal in 1824, after which the schools, which had been "advanced to a most excellent sphere of usefulness," were temporarily superintended successively by a layman, the Rev. T. MORTON, and the Rev. T. REICHARDT (the latter voluntarily) until 1832, when, as the local Committee could make no permanent provision for them, they were discontinued [2]. Bishop Wilson of Calcutta soon after his arrival sought to revive them, but apparently failed to do so [3].

(I.*d*) **Mariners' Church, Calcutta** (1829-31).—The erection of a church in Calcutta for British sailors was promoted by the local Committee of the Society in 1829-30; and on May 16, 1830, the "Mariners' Chapel" was opened and placed under the Rev. — MACQUEEN, but as it did not properly come within the Society's objects in India it ceased to engage the Committee's attention about 1831 [1].

(I.*e*) **St. Saviour's Mission, Calcutta** (1847-92).—About 1832 an Hindustani Mission was set on foot in Calcutta by Archdeacon Corrie, who brought with him a few native converts from the Upper Provinces. In 1834-5 the C.M.S. organised the Mission under the Rev. J. C. Thompson. After his departure in 1842 the Mission was left five years without a head, and when in 1847 it was transferred to the S.P.G. it was in a state of collapse. The Rev. S. SLATER, who then took charge,

> "found a congregation assembling twice every Sunday, at a little house in Wellesley Street. The service was performed by a Portuguese Catechist, who read the prayers in Hindustani, but so badly that . . . many respectable people were deterred from going to church. The number of attendants was from twelve to fifteen, all of them very poor and ignorant—maid-servants, table-servants, and sweepers."

During Mr. Slater's ministry the church (begun in 1841) was completed and consecrated in 1848 under the name of St. Saviour's. A congregation was soon gathered, a school opened [1], and when in 1850 he resigned "no inconsiderable progress had been made by him in the very difficult work of dealing with Mahometan minds" [2]. Under the Rev. W. O'BRIEN SMITH (who was sometimes assisted by another Missionary, the work proceeded steadily—not without many discouragements, but still with some appearance of success, souls being gathered in by "ones and twos." Preaching to the Mahommedans and heathen at several stations, distribution of tracts in various languages, discussion with the more learned Mussulmans in the public Persian journals, and religious conversations with inquirers, among whom were some Arabian Jews, were the chief agencies employed. Mr. Smith reported in 1856 that he was seeking to reclaim also the poorer class of Portuguese in Calcutta, who were living "uncared for, in the lanes and gullies . . . unacquainted with even the elements of the faith they profess." Many of them spoke chiefly Hindustani. Regular services were being held also in Bengali [3].

In 1868, having received applications for baptism from Barrackpore and an invitation from a native Sergeant-Major—a Christian—he visited the station, and was surprised to find over forty persons assembled in that officer's quarters, who "earnestly begged" to have a weekly service in Urdu for the special benefit of their families, who did not

understand English, though the soldiers themselves did. With the consent of the Chaplain Mr. Smith agreed to meet their wishes [4].

Since Mr. Smith's retirement in 1871 the St. Saviour's Mission has been subjected to frequent changes of Superintendents [5]. In 1883 it was brought into closer connection with Bishop's College, and in the next year work among the Tamils, which had been begun in 1860, was revived by Mr. Cornelius, a student of the College, and this branch was then represented to be the most encouraging feature of the Mission [6].

(1892–1900.) The trilingual work (in Hindustani, Bengali, and Tamil) has been carried on steadily on the whole in spite of internal dissensions which at times (1896–97) have caused much anxiety [7].

(I.*f*) **Cathedral Mission** (1856–87).—In 1835 the Society became possessed of a donation of Rs.50,000, left by the Begum Sumroo to such Religious Society or Societies in India as the Archbishop of Canterbury might direct. The money was invested and the interest used for general Mission purposes in India [1] until 1841, when, the Bishop of Calcutta having meanwhile appealed for assistance in endowing a Dean and four native Canons in connection with the new Cathedral of St. Paul* then being erected in that city, the Society devoted the fund to founding a Canonry to be held by a native priest, who, besides taking a part in the services of the Cathedral, would be employed as a Missionary to the heathen living around it [2]. Writing in 1842, the Bishop said:—

"The confidence of the Venerable Society, ever since I come out, is amongst the warmest encouragements, under God, that have been granted to my labouring heart. Nor is there anything I more aim at, than to merit the continuance of such confidence in every way in my power" [3].

In 1844 the Bishop visited England for the recovery of his health. His residence in India had exceeded that of his four predecessors put together, and this, the first occasion when an Anglican Bishop had returned from the labours and dangers of an Indian Episcopate, was marked by the presentation of an address of congratulation and welcome from the Society on July 23, 1845. In his reply the Bishop said:—

"I consider the Society more than ever a mighty instrument, based on the footing of our National Church, for the glory of the Lord Christ—liable of course to occasional fluctuations in the measure of its zeal, wisdom and success, as all great and wide-spread institutions in this dark and miserable world of sin and imperfection are—but having in it the elements of unlimited spiritual good, and placed now, by the mercy of Christ, in a most momentous and hopeful position for the diffusion of Christianity in our destitute Colonies, and for the conversion of the heathen world.

. . . . . .

"And I may venture to assure this Society that the progress of religious principle in India during the thirty-one or thirty-two years since the erection of the See, is

* The old Cathedral was the Church of St. John.

almost incredible. The character of the Clergy has been raised; a mild Episcopal Church discipline has been effectually established; the disposition of our Indian rulers towards Christianity has been rendered more favourable; the moral and religious conduct of the servants of the Honourable Company has become purer; the institution of holy matrimony far more honoured; the Lord's-day better sanctified; the number of Chaplains and Missionaries increased ten-fold; churches multiplied, perhaps, twenty-fold; the general esteem for the pious and consistent Ministers and Missionaries of Christ is higher; the attendance on public worship more numerous and punctual; and the reverence for the old-established and scriptural Liturgy, offices, and usages of our Protestant Church, as laid down by our first Reformers, more enlightened and influential. . . . I may be expected to dwell for an instant on the Cathedral of St. Paul's, Calcutta. . . . If nothing else had been done in India, I should bless God for this; and to Him would ascribe the entire praise. I need not repeat my gratitude for the magnitude of the Society's grant. It is chiefly designed for a Cathedral Missionary Establishment for six or more canons, to be supported by its own endowments, and to stand, if it please God, as 'a pillar on the border of the land,' when the English shall have quitted, if ever they should quit, India. . . . The safety of our beloved country may also be assured by the decided and wise course of this great Society in the present emergency. God looks on nations collectively. If governors themselves are backward in their duties to the cause of Christ, it is possible that the efforts of such institutions as this, with our honoured Archbishops and Bishops at its head, may in some measure repair the defect" [4].

The new Cathedral was consecrated on October 8, 1847, the anniversary of the day on which the first stone was laid in 1839. "The ultimate and leading design" in its erection and endowment was "the establishment of a body of Missionary Clergy, who might devote themselves to the enlightenment of the Heathen and Mahommedans" in Calcutta and its neighbourhood, "and gradually . . . gather out from among them a native Christian flock." In accordance with this design the "Cathedral Mission" was begun in April 1850 [5]; and in 1856 Mr. H. H. Sandel, a native who had been for some time labouring as a catechist, was ordained and placed on the Endowment Fund in connection with the Society [6].

In this position he remained for 31 years, occupying his time in ministering to a Bengali congregation in the Cathedral, in preaching to, and holding discussions with, the heathen and other non-Christians in Calcutta and the suburbs, both in public and in private, in establishing and superintending native schools, and generally in extending the influence of the Church. On Dr. Milman becoming Bishop in 1867, the objectionable custom of assigning one of the transepts, instead of the body of the Cathedral, to the Bengali congregation was abolished, and their gratification at the removal of the distinction between them and English Christians was shared by educated Hindoos [7].

Among the latter class also, the majority of whom were inclined to if not actually identified with the Brahmo Somaj, some progress was made, though their readiness to discard their hereditary superstitious belief scarcely carried them beyond Deism. As a body they are "not far from infidelity" (Mr. Sandel wrote in 1872); "they shew no signs of practical personal religion." But as "the present is an age of transition among the Hindoos . . . there is all the more urgent need of impressing this upon them." This is undoubtedly one of the most important and interesting fields of Missionary labour in the present day. Some of the Brahmo Somaj admired Jesus and regarded Him as the greatest Reformer of the World [8].

Though the native Christians were slow to learn the duty of regularly contributing to the support of their religion, their offerings in 1871 not only defrayed local expenses, but admitted of a "first donation" of Rs.30 for Missionary work elsewhere—a sum which was increased four-fold in 1874 [9].

In 1878 a member of the congregation set apart a room in his house to be used as a chapel for his family and the Christians in the neighbourhood, and defrayed all expenses connected with its maintenance [10].

During the latter part of his ministry Mr. Sandel, with the aid of friends, both European and Bengali, secured the erection of a church in Bhowanipore, a suburb where most of his congregation resided; and at his death in 1887 he left Rs.12,000 which had been collected by him as an endowment for the church—a feature unique in the history of the missions in Lower Bengal [11].

By an arrangement made by the Trustees of the Cathedral Mission Endowment (the Bishop and Archdeacon of Calcutta), the Cathedral Mission ceased in 1887 to be directly connected with the Society [12].

(II.) TOLLYGUNGE, 1823-92.

In 1822 the Society undertook to provide clergymen to superintend some schools in Lower Bengal which had been established by the S.P.C.K., and towards the end of 1823 the Rev. W. MORTON was appointed to the charge of the Tollygunge circle [1]. A house was purchased at Tollygunge from Mr. Hill, a dissenting Missionary, who had built it in 1822 for the purpose of establishing a Mission, but had relinquished the station, and Mr. Morton continued in the superintendence of the schools, seven in number (viz. Tollygunge, Ballygunge, Bhowanipore, Callyghaut (or Kali Ghat), Pootoory, Goria, and Birrel), and containing an average of 600 native boys, until his removal to Chinsurah about 1825 [2]. The work was taken up by the Rev. W. TWEDDLE, whose happy temper and good nature greatly contributed to his success. In 1829 Mr. D. JONES, of Bishop's College, was appointed catechist, and an English school was added to the central one at Kali Ghat [3]. This place was then one of the great strongholds of superstition in Bengal, the temple of the goddess Kali there being frequented by Brahmans and other worshippers from the most distant parts of India, and a daily service of offerings and sacrifices was carried on, at a cost estimated to amount to £600

monthly. Mahommedans had been known to take a part in them, and rich gifts being presented from time to time by wealthy Hindoos, the proprietors of the temple (embracing thirty families) were rapidly enriched [4].

In 1830 two young men from Sulkeah, a village 20 miles south of Tollygunge, called to make inquiries about Christianity, and after probation were baptized. Others, encouraged by a visit of Mr. Tweddle to Sulkeah, came forward desiring baptism, some bringing and delivering up their images. (On the appointment of the Rev. J. BOWYER to Barripore in 1833 (*see* p. 486) Sulkeah was transferred to his care.) From Janjera (8 miles south of Tollygunge) a man attended for instruction, and returning to his village announced to his family his intention of giving up caste and embracing Christianity. They excluded him from their circle, but at his request the Missionaries visited Janjera and a school was opened at his house. The villagers then cast out of their communion his whole family, who eventually embraced Christianity. As the numbers began to increase, a cottage in the village was appropriated for service and a school was opened. In all twenty-five persons were baptized in 1830, six from Sulkeah in April and nineteen from Janjera and Devipore in October and December. They were mostly of the poad and teer castes, and renounced caste and idolatry for some time previous to baptism [5].

The work so increased that during the next two years the Rev. J. BOWYER was sent to assist in instructing the converts, but in December 1832 Mr. TWEDDLE died of jungle fever caught at Janjera while attending to the building of a new chapel. The Rev. M. R. DE MELLO superintended the Mission until June 1833, when Mr. JONES was ordained and placed in full charge. In January of that year the Bishop of Calcutta, attended by the Principal of Bishop's College and the Secretary of the local Committee at Calcutta, visited Janjera, examined several of the converts, and encouraged them to persevere. It was his first visit to a Christian body in a heathen village, and the scene was witnessed by all with feelings of no ordinary interest. "Never was I more charmed" (he wrote) "than with examining for myself the native converts, and addressing to them an episcopal exhortation." He also visited some of the native houses. The people were a rude and mostly "an unlettered population," constantly engaged in manual labour, and subsisting principally by agriculture and fishing. Of the baptized, then numbering seventy-nine, fifty-three were confirmed in Calcutta Cathedral in the following April [6]. In 1834 the Bishop again visited the Mission and himself baptized five natives. The general conduct of the Christians was good. At the request of many of them a granary was erected near their chapel, to which those that had land contributed the firstfruits of their harvest for the relief of such of their brethren as were in distress.

Though no perceptible fruit in the way of actual conversion had yet resulted from the Mission Schools in Calcutta neighbourhood, not even in Tollygunge, where the Society's efforts had been most successful, this agency was still regarded as highly serviceable in preparing the way for the reception of the Gospel. But the expense of their maintenance was great, and in the state of the country at that time their management was (in the words of the Calcutta Committee)

"of necessity in a great measure entrusted to heathen teachers . . . a serious drawback upon their utility" [7].

Notwithstanding this and other disadvantages the Mission steadily progressed. The Bishop of Calcutta wrote in 1836 :—

"There is no second example at present of the rapid and solid spread of our healing faith, to be compared with that under Mr. Jones. The scenes of his success are small, lone, agricultural villages, where there are no Brahmins, no heathen temples, no Zemindars—none of those obstacles to the voice and call of truth in the conscience, which most other places present; where caste, moreover, is little regarded, and where in a very short time the numbers will be on the side of Christianity. The magistrate also is a friend to the Religion whose name he bears, and will not allow the Christian to be oppressed because of his conversion to that doctrine. I speak with caution, and ever remembering that the work is in far higher hands than ours, and also bearing in mind how rapidly things may fall back. But I have been narrowly watching the case for three years—I have been over to the villages repeatedly—I admonish the Missionaries whenever I meet them—I examine and catechise them with all the scrutiny I can master, and I am persuaded the work is genuine" [8].

In 1837 a temple of Shiva was presented to the Society by the two chief converts of the village of Sojenaberrea, and being converted into a chapel "those walls which formerly rung with the licentious songs of Krishna" soon resounded with Christian hymns. In 1840 there were many baptisms, and Mr. Jones described his charge as a Church consisting of nearly 1,000 members (scattered over forty different villages), 500 being baptized and 100 being communicants, and the remainder under instruction. The conduct of the baptized generally was satisfactory, but among the catechumens were numbers who came forward "with motives not strictly pure and with mistaken notions of Christianity." Thus at Rajarampore nearly the whole of the inhabitants placed themselves under Christian instruction in 1835, but failing to gain worldly advantages they openly relapsed, and in 1837 again sought admission as catechumens—not, it was believed, from pure motives.

In case of "notorious and flagrant crimes" it was Mr. Jones' custom "to make the delinquents stand in a conspicuous place during the whole of the service, partly to put them to open shame, and partly to deter others from the contagion." Attached to the Mission were chapels at Tollygunge, Janjera, Ragapore, and Sojenaberrea, also buildings used for instruction and service in four other villages [9].

Mr. Jones continued without intermission to labour faithfully and patiently for another thirteen years. At his death in 1853 he left behind him "a goodly band of 470 communicants, 1,031 baptized converts, and 609 catechumens," where on taking charge twenty years before there were only 66 baptized converts [10].

The work was carried on with equal zeal and energy by the Rev. C. E. DRIBERG, from 1854 to his death in 1871 [11], but the history of the Mission during the last thirty years has been one of stagnation and retrogression rather than of continued progress. At no time has the staff been adequate to cope with the task before them, and vigorous evangelistic work has been almost out of the question in view of the requirements of the existing converts, who in their state of miserable ignorance [12] have had to be guarded, not only from relapsing into

heathenism, but also from the aggressions, at one time, as in 1853, of Mormons, and subsequently of Romanists and others [13]. Between 1864 and 1867 the Mission suffered also from storms, every bungalow, church, and school being destroyed in the former year [14]. In 1866 special efforts were made with the view of obtaining a supply of native pastors to work under the European Missionary—a long-felt want [15]; but although the object has since 1874 been partly achieved [16], the Mission cannot yet be regarded as satisfactory [17].

(1892–1900.) The converts held that since their caste was destroyed the Mission was bound to do everything for them, and that by becoming Christians they had been "formed into a separate caste," like, but inferior to, "the castes of the Hindus." Some would secede if they did not get pecuniary help when expected. Famine relief in 1897 produced a better impression on the Hindus and Mohammedans than on many of the Christians. After the famine came the plague, and (more fearful still to the ignorant) plague regulations, which were falsely reported; *e.g.*, the doctors were out cutting people's bodies open and pouring in poison, and the European soldiers were cutting the throats of the people. At these rumours whole villages were emptied, till the panic-stricken folk were met and reassured by the Mission agents. The formation of a "Parish Union" has (1896–1900) been productive of much good [18].

(III.) **SUNDERBUNS** District (Barripore, Mograhat, &c.), 1829–92.

The village of Barripore is situated sixteen miles south of Calcutta. At one time it was a civil station, and numbered among its residents a collector, salt agent, and medical man; but about 1830 these officers were removed and the place resumed its village-like aspect [1]. The district lies amidst a most unwholesome and swampy country, shut out from European society, and for one half of the year the various villages can only be reached in *saltees*, or hollowed trunks of trees, punted across the flooded fields, and under the heat of a tropical sun. Some parts are infested with tigers. The land is so impregnated with salt that the people in the hot season are forced to procure water from a distance [2], and even the crops of rice will not grow well upon it.

In 1820 Mr. Plowden, the salt agent, opened the first school at Barripore, which he superintended and supported until his removal from the place, when it was transferred to the care of the Society's local Committee at Calcutta and placed under the superintendence of the Missionary at Tollygunge, twelve miles from Barripore. This may be considered to have been the commencement of Missionary operations in the Barripore district. But it was not until 1829 that any *direct* measures were taken. In that year two or three families from Sulkeah applied to the Serampore [Baptist] Missionaries for Christian instruction, but finding that distance precluded the hope of any regular pastoral visit, they requested the Society's Missionary at Tollygunge (twenty miles from Sulkeah) to take charge of them, having been introduced to him through the master of the Gurrea school. The applicants, who in proof of their sincerity brought with them some of their idols, were favourably received; two of them were

baptized in 1830 by the Rev. W. TWEDDLE, and he or his catechist, Mr. D. JONES, for a time regularly visited Sulkeah, generally *viâ* Barripore, where, in examining the school, opportunities were afforded for explaining to the heathen listeners the first principles of Christian religion. Each visit occupied two or three days, and a deserted cutchery afforded shelter to the Missionary. Joynagar and Mograhat were also visited by Mr. Tweddle in July 1830, when many expressed a desire to hear and receive the Word, and delivered up specimens of their gods. As the work grew in the immediate neighbourhood of Tollygunge, the visits to Barripore district became less frequent, and the Sulkeah Christians were obliged to go eight miles to Andermanic for service, where, in consequence of an accession of several families, Mr. Tweddle had built a chapel. In June 1833 Barripore was made the centre of a separate Mission, having Andermanic and Sulkeah attached, and the Rev. J. BOWYER was placed in charge; but in January 1834 he was driven from his post by illness, and Barripore was re-united to Tollygunge under the care of the Rev. D. E. JONES and Catechist C. E. DRIBERG. They, however, could devote little time to Barripore district, and all that could be done for the Sulkeah Christians was to place a native catechist there. Moreover a storm in 1833, followed by an inundation of the sea, had flooded the whole country south of Calcutta. The huts of the natives and their rice crops shared a common ruin; and they were preserved from starvation and from begging in the streets of Calcutta, like hundreds of their heathen neighbours, by the kindness of Mr. R. S. Homfray. During the distress, this gentleman came to reside at Barripore as assistant to the salt agent; and collecting many of the Christians together he gave them work in his own grounds, and when the inundation had partially passed away he furnished them with paddy seed and sent them back to their villages. Ever ready to promote the Mission, Mr. Homfray put the Morning Prayers of the Church into Bengali in Roman characters, and in the absence of the Missionaries he used to assemble the Christians in his study for prayers.

In 1835 Mr. C. E. DRIBERG was ordained and placed at Barripore. On arriving he found a dissenting Missionary there; but this gentleman having obtained a secular appointment under Government, soon left. With the assistance of Mr. A. H. Moore (appointed Catechist in 1836 and ordained in 1839) daily service was begun at Barripore in a small room formerly used as the salt office; a chapel was built at Sulkeah on ground given by a native convert; schools were established in several villages (one at Kalipore being built at the entire expense of a native Christian in 1837); and the work was so organised and developed that at the end of 1845 the Mission comprised eight circles, extending forty miles in a direct line from Altaberriea in the north and to Kharri in the south, and containing fifty-four villages, occupied by 1,443 converts and catechumens, two puckha churches, and many thatched places of worship. At all the principal villages native readers were stationed to teach the Christians and assemble them for prayers.

The Missionaries had had their "full share" of "difficulties, discouragements, and opposition."

On one occasion Mr. Moore and Mr. Driberg were hemmed in the chapel at Andermanic by a gang of heathen armed with clubs, led on

by an apostate Christian, and had to stand a siege of over two hours, terminated happily by the arrival of the police. At another time, when a Brahmin of high caste had been converted, the Mission-house was beset for two days by large parties of heathen, instigated by the Zemindar; and at night the huts of several Christians were reduced to ashes—an attempt to burn the school having proved abortive.

But these ebullitions (added Mr. Driberg) were only exhibited when any circumstance of great excitement occurred, and even then the storms of passion soon subsided and were followed by a strong and favourable reaction; for in general the feeling towards the Missionary was anything but hostile, specially among the ryots, who for the most part appeared to feel his presence as some sort of protection and security against their Zemindars, who in turn were fearful of exposure. Moreover the Brahmins and others of the better class, though they looked with an eye of ill-will and envy at the fruit of his labours, and would have been among the first to join in any operations against him, were alive enough to their own interests in seeking the benefits of English education at his hands.

On taking charge, Mr. Driberg sought to obtain a piece of ground for a Christian burial-place. For some time nobody would give him any for love or money, and when at last he found a man anxious to dispose of a plot to meet a financial difficulty, double the full value was exacted.

In 1836–7 Mr. Homfray purchased a small estate a few miles to the south-east of Barripore, and devoted a portion of it to the formation of a village to serve as an asylum for native Christians fleeing from the oppression of their Zemindars. In the course of a few years it became "a very pleasing Christian colony," living in a happy way, free from apprehension of oppression, and ministered to in a chapel built at the expense of Mr. Homfray, who also gave the Mission 18 biggahs of land. After Mr. Homfray's death this village, known as "Mogra (Homfray's)," or "Bon Mogra," was sold to the heathen Zemindar, and some of the Christians removed.

During 1887–8 the whole of the families residing at Béreallé in Mogra-hât renounced caste and sought Christian instruction. But "a fierce persecution" was raised against them by the adjoining Mahommedan Zemindar, and to prevent their ejection the Society purchased the hamlet for Rs.95, and thus was secured the foundation of the Mission-station of Mograhat.

In February 1842 the first confirmation at Barripore was held in the temporary church, when 193 candidates were confirmed. During the next four years substantial and beautiful permanent churches were erected at these two stations—that of St. Peter's, Barripore (opened May 6, 1845), being consecrated on November 30, 1846, and St. Andrew's, Mograhat, on the following day—both by the Bishop of Madras, who also confirmed eighty candidates, and was much impressed by the reality of the work of the Mission.

The church at Mograhat was designed by the Rev. J. G. Driberg, and much of the building was the work of his own hands. Every ounce of lime, and sand, and paint, and every inch of timber, had to be transported from Calcutta, thirty miles distant. A tower was added in order to afford a residence for the Catechist. How necessary was

the provision of suitable churches, decently furnished, will be gathered from a statement made by the Rev. C. E. DRIBERG in 1841. Of the building used as a church at Barripore, he said: "There is no font," and added: "but this is a general evil; there is not one in the whole extent of the . . . Society's Missions in Bengal." A large proportion of the cost of erecting the new churches was raised in India.

Besides the labours of the resident Missionaries, the Rev. A. STREET, the Society's Secretary at Calcutta, had done much to bring the two Mission stations into a "flourishing condition." Since the Rev. C. E. DRIBERG had been Missionary, there had been only one case of apostasy. At Mograhat, when some years before a hurricane had swept away the village and left its inhabitants destitute, the native landowners, who were pressing them for payment of rent, offered to remit a year's rent if they would abjure Christianity. But the people preferred to risk utter destitution rather than yield; and the Sulkeah Christians, hearing of this, collected Rs.60 for their relief. The brethren at Sulkeah were distinguished for their steadfastness and charity, and it was recorded of them in 1841 that, as they were the first to embrace the Christian religion, so are they "always foremost in every good work."

During the Bishop's tour he visited the temple of Jugganath, the most sacred and interesting spot in the world to the Hindu, after Benares. The temple, said to be 800 years old, consists of one very lofty dome of a singular form, surrounded by other buildings of different shape and height. All access to the interior is forbidden to Christians. At the festival of the Ruth or Car, held in June, the number of visitors varied from 80,000 to 100,000, seventy-five per cent. being women. It was still the custom at the period of the Bishop's visit for the car to be dragged forth, but no compulsion was used, except that of religious fanaticism, to induce the votaries to draw it; and the former practice of persons casting themselves down to be crushed to death under the huge wheels had long been unknown. The hideous wooden idol, shut up in the temple, was renewed from time to time, on which occasions the substance imagined to contain the Deity was removed by a Brahman from the old and placed within the breast of the new idol; and it was a legendary belief that the Brahman thus employed always died within the year. The number of deaths among the pilgrims during the festival of the Ruth was 700 in 1843. The Pilgrim Tax introduced in the seventeenth century had been continued by the British Government from 1803 to 1840, when it was abolished, but the Government still contributed annually to the maintenance of the temple [3].

In 1846 the Mission was divided into three circles, the most populous and northern part remaining under the Rev. C. E. DRIBERG; the central, "Mograhat," being assigned to the Rev. J. G. DRIBERG; "Barripore South" to the Rev. A. H. MOORE [4]. But this arrangement was subject to interruption, and the growing wants of the Christian congregations demanded so much attention as to leave little time for preaching to the heathen [5]. At the celebration of the Society's Jubilee in 1852 nearly 900 native converts met at Barripore, the Missionaries and chief men among them walking in procession to church, singing as they went. It has been often noticed that the face

of the Hindu becomes brighter and more intelligent after his conversion; and on this occasion the quiet and cheerful behaviour of the Christians was in strong contrast to the clamour and wrangling common to native assemblages. The Europeans present were gratified and edified by what they had heard and seen. In the words of the Report of 1852 :—

"Many, after this spectacle, must have felt that the work of Missions was a more real and hopeful thing than they could have conceived from reports, and must have been encouraged by what they had seen of its results to assist, with not perhaps greater faith, but with greater cordiality, in its promotion.

"The sight of so many hundreds rescued from heathenism might well raise in us serious misgivings as to our means of keeping them in the right way" [6].

In the next year some Mormonites visited the district and succeeded in deluding some to adopt their abominable system. The Christians generally, and even the well-disposed heathen, were however disgusted with the sinful practices of the new teachers [7].

Failure also attended an attempt made in 1854 to introduce caste prejudices among the Christians [8], but in 1867 fresh difficulties arose on this head [9], and in 1869 several of the Mograhat Christians "joined the Baptists, avowedly in the hope of getting money" [10].

In the past 20 years (1870–92) the Mission has suffered serious reverses, arising chiefly from a lack of proper supervision. The European Missionaries have been numerically weak, and their power for good has been much lessened by the confessed inefficiency of the native catechists and readers employed. Thus the people have remained in a state of deplorable ignorance and partial neglect, and many have been drawn away by the Roman Catholics and other bodies. To superintend Christians scattered in 75 villages over a large extent of country is beyond the power of any one man; and the Rev. W. DREW, who did his best to grapple with the task, reported in 1875–6 that the Mission was "perceptibly melting away," an active Jesuit Missionary having some time before formed a settlement at Kharri, and his influence had so extended that there was now "a recognised community, with a staff of officers, in almost every one of the stations." In some places two-thirds of the converts had gone over, in others, one-half. The plan adopted by the intruder was to lavish money freely for the relief of all immediate wants, and next to purchase landed property, on which people would be induced to settle by the offer of protection and easier terms than those offered by the Zemindars.

The Society has made strenuous and prolonged efforts to revive, build up, and extend the weak and struggling Church in the Barripore district; and after a long period of disappointment and despair there are at last increasing signs of hope and encouragement.

Local Church Councils, instituted in 1882, have helped to awaken interest and zeal; and from a movement set on foot at the meeting of the District Church Council in 1891 there is now a prospect that the native converts will eventually contribute according to their means to the support of their religion—a duty hitherto much neglected.

Owing to the lack of means it was necessary in 1888 to endeavour

to secure the administration of the Mission by a native clergyman; but this plan has "proved a failure," and it is evident that if any permanent improvement is to be effected, not only must the native staff be strengthened, but the management of the whole must again be entrusted to resident European Missionaries. To obtain men qualified for this arduous task is not an easy matter; and meanwhile (1890-92) invaluable assistance in the superintendence of the work is being rendered by the Rev. H. WHITEHEAD, Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta, and by members of the Oxford Mission, Calcutta [11].

(1892-1900.) There has not been "much visible progress," but the people are "unlearning the idea that it is the duty of the Missionary to provide for all their wants without any corresponding sacrifice on their part." They are "simple, truthful, and obedient, not litigious, and they are Church-goers; drunkenness is absolutely unknown among them." But they are very poor and ignorant, and their indifference to sanitary requirements adds to the natural unhealthiness of the district. "There is scarcely a man, a woman, or a child in the district who has not to suffer, from some kind of malady or other, at the least ninety days in a year" * [12].

At one of Bishop Welldon's first confirmations, held at Jaydergote, a member of the congregation presented the Bishop with a small portion of land adjoining the church compound [12*a*].

* A medical examination in two places showed that "39 per cent. of the children have enlarged spleen."

(IV.) BHAGALPORE and RAJ MAHAL, 1824-7.

In 1824 the Rev. T. CHRISTIAN, a Missionary of the Society at Cossipore (*see* p. 478), was transferred by the Bishop of Calcutta to Bhagalpore, in Behar, in order to open a Mission among the tribes inhabiting the mountains north and west of Raj Mahal. The Paharees, as these tribes are called, are an aboriginal race, untrammelled by caste and Hindu idolatry, and though extremely ignorant and superstitious, were liberal in their opinions of those who differed from them. At Mr. Christian's first visit they feared he was a sorcerer, and that his object was to carry off their children; but one chief suggested that it was unlikely that he would leave the society of people like himself to come among the Paharees in order to prevail on them to embrace a falsehood, and gave it as his opinion that "God in pity to them had sent" him "to instruct them." This had great weight with the villagers. Some children were entrusted to the Missionary for education, two the sons of a chief, and in 1825 two children were baptized. One of the customs of the Paharees called "tamasha," consisted in the sacrifice of animals to their god, accompanied by drinking, dancing and music, every one, without exception of age or sex, becoming more or less drunk; but Mr. Christian was assured that "as soon as the true way of God was perfectly known among them they would all walk in it . . . they could not give up their present customs until they had learned better." Though able to reside among them only from December to March (owing to the unhealthiness of the hills), and with no better accommodation than a hut, Mr. Christian so won their esteem and confidence as to be received "with every mark of the utmost cordiality and listened to with the greatest attention." During

the remainder of the year he was occupied in officiating at Bhagalpore, and (once a month) at Monghir, an invalid station 40 miles distant; also in reducing the Paharee language to writing, compiling a vocabulary, and endeavouring to translate portions of the Scripture. By the Bishop of Calcutta the Mission was regarded "as the nucleus of future possible good, on a more extended scale than any other district in India," but with the death of Mr. Christian, "who fell a sacrifice to the climate of the hills" on December 16, 1827, this hopeful prospect vanished.

"To the College and its Missions the loss is I fear irreparable" (wrote the Principal of Bishop's College). "He possessed, far beyond others of superior talents to himself, the art of winning and securing the regard and esteem of the natives of every class; the simple inhabitants of the hills considered him in the light of a superior being, and gave a proof of their attachment and confidence which, to all experienced in such intercourse, will appear extraordinary and almost unparalleled; that of confiding their children, at a distance from themselves, entirely and absolutely to his care. Of few can it be said, as of him, that the savage of the hills, the prejudiced and blinded Hindoo, and the polished and intelligent European unite in admiring and regretting him."

The Society was unable to renew the Mission.

(V.) CHINSURAH, 1825–36.

Chinsurah was formerly a Dutch settlement on the Hooghly, some 30 miles above Calcutta. On its cession to England about 1825 the church, a handsome building, was fitted up by Government, and the Rev. W. MORTON was stationed there by the Society to open a Mission. The Anglican Ministry and Liturgy were introduced, the Rev. Dr. MILL, Principal of Bishop's College, preaching on the occasion [1].

Besides ministering to a Netherlandish and English flock and superintending two schools, Mr. Morton undertook the compilation of a Bengali and English dictionary, and a Bengali translation of the Liturgy. During the greater part of 1830 he was absent on sick leave and again in 1832–3 at the Seychelles (p. 369). On both occasions after his return he was provisionally engaged as Assistant Chaplain to the East India Company at Chinsurah; but while holding this position he continued his work of translation, and in 1834 undertook the care of six native schools which had been transferred to the Society by the Board of Public Instruction. The schools were situated at Haleeshor, Balee, Noyhattee, Khenkshyalee, Gaurapara, Mankoonda, and another was added at Mooktapoor. On the transfer the Bishop explained to the teachers and pupils that Christian teaching would be introduced, but the change was followed by a considerably increased attendance.

Shortly before his final departure, in 1836, Mr. Morton reported that for 20 years or more Christian Missionaries had been employed in "tilling and sowing with the seed of eternal life this ungenial soil of moral blindness and degeneracy," but that "not *one* convert has been as yet gained to the Church of the Redeemer." The Schools, how-

ever, were flourishing, and preparing the way for the reception of Christianity.

For want of funds the Society was unable to continue the maintenance of the Schools after 1836, and they were given up [2].

(VI.) MIDNAPORE, 1836.

Midnapore is an extensive district in the Province of Orissa, the wilder regions of which are inhabited by Santals. It was one of the first parts of Bengal occupied by the British, having been ceded by the Nawab of Bengal in 1760. The Rev. W. MORTON was placed at the town of Midnapore to open a Mission in 1836, but he had only just commenced residence when illness obliged him to leave. There was then no one to replace him [1], and the question of re-occupying the station was not entertained until 1855, when, on the proposal of certain residents for the settlement of a Missionary who should also to a certain extent act as Chaplain, the Society granted £50 a year to supplement Government and local contributions [2]. The arrangement, however, does not appear to have been carried out so far as the Society is concerned.

(VII.) TAMLOOK District (Meerpur), 1838–92.

The Rev. M. R. DE MELLO, being in 1828 in charge of the Howrah Mission, was applied to for employment in a menial capacity by some people calling themselves Christians, and saying that they formed part of a congregation residing in a hamlet called Meerpore, near Geonkaly, at the mouth of the Roopnarain. They ascribed their origin as a Christian community to the labours of some Roman Catholic priests, and particularly to Padre Simon of Calcutta, by whom most of the then existing community had been baptized. But they had long been neglected. Nothing could then be done directly for their benefit, but subsequently such children as they were willing to send for education were received into the Howrah Mission School. In November 1833 six families, in all 26 persons, came from those parts to settle at Howrah, where they sought instruction from Mr. de Mello, and were baptized in Bishop's College Chapel on March 3, 1834, after having been twice examined by the Bishop of Calcutta. Learning from these and others that there were Christians at Meerpur deserted by their priest, and urged by Mr. Homfray, the Rev. J. BOWYER of Howrah, accompanied by Mr. Homfray, visited the place in December 1838, "and found a village of nominal Christians, numbering . . . 97, with scarcely any sign of Christianity except a few images of the Virgin Mary and

Saints, no public worship, no prayer, no Scriptures, no Sacraments." They gladly consented to receive instruction, and shortly afterwards two native Christian teachers were sent to them, 20 of the children were baptized, and Mr. Bowyer visited them occasionally.

At the end of 1839 Mr. DE MELLO was appointed to the charge of the Mission. A house was rented for him at Tamlook, a chapel erected at Geonkaly in 1840, and at Meerpore (12 miles from Tamlook) a chapel was built (opened May 16, 1841), with a small apartment attached (made of mats and thatch) in which he made it his practice to reside away from all society and civilised life a great part of the year. His congregation at this place (made up of the descendants of Romish converts) were "more difficult to be disciplined than the heathen themselves"; indeed, owing to their long neglect, their habits and morals when he took charge were "as bad as, if not in some cases worse than, those of heathens around them." Living among them as he did, Mr. de Mello was enabled by precept and example to lead them to higher things. Thirty-four were confirmed at Bishop's College in 1847, and seven years later the Rev. C. E. DRIBERG reported that the stability and progress of the Mission were mainly due to Mr. de Mello's labours. The people welcomed the visits of the clergyman; they were orderly, devout, and attentive at service; and "nearly all the grown-up women" were "able to read." The pastoral care of Meerpore was now managed almost entirely by native agency (visits being paid occasionally by clergymen) [1]; and on June 29, 1862, BROJONATH PAL, who had been nine years in charge as catechist, was ordained. On this occasion "the whole ordination service was performed for the first time in the Bengali language." In Meerpore there were then 132 Christians, almost all peasants and dependent on agriculture [2].

During a hurricane in 1864 many sought protection at Mr. Pal's house, but a huge tree falling on it they fled to the church. While they were there a storm-wave swept the roof, walls, and doors and windows into a confused mass. Mr. Pal got his family and others on a thatched roof floating by—40 souls in all. The roof of another house fell on them and killed several; the rest were carried towards the river, which threatened to swallow them up, but the raft striking against a tree they were enabled to fasten it, and there remained till the waters receded. In all 16 of the 40 were lost [3].

The subsequent history of the Mission at Meerpore has been one of quiet progress [4].

NOTE.—From 1840 to 1844 the villages of Bosor and Diggeepara were included in the Tamlook Mission. They were formerly stations of the C.M.S., and in 1840 Mr. de Mello found a chapel at each place, and in all 94 professing Christians, only 23 of whom had been baptized. During the next three years 46 were baptized at Diggeepara, and in 1844, in consequence of the difficulty of visiting from Tamlook, 45 miles distant, both stations were transferred to the Barripore Mission [5].

(VIII.) **PATNA**, 1860–71. In 1859 the Rev. M. J. J. VARNIER, then known as Father Felix, Roman Catholic Chaplain at Allahabad, left the Church of Rome, and after spending six months at Bishop's College, Calcutta, was accepted as a Missionary by the Society and sent to Patna, the capital of Behar, a city seven miles long, and three-fourths of whose population were Hindus and the rest Mahommedans. The latter included the most fanatical of that religion, the Wahabe sect, whose head-quarters were at Patna. Besides the permanent population, from March to May in each year the opium trade brought a large influx of country people, who were very willing to hear and learn the truth. Mr. Varnier, who arrived on February 20, 1860, received great assistance from the Rev. W. C. Bromehead, Chaplain of Dinapore, and began work by establishing schools, preaching in the bazaar, and carrying on religious conversations in private circles of native society [1]. In 1860 a second Missionary was appointed to Patna, the Rev. F. PETTINATO, but he did not remain long [2]. During Mr. Varnier's absence in England on sick leave, 1863–6, the Mission—entrusted to the Rev. R. L. BONNAUD, the Rev. W. M. LETHBRIDGE, and the Rev. R. MOOR—declined [3]; but Mr. Varnier was gladly welcomed on his return by the heathen, who listened with attention to his preaching, and at one time scarcely a day passed without inquiries from the young Bengalee Brahmos, some of whom accompanied him when he went preaching to the Hindus. In 1866 he exchanged visits with Keshub Chunder Sen, whom he regarded as an instrument of God for paving the way to the reception of Christianity [4]. The Mission, however, became a source of great anxiety to the Society, and in 1872 it was deemed advisable to suspend it [5].

From the proceeds of the Mission buildings purchased in 1862 and sold in 1875, there is now a Special Fund of Rs. 19,500 available for the renewal of work in Patna [6].

(IX.) **DINAPORE** (10 miles from Patna), 1876–8, 1884–92.

About 1863 a Mission School of the Society at Patna was transferred to Dinapore [1], and in 1867 the Rev. M. J. J. VARNIER and Rev. W. M. LETHBRIDGE of Patna visited and held services at Dinapore. They represented the need of a resident Missionary [2], and later on the Rev. F. Orton, the Chaplain of Dinapore, secured ELAHI BAKSH, first as a Scripture Reader, and afterwards as Curate, for the Hindustani-speaking native Christians there. When leaving on furlough, Mr. Orton, desirous of rendering the arrangement permanent, proposed to place

Mr. Baksh in connection with the Society, the greater part of his salary being provided by the European and native congregations. This was agreed to in 1876, but within two years Mr. Baksh died. The Society promised to continue its aid if a successor could be found [3], but its connection with Dinapore does not appear to have been resumed until 1884. Since then the native work has been carried on by lay agency, generally under the superintendence of the Chaplain [4].

(X.) **BURISAL**, 1869–80. In 1869 the Society's local Committee in Calcutta (under whose notice the subject had been brought eight years before) made a small grant towards the support of a Mission at Burisal, which, having been originally founded by the Baptists and afterwards abandoned, was being maintained by the personal efforts and liberality of a resident layman, Mr. Bareiro. About 1871 Mr. Bareiro was ordained by Bishop Milman of Calcutta, and for three years (1873–5) his name was retained on the list of the Society, whose aid to the Mission was discontinued on his death in February 1880. For a portion of the year 1874 the Rev. D. G. DUNNE was stationed at Burisal, but beyond these facts and that quiet progress was made little is recorded of the Mission [1].

(1895–1900.) Practically the Mission was abandoned until 1895, when, on the urgent petition of Christians in the district, the Bishop of Calcutta thought it right to revive it, and the Society formally adopted it and provided the means for its maintenance. Previously to this action the Rev. H. Whitehead had visited the villages with the Rev. B. Bhuttacharji, and had questioned a large number of the people, who satisfied him that they formerly belonged to the Church of England, and that their desire for the Sacraments of the Church was "genuine and based on intellectual grounds." In December 1895 Mr. Bhuttacharji baptized 140 of the people, received 400 into the Communion of the Church, and made temporary arrangements for carrying on the work. Since 1896 the Mission has been worked by "the Oxford Mission," the Society providing the funds. As revived the Mission was described, in 1897-98, as comprising the north-west corner of the Burisal or Backergunge district, the south-east portion of the Faridpur district, and an outlying station in the Khulna district on the edge of the Sunderbuns. These three are the central districts of the Ganges delta, and are together considerably larger than Yorkshire, the population being about 6,000,000. Of these about 8,000 to 10,000 were Christians, the majority belonging to the Baptist Mission. There are also small Roman Catholic and Presbyterian Missions. In 1898 there were in the Society's Mission about 1,200 adherents and 400 communicants, and in the schools 700 children, of whom 226 were Christians, and the rest Hindus and Mussulmans; these people are scattered in thirty-two different villages, which are very difficult of access for a great part of the year, when the ground is

too dry for a boat and too wet for walking. The houses are built on artificial islands in the middle of the paddy-fields. The Missionaries devote the early part of the year to pastoral visitation and evangelistic work, and the rainy season to a thorough examination and inspection of the schools. It is, of course, impossible for them efficiently to preach the Gospel to such a large tract of country, containing 8,600 villages, but efforts are directed to making each village, where there are Christians, an evangelistic centre with a school; in these schools it generally happens that round a small nucleus of Christian children a large number of Hindus and Mussulmans gather. The parents have comparatively little of the prejudice against Christianity which is found in large towns, and it is among them that the evangelistic work seems to be most hopeful.

As this district cannot with advantage be worked from Calcutta, 200 miles away, the Missionaries hope to build a house and settle at Palordi [2].

(XI.) CHHOTA (or CHOTA) NAGPUR (S.P.G. Period 1869-92).

Chhota Nagpur is a tract of hilly country in the Province of Bengal. It lies two hundred miles west by north of Calcutta, and is equal in extent to England. Its central portion is a plateau over 2,000 feet above sea level, in area about 7,000 square miles. The whole division, as the territory under the British Commissioner is called, is divided into five districts. The Ranchi district upon the table-land, the Hazaribagh district to the north of Ranchi, and the Singbhum on the plains to the south and east of Ranchi, are included in the Society's field. In the two remaining districts—Manbhum and Palamow—there are a few isolated Christians, but no resident Missionary. Besides the strictly British territory Chhota Nagpur contains seven States in which native Rajahs are permitted to exercise some power. In these, with the exception of one catechist, there are no Missionaries belonging to the Anglican Church.

The country is a pleasant one, and its elevation gives it a climate which in some parts (as in Ranchi and Hazaribagh) is not tropical in the ordinary sense, hough Chaibasa, on the other hand, is one of the hottest places in India.

The chief tribes amongst whom the Society works are Oráons, Mundás Hos, and Santáls. In the Ranchi district Oráons and Mundás predominate, Hos in Singbhum, and Santáls in the eastern portions of the Hazaribagh district. The Santáls, Mundás, and Hos are all akin. The Oráons have traditions of their own arrival on the scene after being driven out of Behar, at a time when the Mundás were sole occupants. But they have always lived in amity, and have many customs and most beliefs in common with the Mundás. These tribes have been termed Kolarian and Dravidian (any distinction between these terms is now given up by ethnologists), and they are supposed to be clans of some great race, which worked its way up into India from the South untold ages ago, possibly from Africa, coming along the chain of islands which used to connect India with the ancient land of Cush. The Hindus group them all together contemptuously as Kôls, or pig-eaters. There is, indeed, a distinct tribe which calls itself Kol in Singbhum. *Kôl* in their case is said to mean a man; so does *Ho*. *Oráon* probably means a man also, as the Malay *Orang*. The Mundás call their language *Horo kaji*, or man's speech. These Dravidian tribes, together with others of a Mongoloid origin, formed the original population of pr historic Bengal.

Besides the aforementioned tribes there are many others, some extremely wild. There are the cowherds, weavers, musicians, fishers, and mat and basket-making classes. There are many tribes in process of becoming Hinduised, and numbers of low-caste Mohammedans. In short, Chhota Nagpur, like any other part of India, is inhabited by a medley of incongruous peoples, whom the more one studies the more diverse they appear. The "Kôls" (generally) were described by a former Governor-General of India (Lord Northbrook) as being "some of the most lively and cheery people in the world."

The population of Chhota Nagpur proper, according to the census of 1891, was 4,628,792, the majority being aborigines, and the chief tribes: Santáls (1,470,825), Hos and Kols (393,000), Oráons (482,153), Mundás (362,687), Bhuiyas (500,000), and Kharwars (218,000). The bulk of the people inhabit the thousands of little mud-built villages scattered over the country, and hidden amid groves of mango, tamarind, and sál trees, only four per cent. living in towns. The religion of these people may be called Demonolatry, having for its object the propitiation of malignant spirits, who are supposed to abound everywhere and to be bloodthirsty. The Demons, or Bhuts, are propitiated with sacrifices of buffaloes, goats, pigs, fowls, &c. The Mundás burn their dead, and place the charred bones under large flat stones. All the heathen Kols believe in witchcraft, and alleged witches are often ill-treated and driven from their homes, many in former times being murdered.

The frequent demands for sacrifices to propitiate the demons often make men weary of the whole system of heathenism, and thus, while fear of the malignity of the Bhúts sometimes deters men from embracing a religion which forbids sacrificing to demons, it often leads men to seek for protection from their malice by adopting Christianity. In some parts it is a general belief that Bhúts have not power over the followers of Christ.

Marriage is a matter of bargain. One wife is the rule, though polygamy is frequent when a first wife is childless. Infant marriage is not practised, but girls are married about the age of fourteen, except the Hos, among whom, between the ages of fifteen and forty, half the women and more than half the men are unmarried! To this—which does not appear to be paralleled in India—the Hos probably owe their fine physique and virility.

In some respects the aborigines compare favourably with other inhabitants of India—*e.g.* more or less in truthfulness and honesty, to a much greater degree in cheerfulness. Dancing is a national institution. The dances being connected with heathen festivals take place at night, and some of the songs are indecent, so they have always been forbidden to Christian converts. Drunkenness* is almost universal on some occasions, but it would be incorrect to describe the people as habitual drunkards. As a natural consequence of such conditions sexual immorality among those of the same tribe is common and easily condoned.

Before the arrival of the Missionaries the people were quite illiterate, not even having a written language. Yet they possess an average intellectual capacity, and arrive at a fairly high standard when their education is commenced when they are young.

Generally speaking, they are not handsome. The mass of them are very poor, but their wants are so few that there is but little real distress, except when the crops have failed. Many of them suffer annoyance and oppression from the more acute Hindus and Mussulmans, who own or lease their villages, which, excepting those of the Hos, are generally very dirty.

The statement that the aborigines of India do not recognise caste distinctions is too general, as some of them will not eat or drink or intermarry with persons of another tribe, or of some subdivision of their own tribe. This may be the result of contact with Hindus, whose claim to superiority and purity seems to have a great attraction for their less civilised neighbours.

Agriculture, on which most of the people of Chhota Nagpur depend, procures but a scanty subsistence, and the surplus population goes off to Calcutta, Assam, and other places to work as labourers in gardens, tea plantations, railways, &c. It was in this way that the Kols attracted the attention of four German Missionaries in Lutheran Orders (viz. Pastors E. Schatz, F. Batsch, A. Brandt, and H. Janké), who, having been sent to India in 1844 by Pastor Gossner† of Berlin, were lingering in Calcutta for a while, seeking some field of labour. Finding that Missionaries had never laboured in Chhota Nagpur, the Germans established themselves at Ranchi, the civil station of the province, in March 1845. But the people they came to convert, though free from caste and from Mahommedan fanaticism, were steeped in vice, and were almost destitute of any

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* Rice beer was for a long while the chief drink in Chhota Nagpur. Of late years a spirit distilled from the Mahawa flower has become more popular. It is a curious fact that, though strong drink was forbidden his followers by "the Prophet," nearly all of the public-houses were reported in 1893 to be in the hands of Mussulmans.

† John Evangelist Gossner, a Bavarian, born in 1773, ordained priest in the Roman Catholic Church in 1796. His leanings to the reformed faith led to his excommunication and to his joining the Lutherans.

religion. There was no word in their language for God, their general belief being confined to evil spirits and to witchcraft. As they had no written language, but were acquainted with Hindi, portions of the New Testament in Hindi were distributed among them. But frequently the Missionaries were stoned out of the villages, and at the end of five years they had not made a single convert, though a few orphans had been entrusted to them by the magistrate of the district. At last, in March 1850, some men of the sect of Satgurus began to come to the Missionaries at Ranchi asking to see Jesus. In April four of them "heard gladly the Gospel" from the Rev. F. Batsch, "but at the end they came again with their urgent wish to see Jesus." Mr. Batsch took them into his room, made them kneel down, and prayed with and for them. In consequence of his doing this "they for a time remained away"; but in May there came three others, named Gura, Kesu, and Doman, and watched the English service, and observing that the "sahibs" worshipped Jesus without seeing Him they "went away silently," and, after a consultation with others of their sect, were, with a son-in-law of Kesu, instructed, and eventually baptized "in June 1850." These were "*the first adults baptized in the Mission.*" A number of orphan children had been already baptized—in June, 1846. During the next seven years over 700 converts were gathered. These were scattered by the Mutiny in 1857, but their very scattering tended to the spread of Christianity among those who sheltered them, and by 1860 their number had doubled. At the close of the Mutiny, Pastor Gossner proposed to transfer the Mission and his funds to the C.M.S. The offer was not accepted, but it led to a grant of £1,000 from the C.M.S. in 1858, and at the death of Gossner in that year a Committee was formed in Berlin to carry on the work. In April 1864 Bishop Cotton of Calcutta witnessed the baptism of 143 persons at Ranchi. He described the service as "sublime," and learning that the Mission was in pecuniary straits he suggested to the Berlin Committee that if they could not supply the necessary funds the work should be carried on by the C.M.S. In the same year an Auxiliary Committee was formed in Calcutta, and soon the larger portion of the funds required was raised among the Europeans in India. Previously to 1861 two of the four original Missionaries had died, one had returned home in broken health in 1860, and Mr. F. Batsch alone remained. Others had however been sent out by Gossner. In 1868 the Committee at Berlin proposed entirely to alter the constitution and organisation of the Mission, a measure which was distasteful to the elder Missionaries and to the English residents. Charges made against the integrity of the elder Missionaries were proved to be groundless; nevertheless their connection with the Berlin Committee was severed and they were obliged to quit the church and buildings, which had been the work of their own hands. Since 1860 over 11,000 Kols had been baptized, and the number actually living in Chota Nagpur in 1868 was about 9,000. The greater part of these, supported by the English residents, petitioned the Bishop of Calcutta to receive them and their pastors into the Church of England; and Bishop Milman, who had long held aloof in the hope of a reconciliation being effected, was unable, after full inquiry, to resist their entreaties. Finding that there was no prospect of the C.M.S. adopting the Mission he turned to the S.P.G., and supported by its readiness to do so* he formally received 7,000 Kol Christians at Ranchi by admitting their communicants (624) to confirmation on April 17, 1869, and their three Pastors—Messrs. F. BATSCH, H. BATSCH, and F. BOHN to full Orders on the following day, Sunday. On the same occasion DAOUD SINGH (or W. LUTHER), a native Catechist (by caste a Rajput), was ordained deacon, and 650 persons communicated [1].

The Chota Nagpur Mission being now definitely associated with the Society, the Rev. J. C. WHITLEY was transferred there from Delhi to comfort and sustain the German clergy. He arrived at Ranchi on Sunday, June 21, 1869, and after three months' close intercourse with his associates he wrote:—

"I feel that they are men with whom it is a pleasure and a privilege to work. "The temporary church is a large shed, with a roof of red tiles, and floor of mud. . . . It was a very delightful sight to me to see several hundred Kol Christians sitting on the floor, waiting to join in Divine worship. The responses were hearty, and the singing very good. The church is always well attended, especially on the Sundays when Holy Communion is celebrated. . . . The number of communicants has ranged from 212 to 254, which is rather below the average, as this is the rainy season. . . . Every morning and evening the children of the schools, and the people who live near, meet for prayer, and for hearing the Holy Scriptures explained. On Sunday there are

* In 1840, that is five years before the German Missionaries arrived, the Society expressed to the Bishop of Calcutta its willingness to undertake a Mission to the "Coles," who had been brought under his notice by Major Ownby [1*a*].

two services in Hindi, and an early service in English for the residents of the station and the officers of the Native regiment at Dorundah. People from distant villages often come into Ranchi for Sundays, and for their shelter long sheds are constructed on the Mission premises, where they live during their stay. On Monday mornings those who have any troubles to tell, or any advice to ask, meet together in the schoolroom, and after their matters are discussed they are dismissed with prayer" [2].

The Christians living in Ranchi formed a very small part of the whole, the bulk of them being scattered in over 300 villages, some at a distance of forty miles. In October 1869 the district was divided into thirty-five circles, in each of which a reader or teacher was stationed. During the next few months thirty-two chapels and several readers' houses were erected, the people in nearly every instance giving some assistance. In some villages there was but a single family, or a single person, Christian; in others nearly all the people had renounced heathenism. Of one place it was remarked that every stranger that came there soon became a Christian. The spread of Christianity alarmed many of the heathen headmen, who were generally Hindus and did all they could to hinder it; and in some cases they succeeded in driving the Christians from their lands and villages. Between April 1869 and March 31, 1870, 781 persons (533 being converts) were baptized, and there was a two-fold increase in the congregations, the school children, and the teachers.

"This progress" (wrote the Missionaries) "would afford us no satisfaction if it were accompanied by loss of charity; but . . . we do not perceive among our people any enmity or want of love towards their brother Christians of the German congregation. We use our utmost endeavours to promote this love, and have not been disappointed."

Much was done also to soften the animosity of the Lutheran Missionaries, whose accessions in the same period were still larger, and who accepted and added to proposals made by the English Mission in August 1870 for the prevention of unnecessary collision [3].

The other chief events of the year 1870 were the confirmation of 268 persons, the reorganisation of the Central School under Mr. R. DUTT, a Bengali student from Bishop's College, Calcutta; the commencement of a new Central Church; also the formation of a theological class, the revision of a great portion of the Prayer Book in Hindi, and the acquisition of Mundari by Mr. Whitley * [4].

The paucity of the Missionaries obliged them to devote much time to itineration, and such reports as these, made in 1872, showed how rapidly the work was growing:—

"At Murkee [Murhu] the chapel was crammed; and 123 partook of Holy Communion." "At Birkee [Birhu], above 200 came together for morning service, of whom 103 joined in the Holy Communion." "At Katchabari the little chapel would not hold all the worshippers, and I had again to remind the headman that it must be enlarged. He promised to set to work to make it larger." "At Itki there were 69; and at Ramtolia 82." "At Kajra we have a large number of Christians; their observance of the Sabbath, their prayer-meetings, are noteworthy. It always gives pleasure to see a village like this, once a cradle of demon worship, now fast becoming one entirely devoted to Christ, kneeling at His feet for mercy, and fighting under His banner against him whose sway they formerly had owned" [6].

* Hindi is understood by the educated natives in Chota Nagpur, but not by the villagers, among whom different dialects are found, embracing languages of the Dravidian family as well as of the Kohlarian, examples of both being sometimes used in the same village [5].

In this year the Rev. F. R. VALLINGS, the Society's Diocesan Secretary at Calcutta, joined the Mission [6*a*]; and in 1873 the new church at Ranchi, to which the Bengal Government had contributed Rs. 3,500, was consecrated, and the staff was further strengthened by the ordination of five native deacons—three Mundaris and two Uraons. During their training by Mr. Whitley their wives received instruction from Mrs. Whitley. From the very commencement the native pastorate was established on the basis of local support, no part of the salaries of the Kol Clergy being paid from the Society's funds [7].

In 1875 these five Kols were admitted to the Priesthood and three others to the Diaconate. The native pastors were "an immense help," but the staff had been weakened by the absence of the Messrs. BATSCH on sick leave, so that no regular aggressive work against heathenism could be attempted. The number of converts had now reached 8,334, and during the year 1,889 had been baptized and 1,548 had been confirmed [8].

The Mission experienced another serious loss by the departure in 1875 of Colonel Dalton, its foremost supporter. In addition to many large donations he had contributed regularly £120 a year to its support, and on his return to England he made munificent provision for the continuance of the work [9].

As an instance of the effects of that work the Rev. F. KRUGER wrote in 1876:—

"In Sosopiri there are at present eleven Christian families It was in the year 1872 that I first paid a visit to this village; at that time there were no Christians there. I found the people in a very bad condition; they used to live like hogs in small and miserable cottages, they did no work but begging, and from the paddy which they used to collect by begging they prepared their rice-beer, and were drunken almost the whole day. Moreover they made the people in the neighbourhood much afraid by telling them that they had the power to transform themselves into tigers and other beasts of prey, and to devour their enemies, and they also said that they could by witchcraft take away the lives of men and beasts. Such were the people of Sosopiri before they embraced Christianity. I am glad to say that by the grace of God Almighty they are quite different now."

Not only had they given up their claims to the knowledge of witchcraft, but they had also ceased to live by begging, and some of them were successful farmers. While the heathen Kols are generally much addicted to drunkenness, the vast majority of the Christians are total abstainers [10].

A few years later a Christian Pundit from the North-West Provinces, who spent some weeks in Ranchi, was greatly struck by the way in which Christianity had raised the Kols. "He thought it most wonderful to see the uncivilised tribes, whom they had been accustomed to regard as little better than brutes, now rising up, while the Hindoos, through their pride, are sinking down" [11].

In 1886 two Uraons trained at Ranchi were accepted for work as catechists in the Mission which was being started by the C.M.S. among the Gonds of the Central Provinces. The idea of using the Christian Uraons of Chota Nagpur in this way originated with the Rev. H. P. Parker of Mandla, afterwards Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa; and it is one that, given the means of training the men, might eventually be extended to the aboriginal tribes of India generally, even if

not to the Hindus and Mussulmans—which one Missionary at least does not regard as wholly visionary [12].

The progress of the Chota Nagpur Mission since its adoption by the Society has continued to be remarkable, especially if the weakness of the staff be considered. While there seems to have been little difficulty in maintaining a supply of native pastors, the lack of European Missionaries up to 1891 was lamentable. The German pastors ordained in 1869, and others who since joined the Mission, have all been driven from their posts by failure of health, and of the original band of clergy, Mr. Whitley alone remains [13].

The last but one of the Germans to retire was the Rev. F. BATSCH, in 1886. There are few records of service in the Mission field at once so long and devoted as well as so fruitful in results as his. He found Chota Nagpur without a single Kol Christian, and left it with more than 42,000 (including Lutherans). As a tribute to his and Mrs.* Batsch's services his fellow-workers presented them with an address, and undertook to build a memorial church at Sapāram.† At this out-station when the English Church commenced her labours in 1869 there were but two or three baptized Christians; Mr. Batsch left it with a congregation of 500 souls and 120 regular communicants. In the same year (1886) Mrs. WHITLEY died in England after twenty-two years of missionary labour, often carried on in the face of severe suffering. No one has been more ready than Mr. Whitley to recognise the services rendered by his predecessors and fellow-workers, but since the connection of the Mission with the Society the chief burden of the work has rested on him [14]. In 1889 he obeyed the call to preside as Bishop over the Church which he had done so much to build up. The Bishop of Calcutta had always taken the warmest interest in it, but it had become evident that a resident Bishop was essential for the due consolidation and expansion of the Church [15].

In 1885 the Missionaries petitioned the Bishop of Calcutta on the subject; the Society exerted its whole influence in the cause, and presented a memorial to the Secretary of State for India in 1886, and the legal difficulties which beset the extension of the Indian Episcopate were at length overcome by Bishop Johnson [16].

In consultation with the Chota Nagpur Church his Lordship arranged in March 1889 for the formation of a Bishopric on the basis of consensual compact and canonical obedience [17]. The Society was instrumental in raising an Episcopal Endowment Fund [18], and on March 23, 1890, Mr. WHITLEY (who had previously declined the office) was consecrated Bishop of Chota Nagpur at Ranchi [19].

The Society not only provided a portion (£2,500) of the endowment (which was supplemented by the S.P.C.K. and the Colonial Bishoprics Council), but also supplied funds for extending the Mission [20].

1890–1900.

The Diocese of Chhota Nagpur differs from other Indian dioceses in that it contains no European troops, comparatively few Europeans, and no Government chaplain, so that almost the whole work is of a

* Mrs. Batsch was for 30 years in sole charge of the Girls' Boarding School, "a work" (says Mr. Logadail) "which it would have required 2 or 3 sisters for."

† The Church will probably be completed in 1901.

distinctly missionary character, and the European residents are ministered to by Missionaries.

The Christian population connected with the Anglican Church (about 15,000 scattered in 500 villages) is grouped into eighteen pastorates, in sixteen of which a native clergyman is stationed. About half of the money collected in the many village chapels and churches in the diocese is put into the "Native Pastorate Fund," which also has some house property and a small endowment. The salaries of these pastors is fixed at such a sum that the Christian flock, when sufficiently numerous, ought to be able and willing to contribute the whole. Generally speaking the people are very poor.

Every pastor's district is subdivided into portions, in each of which a reader or schoolmaster is placed.

The Mission schools were pronounced by Lord Northbrook, a former Viceroy of India, to be "most excellent."* The schools are now of all grades, from lower primary schools to upper primary and middle English schools (in Ranchi and Chaibasa), and a high school and a College class (at Hazaribagh) [21].

The first Synod of the diocese was held in March 1893, the Bishop's charge being delivered in Hindi. One of the practical results of the Synod was the formation of a Diocesan Church Extension Association.

In the same year the Rev. E. H. Whitley passed an examination both in Hindi and in "Ganwari," and Ganwari being the ordinary language of the village people it was determined that in future all the Missionaries should acquire it as well as Hindi [22].

To commemorate the Jubilee of the Lutheran Mission in 1895, the German Missionaries erected a monument surmounted by a cross, which was unveiled on November 9, 1895. The Metropolitan of India (Bishop Johnson) and the Bishop of Chhota Nagpur were present, and the former spoke some words of sympathy.

It will be remembered that the pioneers of the Gospel in Chhota Nagpur (whose names are engraven on the monument) had not a single convert to show as the fruit of their work after five years. One of the very first *enquirers*, named Nirdosh Chatur, was baptized in October 1850, and when he died on December 26, 1895, there were over 120,000 Christians in Chhota Nagpur, where, fifty years before, the people were all devil worshippers [23].

Of these Christians the Roman Catholic Mission claims about one-half, the Lutheran about one-third, and the Anglican about one-eighth. There is also a Scotch Presbyterian Mission on the borders of the diocese.

On the subject of the Anglican Mission the Rev. E. H. Whitley has supplied much valuable information, as will be seen from the following notes condensed principally from his contributions:—

The average attendance at Holy Communion is high, because people have from the first been clearly taught the importance of this chief act of worship. The churches are not provided with seats, but mats only. The men sit on the one side and women on the other. In prayer all kneel and prostrate themselves with foreheads to the ground. Services are held in Hindi except where the population is Mundari-speaking, and there Mundari is used.

Women bring their babies to church, as they have no one to leave with them at home.

* From a speech delivered in 1892. His visit to Ranchi took place in 1874.

Before the "invitation" in the Communion Service the priest always calls upon all unbaptized and excommunicated persons to leave the church. Sometimes a group of cultivators come forward to ask the prayers of the congregation before they sow their fields.* They kneel at the chancel steps at the time of offertory, and special prayer is made for them. At the Harvest Festival nearly all offerings are in kind, the women and children bearing baskets of rice-grain, men sometimes bringing a bangy-load of rice, poorer folk bringing theirs in a fold of their garments, and some bearing sheaves.

Voluntary lay help is not yet a strong feature of Church life. There is a Church Committee ("pan chayat") to assist each pastor and reader; but as yet their functions are not very clearly defined, nor are they active. In each village, from early days of the Mission, the leading layman of the place has been styled a Prachin, or Elder. These men have sometimes considerable influence, and in many cases are of great use to the Clergy. No great progress can ever be made by an illiterate people, and it must be remembered that, on the whole, the people of Chhota Nagpur are illiterate. The aboriginal tongues never having been written, the Missionaries have had to transliterate them into English or Hindi letters.

In spite of schools, *very* few of the Christians cultivate a habit of reading. There is still much work to be done to supply good Hindi books for their perusal. Apart from the Bible there are hymns, a picture-book for instructing the unlearned, tracts, and family prayers. All these are Diocesan productions in Hindi. There are also Hindi Responsories containing extracts from the Prayer-book and selected Psalms, a form of Children's Service, and a Hindi version of the Bishop of Corea's Manual "Lumen," and a monthly Hindi paper. Besides translations into Hindi, parts of the Book of Common Prayer have been printed in Mundari and a Ho translation of the Prayer-book was completed in 1900.†

It is hard to estimate how far the spectacle of a divided Christianity in Chhota Nagpur has affected the spread of the Gospel. With regard to their Lutheran neighbours, the Anglican Missionaries "have ever endeavoured to bury painful memories of the past, and to labour side by side in enlarging the bounds of Christ's Kingdom." Anglican teaching has indeed very much in common with Lutheran, except with regard to the necessity of maintaining primitive Church government under the Episcopate. So long as rivalry is strictly confined to the building-up of converts and work amongst the heathen, there seems every likelihood of more rapid Christianising of the country. There has been no territorial division of the country between these Missions. From the nature of the case the same village often contains members of Anglican and Lutheran Churches. The Roman Catholics, who are the latest comers, "cannot be absolved from the charge of having preyed upon both." Much as one admires their energy and devotion, one cannot but deplore the methods by which many of the Roman Missionaries have augmented their flocks. Much harm has been done to Christians in general by the lax attitude they have adopted with regard to the drink question. As a result up to 1898 drinking had "increased throughout the whole Christian community," and prevailed "to a great extent among the adult adherents of the Roman Mission." "Innumerable instances" of proselytism on the part of the Roman Mission have also occurred. But one weak point in their organisation is that the work everywhere depends directly upon European supervision. They have no native priests, and in the nature of things the time is far distant, if it ever comes, when a native celibate priesthood will be possible. The Anglican Missionaries have no particular relations with, and know little of, their Roman neighbours, because of course the latter do not recognise their position as a true Church at all. But with the Lutherans the Anglican relations are decidedly friendly, and will probably continue to be so, since it is more and more the policy of the Anglicans "to discourage the gadabouts who desire to make capital out of the presence of diverse Churches." ‡

* This is an instance of the manner in which the native superstitions, such as offering bribes to evil spirits, are being displaced by Christian customs.

† The German Mission has produced a Mundari New Testament.

‡ During the first decade of the Anglican Mission (1869–79) the number of Christians was doubled (=10,679). In the second decade (1880–90), when the number reached 12,519, and some advance was made in educational work, nearly 1,000 adherents were lost in three years, owing to defections caused by land agitators and by the Roman Catholic Mission, which "became very active." During the next decade (1890–1900) the number of Christians rose to 14,972.

There were many people living in 1898 who in turn had been Lutheran, Anglican, and Roman, and had become Pagan. One cause of strength and security for the Anglican Missions is the fact that everyone understands that the English Church does not offer worldly advantage to the converts.

All outward manifestations of Church life are confined to public worship. There are no such things as guilds, bands of hope, concerts, teas, and so forth, amidst a simple and scattered agricultural community like this. But there is a sort of counterpart to the concert, in the singing of "bhajans." The "bhajan" is a native song sung to entirely native tune and method, accompanied often by tom-toms, and sometimes stringed instruments. Some of the tunes used are from up-country, but most are indigenous. The heathen song-tunes, used at dances, and for marriage and various agricultural seasons, have been adopted and set to sacred words, often paraphrases of Bible-texts, in Mundari or the village dialect of Hindi. The people are very fond of gathering together of an evening and singing these songs far into the night. They have been of no small use in familiarising people with common truths of religion, and have also been found to influence the heathen. It is a rule of the diocese that Christian weddings shall not take place in Lent. One of the great defects in the character of native Christians is their backwardness in supporting their religion. The lesson of self-support has yet to be learnt, though the people do help to support their clergy [24].

Among the hindrances to the spread of the Gospel in Chhota Nagpur must be placed first of all "the total absence of all sense of spiritual needs and aspirations" on the part of the heathen. Then the love of drinking intoxicating liquor and the frequenting of the dancing places in the villages or at fairs prejudice the heathen strongly against Christianity, for Christians are expected to abstain from these things. The Missionaries constantly advocate total abstinence from intoxicants, although they cannot make it a condition of baptism [25].

Another serious hindrance has been what is known as the land agitation. The aborigines, who owned the whole of the country, in course of time put themselves under the leadership of Rajas, with the result that gradually the major part of the land fell into the hands of alien landlords introduced by the Rajas. In some cases rent was exacted, in others the peasants retained their lands rent free, giving only various acts of service to the titular landlord. The early Lutheran Missionaries supported the desires of the people to win back the alienated lands, and many of the earlier converts became Christians with secret hopes of gaining land and bettering their position.

"When it became evident that the Missionaries could not bring back a golden age for the aborigines there was some revulsion of feeling. People took the matter into their own hands. Renegade Christians became leaders of a desultory agitation, whose chief aim has been to thwart the work of Missionaries and collect subscriptions from the peasantry. This collection of money has been a snare. The agitators have become fraudulent impostors, whatever they originally were. Much harm has, however, been done to the Church. Large numbers have been enticed into forsaking Divine service, and resuming dances and other heathen customs. The majority of these, there is ground to fear, have lapsed into paganism."

The struggle (which dates from after the Indian Mutiny), hopeless though it be, was revived in 1895 by one Birsa (a Munda) formerly belonging to the German Mission. His adherents called him Bhagván and professed to regard him as an incarnation of the Deity. He figured as a miracle-worker and a prophet in 1895, but was arrested before causing serious trouble.

On Christmas Eve, 1899, in many parts of the Munda country, barbed arrows were shot at night by unknown persons into chapels full of people assembled for service, and at individuals on the road, the object being to intimidate those Christians who had refused to join the agitators. Few persons were, however, killed. In January 1900 a police station was attacked and a constable killed, and 300 of Birsa's followers entrenched themselves on a hill twenty miles south of Ranchi. Troops soon dispersed the rebels, and many of them were arrested, including the false prophet, who died of cholera before his trial was over [26]. At the present time (1900) the diocese is somewhat troubled at what is described as "a Shaker movement" among the Christians in the south-west part of the Ranchi district [26*a*].

The divisions of Christendom, made manifest by the Missionaries of different denominations working in the same district, are often stated to be a hindrance, but Bishop Whitley does not think the aboriginal tribes find in these any serious stumbling-block, though they involve a great waste of power and money. Among the conditions favourable to the evangelisation of the aborigines are the great want felt by them of some sure protector, and that absence of prejudice against Christianity which in the case of Hindus and Mussulmans often leads to the persecution of converts. Among the causes which dispose men to seek admission into the Christian Church Bishop Whitley mentions sickness or other affliction, which is ascribed to the malignity of Bhúts by the heathen, but from which deliverance is sought from God by Christians:—

"The expense involved in sacrifices, accusations of witchcraft, and complaints of mischief caused by Bhúts connected with persons who are not suspected of malice, also induce people to sever their connection with heathenism. Those also who suffer oppression from the landlords, or who are involved in quarrels or law-suits, not unfrequently seek a closer connection with a European Missionary, or with the Christian clergy or teachers, whose independent position enables them to stand up against oppression, and who may assist their less intelligent brethren by their advice or influence. Others are led to seek admission into the Christian Church because it seems more reasonable to worship the beneficent Creator and Preserver of mankind than to rest content with the often obviously futile endeavour to propitiate evil spirits by sacrifices. Some such motives predispose men to seek for instruction in the Faith; they come with minds prepared to believe what may be taught, and find eventually more than they either sought or desired. . . . My experience goes to show that the aborigines who become Christians usually gain in social position; instead of being despised they are looked up to, and by availing themselves of the opportunities for education they become the more intelligent and independent members of the village community. A neater and cleaner dress and a brighter and more intelligent expression of countenance is often sufficient to enable a stranger to distinguish a Christian from a heathen.

"Cases seeming to require the exercise of Church discipline—and these are not infrequent—are in the first place investigated by the Clergy in consultation with the leading members of the congregation; if they are found to involve exclusion from Holy Communion the Bishop's sanction is required. This also is required before readmission to Christian fellowship. Cases of this kind are most frequently connected with sins of impurity, or with complicity in sacrificing under fear of the malignant demons. The indissolubility of Christian marriage, which is of course strictly maintained by us, involves conditions which are sometimes felt to be very hard to submit to by those who, in their heathen state, had very lax notions on the subject" [27].

Lord Northbrook (in 1892) described the Chhota Nagpur Mission as being "one of the most successful works done by the Society."

Of the general character of the native Christians in Chhota Nagpur the Rev. E. H. Whitley said, in 1898, it is difficult to speak.

"What sweeping assertion will include truthfully nearly fourteen thousand people? They are much as the Church has ever been, full of good and evil, from the days of St. Paul and St. John to the present. In spite of all drawbacks, Christianity and its handmaid Education have done much for the aborigines. They have been enabled to shake off the degrading effects of demon-worship and the extravagant drinking habits which accompany it. Becoming more sober, the intellectual side of their nature has a chance to develop. Education has enlarged their ideas and quickened their wits. Knowing how to read and write, understanding more about government and law, they are no longer at the mercy of the landlord's underlings or the money-lender, no longer deceived by fraudulent receipts and so forth. They acquire a spirit of independence. They have begun to learn handicrafts, such as carpentering, and enter into more lucrative employments in many cases than field-work. Doubtless Christian ideas and examples have had some salutary effect upon the heathen at large, and there are very many simple, genuine, and pious Christians, who really act as light-bearers amid surrounding darkness. But the spirit of evangelisation is sadly lacking. A vast field for work yet remains untouched. All the independent native States around are practically untouched."

One of the strongest evidences to the Hindus and Mohammedans in favour of Christianity is the change which takes place in the aboriginal people upon their conversion. It is acknowledged that Hinduism has never been able to raise them as Christianity does [28].

Sir John Woodburn, Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, after a visit* to Chhota Nagpur in 1898, characterised India as the "land of surprises." And "the last surprise" he had witnessed was that among the savage tribes in Chhota Nagpur, which "we are accustomed to hear of, and to speak of," as "almost irreclaimable from the naked barbarism of their nomad life," he found in the schools of the Missionaries "scores of Kôl boys rapidly attaining University standards in education":—

"It seems incredible" (he added), "but it is the fact, that these Kôl lads are walking straight into the lists of competition on equal terms with the high-bred youth of Bengal. This is a circumstance so strange even to me, so striking, so full of significance for the future, that I could not refrain from telling you of the last surprise of this wonderful land we live in" [29].

The principal stations will now be specially noticed.

Ranchi.

At this the oldest and chief centre a large proportion of workers are stationed. During the cold weather the Bishop visits the few scattered European communities and all the native pastorates, most of his travelling being done on foot, in push-push, or on horseback. Then there is an itinerating Missionary. His work needs more men to make it thoroughly effective, because, though good men in their way, the native lay agents inherit the weak character and indolent temperament of the East, and require constant supervision, direction, and sympathy in their work.

* N.B.—The *Englishman*, the leading Calcutta paper, while giving a most minute account of the secular side of the Lieut.-Governor's tour, studiously ignored any reference to Mission work, and yet it was the very Mission work among the Kôls that made the greatest impression on his Honour during his tour.

The work of itinerant Missionary was admirably carried on for many years by the Rev. D. J. Flynn.* The example of his life influenced even people who are not always friendly to Missionaries.

Another Missionary acts as tutor to the Theological Class. The raising up of native pastors who shall retain their original simple manner of living has been done to perfection in Chhota Nagpur.

The Theological Class for the training of a native ministry, which had been last suspended in 1884 (there being then as many pastors as could be supported), was reopened in 1893, under the Rev. E. H. Whitley, the Bishop's son, and closed again in 1897. Funds have not permitted of a permanent Divinity School, though that would be a most useful institution. The native pastors have not been Europeanised, neither have they abandoned the dress of their fellow countrymen.

All essential subjects are imparted in Hindi, and enough English is taught to enable them to use simple books and commentaries for themselves. In this way they derive more benefit than could result from the small acquaintance with Latin and Greek that could be possible for them. Each in his pastorate does the ordinary work of a clergyman with his band of lay-helpers, the readers, posted in various villages around him. While they have not the energy and method that characterise so many European parish priests, the native Clergy are, as described by Mr. Whitley in 1898, "on the whole an earnest," "excellent," "God-fearing set of men, and have laboured faithfully amidst many difficulties and hardships to keep the charge committed to them: much good result that may be manifest is due to their work." Up to the year 1900 the number ordained was 22, and for the humble stipends (£14 for a deacon and £18 for a priest), with which they are satisfied, none of them have been dependent on the funds of the Society, although the whole amount has not been provided by the native Church. The native lay teachers keep diaries of work, and go to the pastor of their district once a week for report and to receive instruction. Once a year they go in to Ranchi for some weeks' instruction by the European Missionaries.

Some teachers sent to work among the Gonds have been a valuable help to the C.M.S. Clergy† labouring in the Central Provinces. Others (including some ordained) have done good work in ministering to their fellow countrymen in Assam. But as yet the Nagpuris have not shown any marked enthusiasm in themselves for preaching the Gospel in their own country, though a remarkable instance is recorded under Assam [p. 611]. Since the tea industry was

* Often he could be seen surrounded all day long by natives, each with his or her tale to be attended to, and when he died (May 28, 1899) his funeral at Ranchi was attended by nearly all the Europeans, by crowds of native Christians, and even the leading heathen, and a brass tablet in the Cathedral testifies the affection and esteem in which he was held by the residents of Ranchi and Dorunda [30].

† A pleasant and profitable intercourse has been initiated between the Chhota Nagpur Clergy and those connected with the C.M.S. in the country of the Santáls and Gonds. At the request of the Bishop of Calcutta Bishop Whitley has visited the Missions in Santalia for Confirmation and Ordination, and on some occasions Santál candidates for Holy Orders have been sent to Ranchi. Some leading men from the Gonds and Santáls have also visited Chhota Nagpur, and met with a hearty reception from their brethren [31a].

started in Assam (about 1847–57) there has been a constant flow of population from Chhota Nagpur to the tea districts. Many Christian families have joined the emigrants and settled in Assam, and the Church has tried to follow them up, to provide them with the means of grace and prevent their lapse into heathenism. One drawback to this emigration is that it provides facilities for the desertion of husbands or wives, but matters are improving in this respect [31].

Another important branch of the work in Ranchi is that of the boarding schools, the Principal of which also acts as chaplain to the European residents, and has general charge of the Cathedral* and its services. These schools (one for boys and one for girls) are of the utmost importance to the welfare of the Mission and the Church in Chhota Nagpur. They are primarily for the instruction of Christian youth. Only Christians are boarders, but heathen are allowed to attend as day scholars, and not unfrequently they become Christians in consequence. These schools are a kind of artery to the Christian life of the native Church. After some years of training (including manual labour) the majority of the pupils go back to their homes and to their work to be centres of Christian influence—the girls to domestic life, the lads to the plough. A few obtain employment under Government or in the Mission. The education given is sound but not advanced. Those who desire to read for the entrance to Calcutta University can attend classes at the Government school, or go to the Dublin University High School in Hazaribagh. Religious education is systematically and thoroughly given. Daily services are attended by all the children. The Chhota Nagpur aborigines have a natural gift for singing, which is cultivated, and a native choir sings at the English services.

The girls' school has always had the advantage of the influence and care of an European lady—the wife of one of the Missionaries. The girls get a good elementary education, and learn the lessons of cleanliness and neatness, which in turn they teach the girlhood of their villages by example. As yet the number of female boarders has been few compared with the boys, the Mundás in particular being most backward about teaching their girls. "Why," say they, "take all that trouble about a girl? She will only blow another man's fire" [32].

In 1895 the Rev. W. O'Connor was appointed to aggressive work among the heathen in the district of Ranchi. A cherished plan of Mrs. O'Connor, whose medical skill has proved of great service in the district, was to try to teach nursing from house to house to some of the more capable native women—young widows without children. As yet (1900) there is only a small Mission hospital in Ranchi. This is in charge of lady workers, who also carry on Zenana work in the town [33].

Among the blind in Chhota Nagpur, of whom there are some thousands, a class was started at Ranchi about 1893 with the object of assisting first the Christians and next the heathen to do something towards supporting themselves and to read for their own edification. A class of blind mendicants was formed, who were taught orally once

* St. Paul's—a fine brick building, with stone pillars, lofty pointed roof, and Gothic arches—was consecrated on March 8, 1873.

a week, and out of this grew a small daily school, founded by Mrs. O'Connor. The pupils, mostly adults, have made good progress in religious knowledge, in reading and writing the "Braille" type, in reading "Moon" type, and in the art of making bamboo chairs, and in 1898 the female pupils began to learn knitting. The work was carried on by Miss Whitley in the Rev. W. O'Connor's house until the increase in numbers made it necessary to erect a separate building, which was opened on July 26, 1899. The institution, which has proved a great blessing, has received encouraging support from the European residents [34].

In Ranchi, and several other places in the district, a beautiful old Moravian custom prevails on Easter morning.

"Before dawn the people, preceded by school children with torches, go in procession to the cemeteries, and sing hymns of the Resurrection amongst the graves, whilst people are enabled to visit the resting-places of their several dead, and to draw comfort from thoughts of the great final Resurrection" [35].

At Murhu, a large and important pastorate in Ranchi district, pastoral evangelistic work is carried on under an European Missionary [35*a*]. It is proposed to establish a community Mission in the Ranchi district [*see* p. 500*m*].

SINGBHUM (Chaibasa).

The word "Singbhum" is said to be derived from "Singbonga," the Kol name for their chief spirit. The district is situated on the plains, and contains 4,500 square miles and a population of 600,000. Among these are fifty-one castes of low-caste Hindus and twenty-four of semi-Hinduised aborigines. But the most important and numerous people are the pure aborigines—250,000 in fourteen distinct tribes—the principal being the Hos or Larka Kols and Santáls. The Hos are the finest race physically and mentally, and generally they are truthful and honest. Their territory the Kolhân has been saved by Government from encroachment by aliens. Chaibasa, the chief town—eighty-five miles south of Ranchi—and the headquarters of the Society's Mission, is also one of the hottest places in Bengal.

Mission work was originally commenced by the German Lutherans (in 1864). Mr. F. Kruger, who was stationed there in 1867, joined the English Church in 1869, and was afterwards ordained by Bishop Milman of Calcutta, and continued to work in Singbhum until 1887. He was assisted at various times by native clergy, especially by the Rev. W. L. Daud Singh, and the result was the foundation of a congregation of 800 among a people of whom the Deputy Commissioner had said, "if you can make this kind of creature into men you can do wonders."

Under the energetic management of the Rev. A. Logsdail (1891–1900) the work has largely increased, especially the educational branch, which exercises a real missionary influence. The Government inspector reported in 1892 that the Mission schools were "doing immense good." Out of six successful candidates for the whole district in the Government examination in 1897, three were Christian boys educated in the Mission school, and one headed the whole list. Industrial training has been introduced to enable orphans to earn their own livelihood. Some of the orphans are the result of epidemics and famine. Four little waifs, whose father had died of cholera, were obliged to "roll their father's corpse into a grave the villagers had dug, but into which they would not place the corpse."

In 1899 special provision was made for the training of native Mission agents, and to enable the chief men in the district (Hos and Mundás) to have their sons educated at the English school while living in a hostel connected with it.

On Ascension Day 1898 a hospital ("All Saints") was opened in the Mission compound, the "dresser" being the first Christian Kol of Singbhum who had read up to the Calcutta University Entrance Examination.

In 1895–6 Mr. Logsdail compiled a book of household devotions with the object of increasing and quickening family worship among his flock. "Gharbari Aradhua," which is the title of this Hindi book of family prayers, was quickly adopted for use in other dioceses also.

"Owing to their living in a Government reservation the Hos are more homogeneous than their kinsmen the Mundás, more of a nation. They are extremely strict about the purity of their nationality, which is for them equivalent to caste. It is forfeited by eating or drinking with any other people than Hos. A Ho would be outcasted if he even drank from the same *well* as a tanti or weaver."

In one case reported by Mr. Logsdail a man had lived in a state of great affection with his wife for twenty years, without in all that time having eaten food prepared by her or even sharing a meal with her, because she was of a lower caste.

With regard to this spirit of caste, as modified by Christianity, Mr. Logsdail says:—

"The Christian Church is not a subjective thing. She is objective, for every member is admitted into her by an outward and visible rite; and here comes the way in which, I think, the past value of caste, and the character it has formed, should be preserved in the Church. It should be elevated into, and distinctly shown as the discipline and tone of the Church, making moral and spiritual transgressions, and not the old ones of eating and drinking, to be the sources of corruption and the real offences against the integrity of the body."

Partly owing to caste restrictions there are as yet fewer* converts in Singbhum than in Ranchi, but every branch of the work is progressing, and it is remarkable that out of six of the most worthy persons in the former district selected by Government to act as honorary native magistrates three proved to be Christians.

Mr. Logsdail also ministers at Chakradharpur, a great railway centre. Several weeks are also spent in camp. The Mission outposts are scattered far and wide, and one is in the native State of Morbhunj, outside the limits of Chhota Nagpur Diocese. Chaibasa, in short, "is a *multum in parvo*, and should have an important future before it, if only means be forthcoming; but the work is far too varied and onerous for a single European Missionary" [36].

Hazaribagh (1891–1900).

With the aid provided by the Society for the extension of the Missions on the formation of the Bishopric of Chhota Nagpur Bishop Whitley hoped to support a small community, and he appealed to the Mother Church to help him, but no response was made. Meanwhile there arose a movement within the walls of Trinity College, Dublin, and in October 1890 the Society received an offer (the coincidence of which

* 115 converts were baptized by Mr. Logsdail on Christmas Day, 1900.

seemed providential) from some well-qualified graduates of that University to labour in any part of the world that the Society might fix, the only stipulations being that they should be regarded as one brotherhood working together in a particular field assigned to them, and that they should keep up their connection with their *alma mater*. The offer was cordially accepted, and it was arranged that all the members of the Mission should be graduates of Dublin University, that they should take no life-long pledges or vows, but should lead a community life; further, that the Mission should be supported by a common fund, the Society contributing Rs. 1,200 and the University Committee £40, a year, for each man. Out of this fund the expenses of maintenance are defrayed. The members receive no salary, but each of them is allowed to draw £25 a year for personal expenses out of the fund.*

In October 1891 the Dublin University Committee formed a Ladies' Auxiliary. The Lady Associates of the Mission are offered similar terms, viz., maintenance, and a personal allowance, which, however, some of the workers do not draw. The Ladies' Auxiliary Committee provide all the funds for the support of this branch. The first Lady Associate (Miss Hassard) sailed for India in December 1891 with the first five members of "the Dublin University Mission to Chhota Nagpur, working under the S.P.G.," viz., the Revs. Eyre Chatterton, B.D., K. W. S. Kennedy, M.A., M.D., C. W. Darling, M.A., G. F. Hamilton, B.A., J. A. Murray, B.A. [37].

The whole of the northern part of the Diocese of Chhota Nagpur, comprising the town and civil district of Hazaribagh (over 7,000 square miles), was assigned to the Dublin University Mission as its separate sphere of work. Its population (1,200,000) is of various races, chiefly Hindus and semi-Hinduised aborigines, and some 110,000 Mohammedans, 56,000 Santáls, and a few Kols, and other aborigines. There are also about 60 or 70 European and Eurasian residents in the town of Hazaribagh, which is healthily situated 2,000 feet above sea-level, and a similar number at Giridih (70 miles distant), mostly connected with the East India Railway's collieries.

There are only four towns in the district—Hazaribagh (population 16,000), Chatra (12,000), Ichaak (6,000), and Giridih, with a considerable population brought together by the coal mines. The bulk of the population are scattered through a multitude of villages. A church was built at Hazaribagh by Government in 1842.† The Rev. H. Batsch had laboured in the Hazaribagh district from 1853 till 1875 (excepting for an interval of five years caused by the Mutiny and by lack of Missionaries at Ranchi), but, with the exception of a few Santhal converts, no impression had been made on the bulk of the population. When Mr. Batsch returned in 1875, owing to ill health, no European Missionary of the Anglican Communion resided there till the arrival of the D.U.M. Every two months, however, one of the Anglican

* Subscribers are pledged not to allow their contributions to the Chhota Nagpur Mission to interfere with their subscriptions to the general fund of the Society. (As a matter of fact, the Mission, which has received the commendation of the General Synod of the Church of Ireland, has led to increased support of the Society in Ireland.)

† Hazaribagh was the military headquarters of Chhota Nagpur from 1780 for many years after.

BISHOP WHITLEY AND THE CLERGY OF CHINGTA NAGPUR DIOCESE IN SYNOD, 1900.

Missionaries from Ranchi went to Hazaribagh and held services for the English residents there and for the native Christian converts at Sitagarha and Dumar. The D.U.M. community was settled at Hazaribagh by the Bishop in order to give every scope for the opening up of new work, and because it is an important strategic point as a Government centre with a fair number of European residents.

Large buildings, most of them formerly belonging to the military, including one used as a military hospital, were acquired from Government at a nominal rental of Rs. 8 a year, and adapted for the purposes of the Mission [38].

On their arrival at Chhota Nagpur the first members of the Brotherhood were met, three miles from Ranchi, by all the school-children belonging to that Mission, who of their own accord had come out with their teachers to welcome them. A more touching and impressive scene had never been witnessed by the brethren than that produced by this band of native Christian children marching before them as they entered Ranchi, singing in a strange language old familiar hymn tunes, especially the Old Hundredth.

Far different were the surroundings at Hazaribagh, where the Brethren arrived on March 8, 1892, to take up the work of bringing home the Message of Salvation to over a million people of widely different races and natures, the majority being on the lowest rung of the Hindu-caste ladder, tied and bound by Hindu-caste prejudice, ignorant of and indifferent to moral truth, and without any strong desire to learn anything [39].

The temporary connection of a young Brahman convert from Trinidad with the Mission in 1897 proved of mutual benefit to the brotherhood and himself * [39*a*].

The work of the Mission, which has been steadily developing since 1892, is so varied that it can only be briefly summarised here, due acknowledgment being made of the splendid services rendered by the band of Lady Associates in the scholastic, Zenana, and medical departments [40].

Summary.—I. Hazaribagh.

(1) *Languages acquired.*—Hindi and "Ganwari" by all the Missionaries (the latter since 1894, *see* p. 500), and Santali by one of the Missionaries. The first Missionaries made rapid progress in Hindi, conducting services in it in 1892, and all of them passing their examination in 1893 [40*a*].

(2) *Pastoral work.*—This includes ministrations to the English as well as the natives. Regular Sunday and daily services were started in the church on the arrival of the Missionaries. Previously to this the English residents had been only occasionally ministered to. Some of them now (1892) began studying Hindi in order to be able to assist in the Mission work. The choir at the English services is largely composed of natives. Of the daily Hindi services it was

* Edward Ramprasad Dube, the son of a Hindu priest who went to Trinidad and who disowned his son on his becoming a Christian. After being educated at Warminster Theological College Edward went to India with the Bishop of Chhota Nagpur, who was returning from the Lambeth Conference of 1897. For two years he resided with the Brotherhood, taking part in various kinds of work, especially preaching and school work. On his return to Trinidad he was ordained.

reported in 1899 that no one present at them can help feeling that there are real evidences of Christ's Kingdom among the natives in Hazaribagh [40*b*].

(3) *Evangelistic work*, which is regarded by the Brotherhood as "the true Missionary's first duty," has been regularly and systematically carried on both in Hazaribagh and in the district.

Though there is not at present any apparent "movement" amongst the Hindus or Mussulmans towards Christianity, their feeling towards the Mission, doubtless largely owing to medical and educational work, is decidedly friendly.

The first convert of the Mission—"Ganpati," baptized in the name of Gabriel on March 15, 1896—had been a patient in the Mission hospital. In addition to the preaching* in the bazaar and at the dispensary, lectures were begun in 1893 in the Keshub Hall for the English-speaking Babus of the town—mostly Bengalis—at the suggestion of Bishop Whitley, who addressed nearly all the leading Babus in the Mission Chapel in 1894. Copies of a Bengali "Life of Christ," † written by a Hindu pandit of Benares, have been distributed among them.

(4) *Medical work* was begun in 1892 by the establishment of a dispensary and hospital at Hazaribagh. Within a year this department had made the people for a great distance around regard the Missionaries as their friends, and had gained the latter a ready entrance to many a village where they could not otherwise have been welcomed. Two of the staff are fully-qualified medical men with Dublin University medical degrees, and there are two native assistant doctors who have qualified at the Government Medical College at Patna, and four of the Lady Associates are qualified nurses. The D.U.M. doctors have a medical class, by means of which they are training young men as compounders and hospital assistants. The hospital is constantly full with both medical and surgical cases, and the work has elicited gratitude from the patients.

A separate hospital for native women has been built. Branch dispensaries have been established at Petarbar and Ichaak and a woman's hospital at Chitarpur. As an illustration of the amount of prejudice to be overcome before the natives can trust the Missionaries the word "Mimiai" was quoted in 1896 from a Hindi book with its explanation, viz., "It is made by Christians from blood dropped from children's heads held topsy-turvy over boiling oil, and used by Christians for ointment and for food, the children being previously fattened for the purpose." The "more excellent way" of Christians was clearly shown in the next year, when young and old were both the objects of mercy and love unknown among the heathen. Though the famine in Chhota Nagpur was only scarcity as compared with other parts of India, yet "some of the babies' arms and legs were like jointed crochet-hooks, and their wrinkled ape-like faces

* Pictures have proved of great aid to preaching, both in the hospital and elsewhere [40*cc*].

† This book was written as the fulfilment of a promise made by this heathen pandit to a Bengali clergyman, the Rev. Pyari Mohan Rudra. After Mr. Rudra's death the pandit, who was deeply attached to him, bethought him of the promise he had once made his Christian friend of writing a short "Life of Christ," taken entirely from the four Gospels, in a linguistic style which would be more acceptable to his fellow-countrymen than what is called Mission Bengali or Hindi. The "Isa Charita" was the result of his labours [40*c*].

only expressed apathetic despair." No words could describe the old women who had been turned adrift. No relatives came for them, and so they remained in the hospital till they died [40*d*].

Educational work.—A school started for the daughters of the English residents at Hazaribagh in 1894 was discontinued after three years, the number of pupils being too small to justify its existence, but the following have become permanent institutions: Primary schools for (*a*) native boys (free); (*b*) Hindu and Mussulman girls in the bazaar; and (*c*) Bengali girls; and a High school for native boys.* The object of the High school, which was opened in 1895, is first to give a sound education, free from the contamination which infects a heathen school, to the sons of native Christians, and to make these same Christian boys true lights for Christ in the midst of heathen darkness; and, secondly, to attract heathen boys and to give them religious instruction and lead them to the Saviour.

Most of the boarders (who are Christians) come from Ranchi. In 1898 the Christian masters and medical students formed themselves into a voluntary preaching association, and during the cold and hot weather they visited the neighbouring villages and preached. The movement was entirely spontaneous. In 1899 a "First Arts College" department, affiliated with Calcutta University, was started, the Rajah of Padna promising help for Scholarships. Sir John Woodburn, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, who inspected the Mission in that year, recorded of the school that he was "particularly struck by the prevailing brightness and intelligence of the boys." The "success of the Missionaries in developing the intellects of the Kol lads" was "remarkable," and to him "a new experience." Out of five pupils who matriculated at Calcutta University three were aboriginals. The school and college class have made excellent progress and promise to be of great value to Chhota Nagpur generally. The pupils are of six distinct nations and languages. English occupies the place that Latin would in an English school. Sanskrit, Persian, or Bengali forms the second language, most of the boys preferring Sanskrit. Nearly all the masters are Christians [40*e*].

A catechists' training class was started in 1897 [40*f*].

Orphanages for boys and girls have been established, some of the orphans being famine waifs from Banda N.W.P. [40*g*].

Zenana work is carried on by the Lady Associates, who also visit the women in Hazaribagh, and, so far as possible, in neighbouring villages.

II.—Outstations and Itinerating Work.

Itinerating work has been begun in all directions, and extended tours are made from time to time in the surrounding district [41].

Sitagarh (four miles from Hazaribagh) and Dumar (eleven miles from Hazaribagh).—Since 1892 two small congregations of native Christians — Mundás at Sitagarh and Santals at Dumar — the descendants of converts made by the pioneer Missionaries in Chhota Nagpur, have been ministered to. A ceremony noted in 1899 at a native Christian wedding feast at Sitagarh consisted of the mother of the bride going around and washing the feet of all the men, beginning with the Missionaries present [42].

* Attendance about 150, including 50 boarders.

GIRIDIH (70 miles from Hazaribagh).—Since 1894 the European residents at Giridih, one of the largest coalfields in India, have been regularly visited and ministered to by the D.U. Mission.

The Europeans and Indo-Europeans at Barhi and Koderma have also been occasionally ministered to, and some work done among the opium cultivators who visit Barhi and other centres [43].

ICHAAK (9 miles from Hazaribagh).—Work was begun here in 1894, and a dispensary established in 1896 [44].

SURJ KUND.—Every year, in January, a great *mela* (fair)* takes place at the boiling sulphur springs of Surj Kund, some thirty miles from Hazaribagh. Since 1895 the D.U. Missionaries have attended this *mela*. In the midst of all the surrounding idolatry and superstition stands the little Mission tent in which they dispense medicine for the bodies and offer "the priceless medicine for the souls." The people seem now to regard the Mission tent and lantern addresses as among the essential features of the gathering [45].

PETARBAR.—It was hoped that the German Lutheran Church would consent to leave their few followers in Hazaribagh district to the care of the D.U. Missionaries, but hearing that they intended opening a Santal Mission at Singhani, about two miles from Hazaribagh, the D.U.M. in 1896, in order to avoid clashing with them, started medical work at a new centre among the Santals fifty miles from Hazaribagh, viz., at Petarbar [46].

At Chitarpur (40 miles from Hazaribagh), where work, both medical and evangelistic, has been carried on at intervals for some years, a second centre of the Brotherhood is about to be established [47].

Arrangements are also being made for the establishment of a branch of the Brotherhood at Ranchi [47*a*].

To the regret of all, the Rev. Eyre Chatterton, the gifted head of the Dublin University Mission from its establishment, resigned in 1900. As a parting gift to the Diocese, for which he has done so much, he has left a history of the Chhota Nagpur Mission, which has received the commendation of the highest authority.† His successor is the Rev. J. G. F. Hearn [48].

LIST OF THE DUBLIN UNIVERSITY MISSION STAFF (1890–1900).

	Joined
Chatterton, Rev. Eyre, M.A., B.D., first head of the Mission (resigned 1900)	1891
Darling, Rev. C. W. D., M.A. (resigned on marriage, 1895)	1891
Hamilton, Rev. G. F., B.A.	1891
Kennedy, Rev. K. W. S., B.A., M.B.	1891
Murray, Rev. J. A., M.A., B.D.	1891
Hearn, Rev. J. G. F., M.A., M.D. (ordained 1898), head of the Mission, 1900	1892
Walsh, Rev. H. P., M.A.	18[illegible]
White, Rev. C. F., M.A.	18[illegible]
Martin, Rev. F., B.A.	18[illegible]

LADY ASSOCIATES. (*Supported by the Ladies' Auxiliary of the D.U.M.*)

	Joined
Miss Frances Hassard	1891
,, Sidney Richardson	1892
,, F. F. White	1893
,, Dyer (resigned 1896)	1893
,, Wickham (resigned 1896)	1893
,, Barklie (resigned 1895)	1893
Miss H. A. Beale	[illegible]
,, M. Collis (resigned 1900, on marriage)	1896
,, Annie F. Roe	1898
,, Alice Roe	1898
,, Mabel Martin	1899

* The pilgrims are attracted by the reputation of the waters for medicinal purposes, but more so by the fact that the cunning of the Brahmans has converted them into an oracle, "by means of which the important question of child-birth is infallibly decided." Naturally, therefore, the greater number of the pilgrims are women.

† "The Story of Fifty Years' Missionary Work in Chhota Nagpur," S.P.C.K., 4s.

(*For Statistical Summary for Bengal see p.* 730.)

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